Monolingual Language Ideologies: Rethinking Equity and Language Policy in Sheltered English Immersion (SEI) Teacher Education

Author: Chris K. Bacon

Boston College
Lynch School of Education

Department of
Teacher Education, Special Education, and Curriculum and Instruction

MONOLINGUAL LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES: RETHINKING EQUITY AND LANGUAGE POLICY IN SHELTERED ENGLISH IMMERSION (SEI) TEACHER EDUCATION

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Dissertation Chair: Dr. C. Patrick Proctor

Abstract

With U.S. classrooms increasingly characterized by linguistic diversity, teacher education has come under heightened scrutiny to respond to these realities. Recent shifts in Massachusetts language policy provide an informative example. Federal oversight prompted the state to implement an ambitious initiative requiring teachers to earn an endorsement in Sheltered English Immersion (SEI). The rollout of this initiative coincided with the final years of the state's English-only education mandate, and the SEI endorsement remains a requirement for teachers today. As a growing body of research highlights the ideological dynamics of language policy, particularly in English-only educational contexts, this dissertation has two overlapping goals: (1) To develop a theoretical framework for the study of monolingual language ideologies in relation to policy interpretation and (2) to apply this framework within a critical policy analysis of the Massachusetts SEI endorsement initiative.

This dissertation consists of three papers. Paper 1 puts forth a theoretical framework for studying monolingual language ideologies. Through a historical analysis of U.S. language policies and previous research on language ideologies, this paper demonstrates how dynamics of race and racism overlap with language policy and teacher education in U.S. contexts. Paper 2 is an empirical study of SEI instructors' roles as policy interpreters within the SEI endorsement initiative. This study documents how 33

SEI course instructors interpreted the SEI endorsement course in ways that reinforced or augmented the state's design. Paper 3 highlights these instructors' discourses around the topics of language policy and race. Drawing on poststructural policy analysis, this paper explores the varying degrees to which participants addressed these topics in relation to the course's emphasis on language pedagogies. Together, these papers offer a framework for the study of language ideologies with implications for language policy, policy interpretation, and teacher education in multilingual contexts.

Dedication

I dedicate this dissertation to the strongest and most inspiring people I know. To my mother, Joan Bacon, who taught me compassion, optimism, and the word "dissertation" before the world could try to portray any of those endeavors as futile. To my father, David Bacon, who showed me the power of words from libraries to pulpits. And to my wife (forthcoming, 2019), Serena Chang, for her endless support and brilliance. From her, I have learned more about education and justice than the following pages could ever contain. This one's for us.

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Finally, thank you to all the students and educators I have had the honor to teach and to learn from. May our profession, our field, and our country do better by your example.

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SECTION I—INTRODUCTION

The usual framework for research in contexts where students learn English as a second or additional language (henceforth identified as emergent bilinguals) positions bilingualism as the object of study. This framing characterizes linguistic diversity as unique, deviant, or a "challenge" for increasingly diverse education systems. Implied in such a framework is an unexamined normalization of monolingualism—framing the language use of those who speak only English (and a particular variety of English therein) as the norm. In contrast, this dissertation highlights monolingualism as a language ideology and as the focal point of study.

Some researchers have begun to discuss the role of monolingual language ideologies in reproducing obstacles for emergent bilinguals in U.S. schooling (García, Flores, & Woodley, 2012; Hinton, 2016; Martínez, 2013). However, as monolingual language ideologies themselves are rarely a main focus of study in educational research, these ideologies tend to remain undefined, undertheorized, or unexplored in regard to the mechanisms by which they are reproduced. This dissertation, therefore, addresses two interrelated goals:

(1) To put forth a theoretical framework for the study of monolingualism as a *language ideology* (González, 2005; Razfar, 2006; Rosa & Burdick, 2017; Silverstein, 1979, 2004)

(2) To apply this framework within a critical policy analysis (Levinson, Sutton, & Winstead, 2009; Yanow, 2007; Young & Diem, 2017) of the Massachusetts SEI endorsement initiative and its implementation.

Context

Recent federal and state policies function under the assumption that the educational marginalization of emergent bilinguals is not related to widespread official or *de facto* monolingual education policies and practices, but rather the result of ineffective teacher training (Arias & Faltis, 2012). In Massachusetts, the context of this study, bilingual education was effectively banned through a 2002 voter referendum. The initiative replaced the state's previous mandate for transitional bilingual education—Massachusetts had, in 1971, become the only state to mandate bilingual education in certain contexts (Moore, 2008). The 2002 referendum largely dismantled bilingual education and legislated a statewide-shift to Sheltered English Immersion (SEI), requiring that "with limited exceptions, all public school children must be taught English by being taught all subjects in English and being placed in English language classrooms" (Galvin, 2002, p.1).

In 2011, the U.S. Department of Justice held Massachusetts in violation of the Equal Educational Opportunities Act, not for having banned bilingual education, but rather for "not mandating adequate training for SEI teachers" (DOJ, 2011, p.1). This focus on teacher training meant that the state could redress its federal civil rights violation by implementing an initiative to endorse all teachers in SEI through a state-designed course, while leaving its ban on bilingual education in place. The SEI endorsement was part of a larger initiative called RETELL (Rethinking Equity and Teaching for English Language Learners; DESE, 2019). This initiative included the state's adoption of the WIDA English Language Development Standards (used in 39 state education agencies; WIDA, 2019) and the WIDA-aligned ACCESS English language

assessment. However, the core component of the RETELL initiative was the ambitious SEI endorsement initiative through which the state's 60,000+ teachers would be trained and endorsed in SEI instruction. It is this SEI endorsement policy and its implementation that will provide the main context through which monolingual language ideologies are to be explored in this dissertation.

Recent studies and reports have explored teachers' engagement in the SEI endorsement initiative (Accurso, 2019; Bacon, 2018; Hara, 2017; Haynes, August, & Paulsen, 2012; Haynes & Paulsen, 2013) as well as student outcomes (Imeh, in press). This scholarship adds to a growing body of research on how teachers act as language policy interpreters (Johnson, 2011; Menken & García, 2010). However, there are almost no studies of teacher *educators* who authoritatively communicate with teachers about language policies (de Jong, 2008; Faltis & Valdés, 2016; Moore, 2012). The role of these teacher educators is built into the SEI initiative in that most teachers receive an SEI endorsement through state-approved curricula delivered by course instructors. Thus, the context of Massachusetts and the SEI endorsement initiative provides a productive case by which to address a major theoretical gap in the study of how language policy moves from policy to implementation and who interprets language policy for teachers.

Conceptual Framework: Language Ideologies & Policy

Language Ideologies

This dissertation operationalizes monolingualism as a *language ideology* in the context of U.S. schooling. I draw on Silverstein's (1979) definition of language ideologies as "beliefs about language articulated by the users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use" (p. 193). According to Bloome,

Katz, and Champion (2003), language ideologies are "not just abstract conceptions of language," but also impact how we relate to one another through "the hierarchical valuing of… social, cultural, and language practices," and even "definitions of what it means to be a human being" (p. 105). Through this lens, studying monolingualism as a language ideology allows this research to connect the ideological with the material—linking the monolingual "norm" to the valuation of certain language users and the devaluation of others (González, 2005; Razfar, 2006; Wei, 2016). This in turn sheds light on the ways language ideologies function in relation to social positioning and power (Bourdieu, 1991; Rosa & Burdick, 2017).

Language Policy

Through policy, language ideologies transcend matters of individual beliefs about language. Brought to scale, language ideologies encoded and enacted in *language policy* inform the ways in which schools and societies value (or devalue) language use and language users (Tollefson, 2002). As language ideologies most readily manifest through metadiscourses about "the purpose and use of language, about learning about language, and about learning through language" (González, 2005, p. 164), language policies, such as the SEI endorsement policy, offer explicit, written textual artifacts by which to analyze language ideologies in education. Subsequently, the discourses around the enactment of these policies offer a window into the ways in which ideologies are taken up in practice (Johnson, 2009; Kaveh, 2018).

As this study aims to explore monolingualism as a language ideology within the specific policy of the SEI endorsement, I will draw upon the field of *critical policy analysis* (CPA; Diem & Young, 2015; Young, 1999) to explore the interpretation of this

language policy. This study aligns with the fundamental concerns of CPA, laid out by Diem, Young, Welton, Mansfield, Lee (2014) as (1) the difference between policy rhetoric and actual practice; (2) the historical/cultural contexts at the root of policy development; (3) distributions of power; (4) social stratification in the reproduction of social inequalities; and (5) how members of non-dominant groups resist problematic policies. I will ground my methods in Altheide & Schneider (2013) and Allan's (2008) approaches to policy discourse analysis, methodologies that draw on both critical and poststructural theories to examine assumptions embedded in policy discourses that produce or constrain policy outcomes.

Theoretical Framework: Monolingual Language Ideologies

Building off of previous literature, I use the phrase *monolingual language ideologies* to describe a set of ideologies through which a certain group of language practices become idealized (Bacon, 2018). Previous literature has theorized these ideologies simply as *monolingualism* (see Ellis, 2006). Both phrases are related to, but distinct from, the term *monolingual*—a designation used (rather bluntly; MacSwan, 2017) to describe the language practices of an individual. The study of monolingualism *as a language ideology* focuses not on the language practices of individuals, but instead prioritizes the ideological, historical, and sociological contexts of language and explores how language users are positioned by society (Rosa & Burdick, 2017; Silverstein, 1979, 2004).

Much of the existing literature frames monolingual language ideologies through a general ethos of anti-bilingualism. While this may be the case in some settings, recent research has demonstrated that monolingual ideologies are more complex than simple

anti-bilingualism. Fitzsimmons-Doolan (2014), for example, conducted a factor analysis on a survey of Arizona voters after an English-Only ballot initiative. Her analysis identified ideologies around monolingualism and multilingualism as two *separate* constructs in that individual participants could appear to favor *both* ideologies. This complexity is corroborated by recent scholarship on the 'gentrification of dual language education' (Valdez, Freire, & Delavan, 2016) demonstrating the high demand for dual language immersion among the White, largely-monolingual middle-class in contrast to the continued lack of access to bilingual education for multilingual students of color (García, 2011; Shin, 2018).

It is therefore necessary to complexify the current understanding of monolingual language ideologies. To achieve this goal, I draw on both critical and poststructural theories in my theoretical framing. Critical theories have been widely applied to critique the restrictive nature of monolingual ideologies and English-only policies (Macedo, 2000; Santa Ana, 2004). However, critical theories have also been critiqued for their oversimplification of multilingualism as a panacea to linguistic discrimination (Flores, 2017; Makoni & Pennycook, 2005; McNamara, 2011). Poststructuralist theories, on the other hand, approach power as primarily *productive*—not in the sense of being necessarily "positive" or "beneficial," but as *producing* certain outcomes, hierarchies, and subject positions (Allan, 2008; Bacchi & Goodwin, 2016; Foucault, 1972, 1980). Furthermore, through this dissertation, I argue that monolingual language ideologies cannot be fully understood without exploring how race and racism intersect with language policy in U.S. contexts. As this dissertation will demonstrate, literature on monolingual language ideologies has generally undertheorized the role of race and racism

in constructing language hierarchies, and therefore loses much of its explanatory power when it comes to U.S. contexts.

Research Questions

The research questions of this dissertation stem from three main considerations: (1) the historical consistency with which monolingual language ideologies have informed U.S. language policy (Silverstein, 1996; Wiley, 2014) coupled with the limited research on how, specifically, these ideologies are manifested, reproduced, and/or disrupted through specific language policies (Pavlenko, 2000; Romaine, 1995); (2) the current absence of studies on the roles teacher educators play in the language policy interpretive process (Faltis & Valdés, 2016); and (3) the intersections of language policy with broader dynamics of race and racism across U.S. history (Debose, 2007; Motha, 2014; Rosa, 2018; Viesca, 2013). Based on these considerations, the following research questions inform this dissertation.

RQ1. How has the theoretical framework of monolingual language ideologies been applied to language policies in previous research, particularly in regard to U.S. SEI educational contexts? What are the current affordances and limitations of this framing?

RQ2. How have SEI course instructors interpreted and operationalized the SEI endorsement initiative? What experiences, contextual factors, and/or language ideologies appear to inform these approaches?

RQ3. Considering how language policy intersects with dynamics of race and racism in U.S. contexts, how do SEI instructors approach the topics of language policy and race within the SEI endorsement course? What experiences, contextual

factors, and/or language ideologies appear to inform these approaches?

As discussed below, these questions will be answered through a critical policy analysis of the SEI endorsement initiative, drawing on historical analysis, document analysis, and interviews with SEI course instructors in the Massachusetts context.

Researcher Positionality

I approach this work as one who has been socialized to be, and to be considered, monolingual. While I have the ability to speak languages in addition to English, my upbringing and socialization as a White speaker of a privileged dialect of English has permitted me to exercise only minimal degrees of language shift, with my learning of other languages having been matters of choice rather than of personal, educational, or professional necessity. This language background informs my decision to study monolingual language ideologies as well as the recognition that these ideologies represent linguistic, cultural, and racialized practices in which I have been deeply embedded, and from which I have undeniably benefitted.

Secondly, my selection of the Massachusetts SEI endorsement initiative as the policy context of this study was informed by my own experience as an instructor of the SEI endorsement course in two separate university settings. While this experience has given me a degree of experiential knowledge of the SEI course itself and broader Massachusetts policies that facilitated my undertaking of this study, it is also undeniable that this previous experience has informed my own personal beliefs about the policy itself and the implementation of the course. Though I do not ascribe to the belief that researchers can completely "bracket" their personal experience from the lens they bring to their work, I have endeavored to design this research so as to avoid overly-simplistic

answers as to whether certain approaches to the SEI endorsement course are "good" or "bad." Instead, the focus of this study is on the *process* by which policy implementers translate policy into practice, and *how* monolingual language ideologies can be maintained, reproduced, or disrupted through this process.

In addition, as an advocate for the research-backed benefits of bilingual education, I approach this work with skepticism toward educational policies predicated upon monolingual language ideologies. However, as with the SEI course itself, this study is not designed to provide a simple answer about monolingual language ideologies being "good" or "bad." "Bad" ideologies do not become entrenched in policy and practice; they must do work *for someone* in order to be maintained. I believe that it is necessary to understand monolingual language ideologies, not on a spectrum of good vs. bad, but as an ideology that does *work*—for some, and against others. In this way, I approach this study with the understanding that the only way to explore monolingualism as an ideology is through its complexity.

Organization of the Dissertation

This dissertation is organized into five sections—an introduction, three papers, and a conclusion—as outlined below.

Section I—Introduction: This current section introduces the dissertation context, its conceptual/theoretical frameworks, and the research questions under study. Describing the three papers of the dissertation, this section puts forth the organizational framework that links the three papers to follow.

Section II—Paper 1: The first paper is a conceptual piece that puts forth a theoretical framework for studying monolingualism as a language ideology. Drawing

from previous research on monolingual language ideologies and a historical analysis of U.S. language policies, this paper demonstrates the overlap between language policy, race, and teacher education in U.S. language policy—particularly in relation to SEI educational contexts. This paper forwards an argument for prioritizing these dynamics in the further study of language ideologies, answering RQ1 above.

Section III—Paper 2: The second paper is an empirical study of the Massachusetts SEI endorsement policy itself and how SEI instructors describe their roles in interpreting and implementing the policy. Drawing on critical policy analysis, and the theoretical framework developed in Paper 1, this paper explores the degree to which these instructors interpret and/or adapt the course. These interpretations are explored in relation to participants' ideological and contextual justifications for their approaches, answering RQ2 above.

Section IV—Paper 3: The third paper focuses specifically on how participants discuss the topics of language policy and race in relation to the course. Often marked by participants as "political" topics, participants' discourses around language policy and race are analyzed, first separately, then simultaneously, to explore how these topics overlap in relation to the language ideological framework developed in Paper 1. This paper draws on poststructural policy analysis to answer RQ3 above.

Section V—Conclusion: This concluding section provides a broad discussion that links the findings of the three papers, drawing conclusions and implications for further research.

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SECTION II—PAPER 1

Producing Monolingualism: Racialized Language Ideologies in U.S. Language Policy and Teacher Education

Educational researchers are beginning to take note of the nuanced ways in which language ideologies influence the educational experiences of multilingual students (Kubota, 2016; Rosa & Burdick, 2017; Silverstein, 2004). A growing segment of this literature has begun to specifically explore *monolingual language ideologies* (Ellis, 2006, 2008; González-Carriedo, 2014; Hinton, 2016; May, 2014), particularly in relation to English-only pedagogical orientations in U.S. schooling contexts. However, much of this literature frames monolingual language ideologies as a broad ethos of anti-bilingualism. In this piece, I argue that such a framing fails to account for the complex intersections of race, nationalism, and language policy that undergird the entrenchment of monolingual language ideologies. I draw on historical analysis and poststructural frameworks to explore literature on monolingual language ideologies, then demonstrate how these ideologies manifest within recent policies around *Sheltered English Immersion* (SEI) in U.S. contexts. This analysis is organized into four parts beginning with broad, conceptual arguments before building to increasingly specific contexts of particular language policies.

In *Part I,* I begin with a broad overview of international literature to define and operationalize monolingual language ideologies. This section outlines global perspectives on monolingual language ideologies, particularly in regard to English in global contexts. I then narrow this framing in *Part II* to U.S. language policies. Employing a historical lens, I highlight key factors necessary for understanding monolingual language ideologies in

U.S. contexts, particularly the role of race and racism in the implementation of language policies. In *Part III,* I apply this framing to recent movements to mandate Sheltered English Immersion (SEI) as an English-only form of instruction in particular U.S. contexts. I outline the development of SEI as an instructional model, and its embrace by voter-initiated English-only education mandates in California, Arizona, and Massachusetts. In *Part IV*, I close the piece by examining movements toward repealing these mandates in contrast with the continued maintenance of monolingual language ideologies through teacher education. I focus on the Massachusetts SEI endorsement initiative, which remains in place even after the repeal of the state's English-only mandate Through this focus on a specific policy, I demonstrate how teacher education can serve to further reproduce monolingual language ideologies, even in the absence of explicit English-only legislation.

Across these sections, I make two specific arguments: First, I argue that the current literature on monolingual language ideologies has paid insufficient attention to how race and racism intersect with language ideologies in U.S. contexts. By obscuring the racialized aspects of monolingual language ideologies, much of the current literature on monolingual language ideologies loses theoretical consistency and practical applicability. Second, I advocate for studying monolingual language ideologies, not only as restrictive and/or oppressive, but also as *productive* ideologies. I use the term productive not to mean necessarily "positive" or "beneficial." Instead, I use the term in poststructural sense of language ideologies *producing* particular assumptions, subject positions, and hierarchies of advantage (Allan, 2008; García, Flores, & Spotti, 2017;

Pennycook, 2006) which affords a fuller understanding of how, why, and in whose interest monolingual language ideologies are maintained.

With these two arguments in tandem, monolingual language ideologies can be documented through a race-intentional framework that simultaneously analyzes such ideologies as restrictive *and* productive. Beginning with a broad overview of conceptual scholarship before narrowing toward increasingly specific policy analyses (see Figure 1), I demonstrate how such a framework reveals a range of accommodations afforded to a presumed audience of English-dominant teachers, students, and curricula across these levels of analysis. Taken to the broader implications of such accommodations, this piece highlights how unquestioned monolingual language ideologies function to maintain inequitable racial and linguistic hierarchies in U.S. educational contexts.

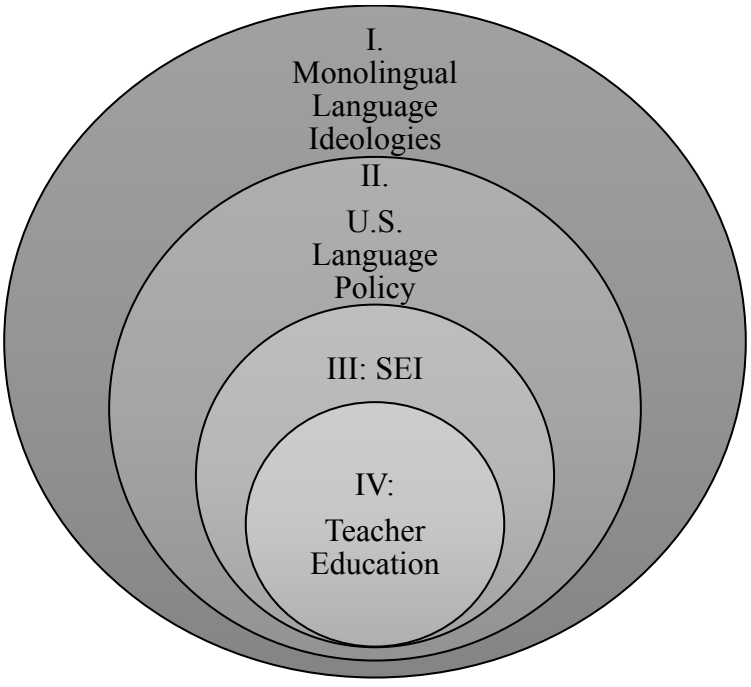

Figure 1. Organization of Sections.

Theoretical Framework: Monolingual Language Ideologies

I use the term *monolingual language ideologies* to describe ideologies through which a certain group of language practices become idealized (Bacon, 2018). This definition is situated in an understanding of language that prioritizes ideological, historical, and sociological contexts, considerations generally grouped under the umbrella of *language ideologies* (Rosa & Burdick, 2017; Silverstein, 1979, 2004). Monolingual language ideologies do not draw their effectiveness from being an accurate reflection of actual language practices, but from socially constructed ideas of what language practices *should* look like within a given nation or institution (Park, 2008).

Monolingual language ideologies undergird the logic by which languages become bounded, namable entities such as English, Mandarin, etc. (Gramling, 2014), but also delimit what is considered as permissible *within* a given language, as certain dialectal features are framed as undesirable deviations from an idealized, *standard* form of the language (Delpit & Dowdy, 2008; Lippi-Green, 2012). In this way, monolingual language ideologies facilitate the construction of language-valuation hierarchies based on proximity to idealized language features. Research in linguistics, having established the legitimacy and rule-governed nature of all naturally varying dialects (Reaser, Adger, Wolfram, & Christian, 2017; Rickford, 1999), offers little empirical support for such hierarchies, which instead generally map onto pre-existing class and racial hierarchies (Baker-Bell, 2013; Flores & Rosa, 2015; Godley, Reaser, & Moore, 2015; Rosa & Flores, 2017). In this way, monolingual language ideologies facilitate social, material, and institutional benefits for those whose language use adheres to this ideal, while

simultaneously disadvantaging those whose language use is constructed as aberrant in a given society (Achugar, 2008; Debose, 2007; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1996, 2000a, 2000b).

Why Study Monolingual Language Ideologies?

In educational research, there exists relatively little research that positions monolingual language ideologies as the primary focus (Romaine, 1995). Even the term "monolingual" generally only becomes relevant when contrasted with languages practices described as bilingual, multilingual, etc. The latter designations generally represent the primary focus of a study against which monolingualism is constructed as an implicit norm, deemed banal if not altogether unstated (Pavlenko, 2000). However, the idea of bilingualism cannot discursively function without its relationship to monolingualism, even though the latter has generally gone undertheorized and under researched (Ellis, 2006).

Studies that problematize monolingual language ideologies do not necessarily set out to position such ideologies as "good" or "bad," but rather highlight (a) that such ideologies exist, and (b) that they serve a function—functions that benefits some language users while disadvantaging others (Gramling, 2016). This position is exemplified by Horner and Trimbur (2002), who argued of monolingual language ideologies in U.S. College composition,

> We are not quarreling with the fact that writing instruction in college composition courses takes place in English. Instead we want to examine the sense of inevitability that
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> makes it so difficult to imagine writing instruction in any language other than English…. A tacit language policy of unidirectional monolingualism has a history

> and a cultural logic that have gone largely unacknowledged in our field, and… by remaining unexamined, continues to exert a powerful influence on our teaching, our writing programs, and our impact on U.S culture. (p. 595)

In this way, the study of monolingual language ideologies highlights this "sense of inevitability," by exploring practices that are predominantly designed to accommodate certain language practices over others (Hélot & Young, 2005). The study of monolingual language ideologies, therefore, connects the ideological with the material (Ellis, 2008; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000a), while questioning assumptions behind whose language practices are expected to be accommodated, and by whom (Kubota, 1998; Paris, 2011; Rodríguez-Castro, Salas, & Murray, 2016). This, ultimately, sheds light on the ways language ideologies function as a tool for social positioning and power (Bourdieu, 1991). The question of how previous research has framed these functions in regard to monolingual language ideologies is taken up in Part I, below.

Part I: Monolingual Language Ideologies and Nation Building

In this section, I provide a broad overview of how monolingual language ideologies have been conceptualized, or even overlooked, in international contexts. One reason for the under-examined nature of monolingual language ideologies is that, in many ways, monolingualism is fundamental to modern understandings of language. This is true, not only in regard to English, but to a broad range of languages in global contexts. Gramling (2016) explored what he called *the invention of monolingualism* in Western Europe between the 16th – 18th centuries. Gramling highlights three key principles of monolingualism. First, monolingualism is "the logic by which language can be made enumerable in the first place" (Gramling, 2016, p. 11). This allows for the demarcation of

what language practices reside *inside* the bounds of a particular language, and conversely, what practices can then be deemed *incorrect*. Secondly, monolingualism renders bounded, regulated languages as systems fully translatable from one to another. This renders the use of particular languages in particular settings, not as "bad or inferior, but… [as] contextually unnecessary" (p. 11). Finally, Gramling argues that monolingualism was key in developing the symbolic connections between language and nationhood. While pre-modern Europe was never a peaceful, panlinguistic utopia—speakers encountering one another would not always see language use as indicative of belonging to a political entity such as a nation. Today, Gramling attests, as nations become more broadly diverse in terms of race, ethnicity, and national origin, monolingualism increasingly functions as the primary "symbolic guarantor of social cohesion" (p. 25) and perceived citizenship.

The principles Gramling identified in Western Europe hold true in a variety of contexts. Overall, modern linguistics has largely maintained the idea of languages as bounded, enumerable units (Blommaert, 2010; Bauman & Briggs, 2003; Makoni & Pennycook, 2012). In many contexts, these bounded units remain tied to the idea of nationhood, as scholars argue that monolingual language ideologies have played a key role in nation building in contexts ranging from France (Moore, 2015) to South Korea (Park, 2008) to South Africa (Du Plessis, 2006) to the United States (Silverstein, 1996; Wiley & Lukes, 1996). It is important to note, however, that these linkages are not prioritized to the same extent across the globe. Many nations have found productive (albeit imperfect) forms of governance that grapple with the multilingual language practices that characterize their populations (Kjær & Adamo, 2016; Wright, 2016). These

arrangements can be fraught (e.g. modern secessionist movements in Quebec and Catalonia), and language hierarchies can exist within even the most ardently multilingual contexts (Odugu, 2015; Mar-Molinero & Stevenson, 2016). Still, such cases demonstrate that the degree to which monolingual language ideologies are prioritized within nation building is far from inevitable, therefore necessitating further study of the mechanisms by which such ideologies continue to be made a key principle of nation building in certain contexts (Heller & McElhinny, 2017).

In such contexts, monolingual language ideologies move from the theoretical to the material when it comes to the rights of minoritized language users within a given context. Monolingual language ideologies can not only lead to the disparaging of certain language practices, but also drive skepticism toward speakers' political allegiances (Galindo & Vigil, 2004) or presumed citizenship (Lippi-Green, 2012). This skepticism influences the degree to which minority language users are encouraged, enabled, or even allowed to maintain their heritage language practices. As May (2014) argued,

> The maintenance/support of minority languages is viewed as a willful form of communal
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> > ghettoization, while any accommodation of public multilingualism—via, for example, bilingual education—is concurrently constructed as both an obstacle to effective communication for these groups in the wider society and a threat to their social mobility. (p. 371)

Thus, the study of monolingual language ideologies has implications for our understanding of nationhood, individual rights, and language itself.

Taxonomies of Monolingualism

Ellis (2006)[1] conducted a systematic review of international scholarship that has purposively grappled with monolingual language ideologies, identifying three major representations in the literature: (1) Monolingualism as the *unmarked case*; (2) monolingualism as a *limitation*; and (3) monolingualism as a *dangerous phenomenon*. I will use Ellis's framework to provide an initial overview of monolingualism in global contexts, adding a fourth category of *ideology and habitus* as an extension of the Ellis framework.

Monolingualism as the 'unmarked case.' Markedness is a concept in the field of linguistics used to identify language practices that deviate from the supposed norm as *marked* utterances (Battistella, 1990). Monolingualism is the *unmarked case* when it is considered the default mode of language use. In educational research, monolingualism is often the assumed default (Gogolin, 1997; Matsuda, 2006), with multilingualism receiving marked status—particularly through student labels such as *ELL, LEP,* or *bilingual learners*. In this way, multilingualism becomes a way to demarcate a "special population," even when such language practices represent those used by a majority of the population (Dewaele, Housen, & Wei, 2003). Consequently, educational pedagogies and assessments are generally normed on monolingual populations (MacSwan & Rolstad, 2006) regardless of whether or not these populations represent the linguistic realities of the educational context at hand (García & Kleifgen, 2018). Moreover, multilingual populations may be purposefully excluded from studies altogether—multilingualism

[1] Note that Ellis (and other authors in this section) often use the term *monolingualism* as interchangeable with the broader belief systems I describe as *monolingual language ideologies.*

considered a confounding variable (e.g. Poulsen & Gravgaard, 2016). Monolingualism's unmarked status reinforces monolingual language ideologies by framing multilingualism as a deviation from a norm—placing the burden on multilingual populations to conform to certain idealized language practices, or risk being framed as unprofessional, uneducated, or even linguistically deficient (Flores & Rosa, 2015; Rosa, 2016).

Monolingualism as a limitation. This research frames monolingualism as a *dis*advantage for individual language users, education systems, or nations as a whole. Some of these studies discuss economic or professional disadvantages of monolingualism in an increasingly multilingual globalized workforce (Callahan & Gándara, 2014). Other studies outline the advantages of multilingualism in terms of cognitive benefit (Bialystok, 2011; Campbell & Sais, 1995), access to cultural and historical knowledge in multiple languages (Byram, 1999), or pure enjoyment (Clyne, 2003; Hawkins, 1999). Researchers taking this approach argue that monolingualism leaves individuals or systems at a disadvantage (an argument later I contrast with the lack of evidence for any population-level disadvantage in the case of English monolingualism in U.S. contexts).

Monolingualism as a dangerous phenomenon. Research in this vein extends monolingualism more specifically into the framing of a language ideology, arguing that such ideologies works to reinforce the hegemony of particular political, social, or economic hierarchies. Scholars taking this approach highlight the ways in which monolingual language ideologies have been used to marginalize certain groups while maintaining the power of others (Canagarajah, 1999; Heller & McElhinny, 2017; Motha, 2014; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1996, 2000a, 2000b). Other researchers point to monolingualism as contributing to the endangerment of minoritized languages (Huss,

Girma, & King, 2014). Scholars also argue that monolingualism has informed testing policies that occlude accurate assessment multilingual populations, leading to their inordinate tracking into remedial education (Klingner & Harry, 2006; MacSwan & Rolstad, 2006; Oller, 1997; Valdés & Figueroa, 1994).

Ideology and 'habitus.' Adding the lens of language ideologies to Ellis's (2006) categories above highlights that ideologies around "monolingualism" are not, in and of themselves, predetermined properties of a society or an individual speaking only one language (literal monolingualism). Rather, at the broader level, monolingual *language ideologies* function to reproduce certain values or hierarchies in a given society. Language practices that are truly *mono*-lingual are rarely reflective of actual language usage in any given society, as individuals draw on a variety of registers, dialectal features, and personal language choices (MacSwan, 2017). Therefore, ideological work must be done to maintain monolingualism's unmarked status. This work is often geared toward maintaining the *idea* of a monolingual—i.e. linguistically unified—nation state in the face of increasing multilingualism and/or immigration (Park, 2008). Schooling, as one of the only institutions a majority of a population is required to engage with in many countries, is uniquely positioned to accomplish this work in promulgating particular ideologies of language (Blommaert, 2010).

Some studies characterize the reproduction of monolingual language ideologies through schooling as a monolingual *habitus*, borrowing Bourdieu's (1991) concept to describe internalized behavioral structures that determine how individuals act within societal constraints. Gogolin (1994) appears to be the first to use the term *monolingual habitus*, which she employed to describe the entrenched assumptions of monolingualism

as the "norm" in Western European education. Gogolin's (1997) ethnography of classroom in Germany exemplifies how, even in supposedly multilingual classrooms, student language use will drift toward the monolingual habitus of a dominant language. Hélot & Young (2005) and Young (2014) identified a similar habitus among teachers in France, while Karrebæk (2013) complexified the drivers of such practices to include school-authorities, parents, and students themselves in co-creating Danish monolingualism.

Monolingual Language Ideologies and Global English

The research reviewed thus far has demonstrated that monolingual language ideologies, tied to modern understandings of language, nationhood, and citizenship, can potentially impact any language. While there is certainly the potential for a particular set of linguistic norms to become a dominating or hegemonic *habitus* within any language system, under current global economic and linguistic realities, English merits unique consideration. At no point in history has a single language exerted the degree of influence English does today (Shin, 2007). This has led to a proliferation of scholarship on English as a global *lingua franca* (Jenkins, 2007; MacKenzie, 2013; May, 2014; Ricento, 2015) or, through a more problematizing frame, as an agent in global *linguistic imperialism* (Motha, 2014; Phillipson, 1992, 2009).

The momentum of English and its spread impacts even the most ardently multilingual contexts. Students are often compelled to study English in a range of global contexts (Hélot & Young, 2005; Jenkins, 2007; Park, 2009). Researchers have increasingly documented English learning purely as a status marker even when it serves no practical communicative purpose (Song, 2011, 2012) or is not widely understood by

the intended audience (Blommaert, 2005). Perhaps paradoxically, the increasing global dominance of English may be driving *reactionary* monolingual language ideologies in contexts such as France (Hélot & Young, 2005), Hong Kong (Chan, 2002), and Quebec (Fallon & Rublik, 2012; Lamarre, 2012) where heritage language advocacy has resulted in backlash against bilingualism—when bilingualism becomes synonymous with English learning.

Thus, monolingual language ideologies around global English continue to impact a variety of professional fields, including international business (Janssens, & Steyaert, 2014), academic publication (Canagarajah, 2002; Curry, & Lillis, 2004), research (Nguyen, 2017; Singh, 2017), global media (Demont-Heinrich, 2007), and TV/film (Petrucci, 2008; Planchenault, 2008). These ideologies are often racialized, as the related concept of an idealized, monolingual, 'Native English Speaker' (Aneka, 2016; Canagarajah, 1999, 2013) instills a perception of English *ownership* by white, monolingual citizens of English-dominant countries (Holliday, 2009; Ruecker, 2011). This phenomenon plays a key role in hiring practices in global English education (Mahboob, 2005), bolstered by student and parent demand for English teacher to be 'Native Speakers,' a standard primarily on country of birth and perceived proximity to whiteness (Park, 2009; Ruecker & Ives, 2015; Todd & Pojanapunya, 2009). This perception also impacts teaching practices through what Phillipson (1992) described as the 'monolingual fallacy'—the idea that English should be taught entirely through the medium of English. Such English-only approaches function to obviate the need for English instructors themselves to be multilingual (a characteristic of SEI in U.S. contexts which will resurface in Part III).

Part II: Monolingual Language Ideologies in U.S. Contexts[2]

This section explores how the conceptualizations of monolingual language ideologies outlined above apply to U.S. contexts, specifically. While many of the characteristics of monolingual language ideologies in global contexts remain relevant, the U.S. also has a unique history that impacts how these ideologies manifest, and for whom. Most notably, much of the research outlining monolingualism as a *limitation* (Ellis, 2006) fails to pan out in U.S. contexts in any practical, material terms. Despite increased marketing in U.S. contexts around the economic and cognitive benefits of multilingualism (Katznelson & Bernstein, 2017; Valdez, Delavan, & Freire, 2016), I have located no studies to date that have demonstrated any population-level limitations in terms of education, prosperity, or political representation for monolingual English-speakers in the U.S. as a result of their monolingualism. Monolingual individuals—particularly when afforded access to additional privileges such as whiteness, maleness, abledness, and heteronormativity—control much of the nation's wealth and institutional access. By some measures, they even appear to be *advantaged* by their monolingualism in regard to political power through unquestioned notions of their "American-ness" (Archibugi, 2005; Matsuda & Duran, 2013; Stavans, 2017). In addition, the nation's consistent history of policies geared toward English monolingualism (Wiley, 2000, 2014) have not prevented the U.S. from maintaining its status as a largely unopposed global superpower.

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[2] Bounding the literature below to U.S. contexts, I will henceforth use the terms *monolingual, monolingualism,* and *monolingual language ideologies* in reference to the English language, and the dialectal variations of English framed as "standard" in U.S. contexts (see Lippi-Green, 2014 for a discussion of "standard" as an ideological distinction rather than a concept grounded in linguistic realities).

Thus, arguments of monolingualism as a *limitation*—on an individual or national level—must be reconsidered and complexified when it comes to the U.S. In the U.S. context, the category of monolingualism as a limitation expands to a question: For whom, and in what contexts is monolingualism a limitation? Relatedly, this question can be reversed to ask for whom, and in what contexts, monolingualism can be an advantage. It is consequentially necessary to examine how monolingual language ideologies have worked as an advantage for some and the detriment of others in U.S. contexts. In this section, therefore, I take up this examination in relation to the history of U.S. language policy. Far from a comprehensive history, this section highlights key shifts and continuities in how monolingual language ideologies have been operationalized in U.S. language policy across four focal eras: The Colonial era, the Americanization era, and the Civil Rights era, and today. This analysis will help to complexify the narratives around monolingual language ideologies, highlighting the ways in which movements toward English-monolingualism have been operationalized for both restrictive as well as *productive*[3] ends across these eras. Specifically, this section illustrates why the study of monolingual language ideologies in U.S. contexts must account for the role played by race and racism in how these ideologies are operationalized across constructions of racial difference.

Colonial Language Policies: Multilingual Realities and Racial Differentiation

Language policies geared toward linguistic homogeneity have long been a tool of nation building, colonialism, and empire (Motha, 2014; Phillipson, 1992). However, it is

[3] As previously stated, p*roductive*, in this case, does not necessarily mean "positive" or "beneficial." Rather, I use the term in the active sense of *producing* idealized categories, assumptions, or subject positions (Allan, 2008).

important to note that monolingualism has never represented an actual reflection of language practices on the North American continent. Over 300 Native American languages were spoken in the area now considered to comprise the U.S. (Brisk, 2006; Kloss, 1998). Throughout the colonial era, the language practices of both Native Americans and European colonists alike were characterized by multilingualism as a social, economic, and political necessity (McCarty, 2004). In the early years of U.S. nationhood, it was common for both federal and state declarations to be printed into the variety of European languages (Crawford, 1999, 2000), and public schooling was often delivered in whichever European language was spoken by students in the area (for those allowed to participate in schooling), including Swedish, Norwegian, Danish, Dutch, Polish and Italian (de Jong, 2011).

Considering the multilingual realities that characterized the North American continent, the question remains why certain language practices were accommodated and others compelled toward monolingualism. Applying the lens of monolingualism as a *racialized* language ideology highlights the fact that such accommodations were almost exclusively afforded in the case of European languages, while uses of non-European languages, particularly among populations of color, were often restricted or banned outright (Wiley, 2000, 2014). Native American languages, for example, were regarded as inferior and potently subversive within early U.S. language policy (Spring, 2016). Likewise, it was common practice for enslaved Africans to be segregated into heterogeneous language groups, a practice largely intended to prevent revolt (McCarty, 2004; Rickford & Rickford, 2000). U.S. policies compelled both populations and their descendants toward English monolingualism, often while forbidding access to literacy

and public schooling (Dunbar-Ortiz, 2014; Smith, 2013; Ogbu, 2004). Both African and Native American cultural and linguistic practices were widely characterized inferior by Europeans and their U.S. descendants, contributing to the development of a unique American narrative of White supremacy that justified continued enslavement (Baugh, 1999; Debose, 2007; Kendi, 2016) appropriation of Native American lands (Dunbar-Ortiz, 2014; Grande, 2015), and broader forms of structural and interpersonal violence against both populations. As such, the distinctions between language tolerance and repression in the early years of U.S. nationhood largely fell along lines of race and racialized codifications of nationality.

The "Americanization" Era: Monolingualism and Assimilationism

These distinctions continued through the *Americanization Era* of the early 20th century (Handlin, 1982; Higham, 1998), when language policies became a key feature of a nativist backlash against immigration (Galindo, 2011). An unprecedented increase in immigration from non-Anglophone countries in the 1900s led the U.S. to enact explicit language-based immigration policies, including the *Naturalization Act* of 1906, which made the ability to speak English a requirement for naturalized citizenship, and the *Immigration Act* of 1924, which included a system of quotas privileging immigrants from English-speaking countries. European immigrants also faced discrimination and struggled under the pressures toward linguistic and cultural assimilation (Barrett, 1992; Isenberg, 2017; Mirel, 2010). However, male European immigrants who could meet the malleable U.S. standards of Whiteness were afforded various points of access to participate in the expansion of a settler state designed to accommodate them and their eventual descendants through privileges such as land allowances (e.g. Homestead Acts, 1862-1934; Shanks,

2005), voting rights, and access to public schooling for them and their families (Omi & Winant, 2014; Spring, 2016). While no guarantee to unfettered prosperity, "Americanization," including assimilation to monolingualism, generally afforded the descendants of European immigrants access to the potentialities of U.S. citizenship and Whiteness within one to two generations (Roediger, 2006).

For populations racialized as non-White, assimilation to monolingualism came with few of the benefits afforded to those who could fit the U.S. standards of Whiteness. Though restrictive language policies continued to compel African Americans and Native Americans toward English monolingualism, assimilation to monolingualism guaranteed no change in legal status for African Americans or Native Americans who remained disenfranchised and barred from education, employment, and civic participation for generations (Dunbar-Ortiz, 2014). Chinese citizens faced a full immigration ban in 1882, the first in U.S. history, partially based on the argument that Chinese immigrants maintained their heritage languages, ostensibly refusing to assimilate linguistically (Lee, 2003). Likewise, Spanish-speaking citizens of Mexican territories claimed by the U.S. after the Mexican-American war were compelled to embrace English (Crawford, 2000; Griswold del Castillo, 1998), but those who did not qualify for the American legal construction of Whiteness continued to be denied full access to many of the benefits of U.S. Citizenship (Spring, 2016).

Civil Rights to Legislated English

Racial anxiety continued to play a role in U.S. language policy during and after the Civil Rights era. It should be noted that educational advocates won increased recognition for the racially and linguistically diverse populations in U.S. schools during

this era, including the *Bilingual Education Act* of 1968 and the Supreme Court ruling in *Lau V. Nichols* in 1974. In *Lau,* the court determined that students in English-only education settings "who do not understand English are effectively foreclosed from any meaningful education," (1974, n.p.), and established refusals to accommodate linguistic diversity as a civil rights violation. However, in the largely decentralized U.S. education system, such federal mandates carry little directive weight how policies are implemented (Fusarelli, 2002; Hill, Ross, Serafine, & Levy, 2008; Spillane, 2009). Thus, in many ways, individual state policies provide a more accurate reflection of the nation's language ideological climate than federal policies.

At the state level, the decades following initial civil rights victories saw an unprecedented push for English-only legislation. Prior to 1981, only two states (Illinois, 1923; Nebraska, 1923) had laws declaring English the official language of the state. For most of U.S. history, there was little widespread concern that the nation's overwhelmingly dominant language needed legal protection (Crawford, 2000). However, state policies in the late 20th century developed within a context of backlash against the Civil Rights movement and shifts in immigration patterns, particularly increased immigration from Latin America (de Jong, 2011). This racialized backlash was fueled by a spike in political rhetoric around undocumented migration (Hornberger, Harsch, & Evans, 1999) and projections that the U.S. would become a "majority minority" nation by the mid 2000s (Arington, 1991). Within this context, 27 additional states passed legislation declaring English the official state language. Despite the construction of such policies to discriminate based on language, not race, such policies have since been shown to have a disproportionate impact on multilingual communities of color (Macedo, 2000),

erecting barriers to civic participation, immigration, voting, employment, and legal due process (Angermeyer, 2008; Barros, 2017; Wiley & Lukes, 1996).

Modern Monolingualism: Language as Racial Proxy

Today, the fact that the U.S. has no official national language is often held up to project an ethos of multilingual inclusivity. However, with only an estimated 3% of the nation's students enrolled in bilingual education programs (Goldenberg & Wagner, 2015) the overwhelming majority of U.S. students receive monolingual English instruction through explicit or *de facto* English-Only education policies—policies largely determined at the state level (García & Kleifgen, 2018; Shin, 2018). Similarly, while there has been a recent rise in the popularity of dual language education programs in the nation as a whole (Lindholm-Leary, 2012), at the local level, it becomes clear that much of this growth results from the popularization among such programs among the White, monolingual students of the upper class in what Valdez, Freire, and Delavan (2016) dubbed "the gentrification of Dual Language education" (p. 601).

Thus racialized, monolingual language ideologies also become particularly germane to perceptions of who is, or is not, considered "American." As in the past, even full assimilation to monolingualism generally grants unquestioned citizen status only to those perceived to be White, while people of color often retain the status of "perpetual foreigner" in U.S. racial discourse (Huynh, Devos, & Smalarz, 2011; Ng, Lee, & Pak, 2007). For these populations, English monolingualism is no guarantee against an onslaught of commentary on speaking English "so well" (Tsuda, 2014), being "so articulate" (Alim & Smitherman, 2012), or questions of "where are you from/*really* from/does your *family* come"—questions comedian Hari Kondabolu distilled down to

"Hey, why aren't you White?" (2011, n.p.). The racialized components of these language ideologies have even been shown to drive *accent hallucination*, the perception of a 'non-standard' accent when listening to a speaker of color, regardless of whether any such accent exists (Fought, 2006; Rubin, 1992). Racialized monolingual language ideologies, therefore, not only presume a default language in English, but intersects with the presumption of a default race in Whiteness (Burrows, 2010; Petrucci, 2008; Pérez & Enciso, 2017; Schwartz, & Boovy, 2017).

Despite a recent emboldening of White nationalism, U.S. society generally purports to condemn public displays of overt racism (Annamma, Jackson, & Morrison, 2017; Ladson-Billings, 1998; López, 2015). Exceptions are often made, however, for anti-immigrant sentiment (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2009) or discrimination based on language practices (Flores & Rosa, 2019; Godley et al., 2015; Matsuda & Duran, 2013)—both generally seen as more palatable, or plausibly deniable, forms of racism. Thus, in a time of what Bonilla-Silva (2018) described as an age of *racism without racists*, language, and its connection to perceived national origin and citizenship status, has become a key proxy for institutionalized discrimination, and racial profiling U.S. contexts (Hassan & Shoichet, 2016; Rosa, 2018; Stack, 2019).

As Wolfe (2006) has posited, settler nations residing on stolen indigenous land must continue to ideologically justify their existence to maintain their dominance. Monolingual language ideologies are key part of this maintenance, particularly for the U.S., where the history and continued vitality of multilingual language practices across the nation must be reckoned with through "endless language ideological work that problematizes and explains away sociolinguistic phenomena that do not fit the

monolingual vision of society" (Park, 2008, p. 333). Monolingual language ideologies, therefore, continue to play a *productive* role in U.S. society, not as a reflection of actual language practices, but in working to legitimize the continued existence of the U.S. as a linguistically homogenous settler nation and to underscore its racialized language policies. The unique history of language policy in the U.S. demonstrates the ways in which monolingual language ideologies—with their idealization of certain language practices, and the linking of language practices to race and nationality—offers contingent benefits to certain populations in certain contexts. This manifests most outwardly through individual states and their implementation of English-only education policies, which I examine in Part III.

Part III: SEI and Monolingual Language Ideologies

In practical terms, the maintenance of a language ideology as described above is largely accomplished through schooling (Blommaert, 2010). As previously stated, a key feature of the U.S. policy landscape is that educational policies are largely decided at the individual state level. Recently, three U.S. States have been identified as "ground zero" for the fight against restrictive language policies (Wiley, 2012) for to their enactment of voter-initiated English-Only education policies—California (1998), Arizona (2000), and Massachusetts (2002). Though two of these states have since overturned these policies (California, 2016; Massachusetts, 2018), the processes by which these policies were enacted, and even how some were repealed, provides productive grounds to explore the explicit and documented codification of monolingual language ideologies, and the ways in which they continue to exert effects even after the repeal of specific English-only legislation.

Therefore, in this section, I draw on these initiatives to exemplify how monolingual language ideologies manifest within these English-only education initiatives. As each of these states self-identify their legislated English-only instructional model as Sheltered English Immersion (SEI), I examine the development of SEI as an instructional model and its embrace within English-only education mandates. This examination demonstrates how models developed in Canada to promote bilingualism were reoriented toward monolingualism in the language ideological context of the U.S. Since the ballot initiatives in all three states were designed and promoted by the same initiative (*English for the Children;* see Haver, 2013), I analyze the policies in aggregate. This should not be taken as a diminishment of the important distinctions between the states' individual histories of SEI passage, resistance, and advocacy, which have been previously documented (see McField, 2014).

Structured and Sheltered Immersion

In exploring the development of SEI, it is necessary to differentiate between SEI as described in research and SEI as implemented in educational policy, the latter having become increasingly geared toward monolingualism in U.S. contexts. SEI draws from a synthesis of two approaches to language learning more broadly—*structured immersion* and *sheltered instruction*—both abbreviated as SI. Baker and de Kanter (1983) used the term *structured immersion* to describe their interpretation of successful French (as a second language) immersion programs in Canada. In their description, structured immersion involved instruction delivered primarily in the target language (L2) by a teacher who understands students' primary language (L1) and permits students to use this L1. In Baker and de Kanter's initial articulation of structured immersion, students also

received L1 language arts instruction for 30-60 minutes a day. While learning academic content (i.e. math, science, history) was a partial focus of structured immersion, the main priority of the method is learning the target language, not academic content (August, Goldenberg, & Rueda, 2010).

The other SI, *sheltered instruction* was popularized by Edwards, Wesche, Krashen, Clement, and Kruidenier (1984) and Krashen (1991). This method, also based on Canadian models geared toward English-French bilingualism, emphasized learning academic content alongside the simultaneous acquisition of an additional language. The initial research described sheltered instruction as a model in which instruction takes place wholly in the target language, with teachers' leveling their use of the target language and scaffolding students' learning to maintain a focus on comprehensible input (Krashen, 1985). Importantly, Edwards et al. (1984) and Krashen (1991) developed sheltered instruction for use with "intermediate-level English language acquirers" (Edwards et al., p. 145), not for beginners (McField, 2014).

From SI to SEI

The two SI models were brought together in U.S. contexts within the *English For the Children* initiative and Proposition 227, California's 1997 ballot initiative for English-Only education (Haver, 2013). The ballot initiative described the two models as interchangeable, defining SEI as:

> Sheltered English immersion" or "structured English immersion" means an English language acquisition process for young children in which nearly all classroom instruction is in English but with the curriculum and presentation designed for children who are learning the language. (Proposition 227, 1997, n.p.)

Notably, the original French immersion programs in Canada that inspired structured immersion were designed for mainstream majority speakers of English to become proficient in a second, minoritized language with the goal of full French-English bilingualism (Cummins, 2014; Martinez-Wenzl, Pérez, & Gándara, 2012). In other words, the model was initially designed for English speakers in an English-dominant country to become bilingual. In contrast, Proposition 227's SEI reversed this dynamic, applying to the model to students speaking minoritized languages, with no mention of bilingualism as the eventual goal.

Proposition 227 served as an archetype for similar successful ballot initiatives[4] in Arizona (Proposition 203, 2000) and Massachusetts (Question 2, 2002). The subsequent initiatives maintained that teachers could use "a minimal amount of the child's native language when necessary" (Question 2, 2002, n.p.), but were unclear around students' use of languages other than English. These propositions also added the stipulation that books and instructional materials would be in English. All three propositions set the duration of students' participation in SEI programs at one year, in contrast with research suggesting a minimum of four to seven years to learn an additional language (Hakuta, Butler, & Witt, 2000; Thomas & Collier, 1997), and also gave no mention of the maintenance of students' heritage languages or the eventual goal of bilingualism.

Enduring Shifts

In aggregate, these propositions and their subsequent implementation solidified six key changes in the transition from the Canadian SI models to the U.S. interpretation

[4] See Escamilla, Shannon, Carlos, & García (2003) for analysis of an *un*successful 2002 English-only ballot initiative in Colorado.

of SEI: (1) The explicit addition of "English" into the model name (from SI to SEI); (2) The merging of structured immersion and sheltered instruction as interchangeable terms; (3) The generalization of the approach to learners at all English levels (instead of intermediate learners only); (4) The omission of an L1 language learning block; (5) The implication that students would learn English *and all other academic content* exclusively through English;(6) The removal of the imperative that teachers speak students' L1—reversing this distinction to require that "teaching personnel possess a good knowledge of the English Language" (Proposition 227, 1997, n.p.; Also see Austin, 2009). Through these policies, and the continued popularization of SEI as a teaching model, these characteristics have increasingly come to characterize the practice of SEI in U.S. contexts, even beyond the three states with mandated SEI (Johnson, Stephens, Nelson, & Johnson, 2018; Mora, 2009; Ray-Subramanian, 2011).

Through a language ideological lens, the shift from SI to SEI represents an unsurprising "regression to the mean" of monolingual language ideologies in policy and practice. Represented rather overtly through the literal insertion of "English" into "SI," the trajectory from SI to SEI vividly demonstrates the mechanisms by which monolingual language ideologies manifest as language policies are interpreted, and voted on, through the lens of these ideologies. Moreover, the success of these initiatives in three states demographically, geographically, and politically distinct from one another demonstrates that monolingual language ideologies in the U.S. transcend regional or political affiliations and thus cannot be dismissed as an ideological extreme advocated by small groups (Crawford, 2000). Rather, there is broad appeal, and support for, policies informed by monolingual language ideologies in a range of U.S. contexts.

While the research conducted on these ballot initiatives and their aftermath has been significant, much of the scholarship on these English-only movements paints monolingual language ideologies primarily in terms of anti-bilingualism. While this may be the case in some settings, recent research has demonstrated that the monolingual language ideologies operating through such legislation are more complex than simple anti-bilingualism. Fitzsimmons-Doolan (2014), for example, conducted a factor analysis on a survey of Arizona voters after an English-Only ballot initiative. Her analysis identified pro-monolingualism and pro-multilingualism as two *separate* constructs in that individual participants could load highly onto *both* ideologies. Viesca (2013) outlined a paradox in which Massachusetts's English-only policy was framed an initiative toward educational quality and equity, even as it resulted in racialized disparities. Katznelson and Bernstein (2017) analyzed the ballot initiative through which Californians overwhelmingly voted to *repeal* the state's ban on bilingual education, noting a rebranding of bilingualism as *multilingualism*—cosmopolitan, economically viable, and advantageous for "all children" (p. 22). These complexities are further corroborated by recent scholarship demonstrating the high demand for dual language immersion among the White, largely-monolingual, middle-class alongside the continued lack of access to bilingual education for multilingual students of color (García, 2011; Shin, 2018; Valdez, et al., 2016). Such research provides further impetus to analyze the racialized nature of monolingual language ideologies in U.S. language policy and ways in which these ideologies continue, even in the absence of an overtly restrictive English-only language policy, as explored in Part IV.

Part IV: Teacher Education and Extrajudicial English-Only

A Multilingual Horizon?

Advocates for bilingual education have achieved substantial victories in confronting English-only educational mandates. In 2016, California voters overturned the state's ban on bilingual education. In 2017, Massachusetts state congress approved a law allowing for increased flexibility in programming for bilingual students, including a state seal of biliteracy (DESE, 2018). However, as this piece has demonstrated, monolingual language ideologies can influence education with or without explicit English-only mandates, which represent only one manifestation of these ideologies in U.S. educational policy—as demonstrated by the other 47 U.S. states which, despite never having had an outright ban on bilingual education, educate the overwhelming majority of their students in English-only settings (Goldenberg & Wagner, 2015). Furthermore, the implementation of bilingual or dual-language education programming does not, in itself, guarantee the mitigation of linguistic and racial discrimination (Alvarado, 2019; Flores, 2017). As such, it remains necessary to continue examining the ways in which monolingual language ideologies can be maintained extrajudicially. Massachusetts, for example, endured 15 respective years of mandated monolingualism in education and practice, and as Hopewell, Escamilla, Soltero-González, and Slavick (in press) described, bilingual education is notoriously difficult to revive after restrictive language policies have left teachers trained exclusively in English-only education methods.

Thus, this final section explores teacher education as a key site in which monolingual language ideologies can be maintained or disrupted. I first highlight the pivotal role played by teachers as language policy interpreters, particularly within in SEI

programming, before exploring the role teacher education continues to play in maintaining extrajudicial English-only. I illustrate the latter phenomenon through the Massachusetts SEI endorsement mandate, highlighting a teacher education policy that remains in place even after the repeal of the state's English-only education law. My analysis of this mandate demonstrates how the theoretical framework of monolingual language ideologies developed throughout this piece can be applied to a specific policy. In turn, this analysis reveals a range of accommodations provided to "shelter" a presumed audience of English-dominant teachers, students, and curricula.

Teachers as SEI Policy Interpreters

State-mandated instructional policies such as SEI mandate have a profound impact on teacher practice (Ogawa, Sandholtz, Martinez-Flores, & Scribner, 2003; Rowan & Miskel, 1999). However, teachers are not simply passive recipients of knowledge (Hargreaves & Fullan, 2012), and are often understood to be the primary influencers of educational change (Datnow, Hubbard, & Mehan, 2002). While teachers are rarely included in the creation of policy, they play an active role in policy interpretation and implementation, particularly when it comes to language policy (Skilton-Sylvester, 2003; Shohamy, 2006).

Recognition of this key role played by teachers has led to a growing body of research on how teachers and local district actors as interpret, implement, and/or appropriate language policy (Arias & Wiley, 2013; de Jong, Gort, & Cobb, 2005; Menken & García, 2010). In researching the implementation of SEI mandates, scholars have focused on teachers and other school personnel who find ways to disrupt SEI mandates when they view them as problematic for their learners (de Jong, 2008;

Newcomer & Collier, 2015; Wright & Choi, 2006). Marschall, Rigby, & Jenkins (2011) borrow Lipsky's (1980) concept of "street-level bureaucrats" to highlight the power of local actors in interpreting SEI policies. The researchers noted the importance of empowering "cultural brokers," having found "less faithful adoption of an English monolingualism priority in schools with higher proportions of Latino teachers and/or a Latino principal" (p. 3). Likewise, Gort, de Jong, & Cobb (2008) documented ways in which three districts resisted Massachusetts' SEI mandate, structuring ways to maintain bilingual education while still obeying the letter of the law under the state's English-only policy. Through this research, Gort et al. concluded that SEI "does not have a fixed meaning but will necessarily be socially constructed within each context by the beliefs, experiences, and histories of the individuals involved" (2008, p. 41)

SEI & Teacher Education

Innovations such as those described by Gort et al. (2008) are only possible with teachers who understand a wide range of language program models and practices (Flores, Keehn, & Pérez, 2002; Hopewell et al., in press). However, SEI mandates and the overall popularity of SEI as an instructional model have resulted in teachers receiving less instruction around bilingual pedagogies through the focused prioritization English-only SEI methods (Montaño, Ulanoff, Quintanar-Sarellana, & Aoki, 2005; Park, 2014; Ulanoff, 2014). While there have been numerous legal challenges to educating emergent bilinguals in English-only settings, rulings generally place blame for any shortcomings in such programming on inadequate teacher training rather than the restrictive language policies themselves (Faltis & Valdés, 2016). States and districts, therefore, are often able to redress these legal challenges, not by making changes to restrictive language policies,

but by mandating coursework or professional development for SEI endorsement, even while the discrepancies in academic success for emergent bilingual students remain (Varga, Margolius, Yan, Cole, & Zaff, 2017).

Though it is broadly acknowledged that teachers need a range of linguistic, cultural, and pedagogical understandings to effectively teach emergent bilinguals (Bunch, 2013; Harper & De Jong, 2009; Lucas & Grinberg, 2008; Proctor, Boardman, & Hiebert, 2016) state-sanctioned teacher preparation around SEI generally prioritizes the technical aspects of making English-only content comprehensible (Viesca, 2013). Often based on scripted curricula provided by the state, much of this teacher training generally promotes a limited understanding of the principles of second language acquisition (Arias & Wiley, 2013). Such trainings generally provide teachers with incomplete understandings of how to work with emergent bilinguals (Montaño et al., 2005; Olivos & Sarmiento, 2006) and often exclude focus on bilingual education methods or how to capitalize on students' full range of linguistic resources (Cline & Necochea, 2004; de Jong, 2014).

This strategies-emphasis of SEI teacher education posits that, by learning a particular set of discrete educational strategies to "differentiate" a monolingual curriculum for multilingual students, teachers will be able to provide access to rigorous, content-area instruction in a sheltered way (Crawford & Reyes, 2015). Such differentiation is likely to far exceed the effectiveness of "sink or swim" approaches that provide no support for linguistically diverse populations whatsoever. However, it remains unlikely that this theory of change—which still relies on teaching students through language in which they are still developing competencies—will ever lead to full

academic parity for multilingual students with their monolingual English-speaking peers (García & Kleifgen, 2018).

SEI *Productions*: The Massachusetts SEI Endorsement Mandate

In light of this broader context of teacher education, the Massachusetts SEI Endorsement mandate provides a compelling illustration of language ideologies in teacher education. Cited by the U.S. department of justice in 2011, not for its 2002 English-only educational mandate, but by not having mandating adequate training for its SEI teachers (DOJ, 2011a), Massachusetts was compelled to implement an ambitious plan to train all of the state's 60,000+ general educators in SEI over a four-year period. While the English-only education mandate was overturned in 2018, the SEI endorsement course remains a requirement for all current and preservice teachers in the state (DESE, 2019a, 2019b). Thus, on paper, the repeal of an explicit English-only law provides further flexibility for districts in the state to implement a range of language program models, including bilingual education. However, somewhat ironically, this change has occurred almost immediately after the entirety of the state's teaching force had been trained in English-only SEI methods, essentially encoding SEI as the path-of-least-resistance program model (see Bacon, Paper 2).

Using an SEI endorsement course, designed within an English-only policy context, as the primary tool by which to engage in "rethinking equity for English language learners" (DESE, 2012) provokes necessary questions through a framework of monolingual language ideologies. The research explored throughout this paper has questioned the soundness of English-only SEI as an instructional method, and has even documented deleterious effects of SEI mandates for emergent bilingual students and their

teachers (e.g. Arias & Faltis, 2012; Uriarte, Tung, Lavan, & Diaz, 2010; Wright, 2014). Such research highlights important consequences of monolingual language ideologies in restrictive language policy contexts, the implications of which must continue to be studied. However, a language ideology that produces *only* negative effects would fail to gain such systematic traction if it did not also have some degree of utility, at least for some (Gramling, 2016). It thus becomes necessary to examine who *benefits* from particular language ideologies, or what power structures are reinforced through the maintenance of a monolingual habitus (Gogolin, 1994; Foucault, 1972; Silverstein, 1996).

The framework of monolingual language ideologies developed throughout this piece provides a lens through which to analyze language policies as *productive.* This allows for an analysis of how SEI endorsement coursework produces certain assumptions, subject positions, and a constrained range of policy outcomes. The Massachusetts SEI endorsement course itself, for example, reflects SEI training in the U.S. more broadly in its emphasis on pedagogies by which to differentiate, scaffold, and otherwise "shelter" English-only instruction for emergent bilingual students (DESE, 2014; Haynes, August, & Paulsen, 2012; Haynes & Paulsen, 2013; Imeh, in press). However, through a framework that highlights monolingual language ideologies as *productive*, such programming can be analyzed, not only as accommodating emergent bilinguals, but *also* as producing accommodations for monolingual teachers, students, and state curricula/assessments. In other words, in addition to SEI "sheltering" content for emergent bilinguals, this analysis also asks who or what *else* is "sheltered" through the implementation of an SEI endorsement initiative. Below, I explore this question,

applying the framework of monolingual ideologies developed throughout this piece to analyze the Massachusetts SEI endorsement mandate. Providing illustrations from the SEI endorsement policy itself as well as training manuals and materials related to the endorsement course, I offer four examples of "sheltered" monolingual language ideologies that are produced through SEI. These include sheltering monolingual (1) pedagogies, (2) teachers, (3) students, and (4) race-evasive teacher education. Together, these productions shed light on the ways in which monolingual language ideologies are produced and maintained within a specific teacher education policy.

SEI as Monolingual Accommodation: Who is being "Sheltered?"

Sheltering [monolingual] pedagogies. Within its training materials, the Massachusetts SEI endorsement frames as the core purpose of the course as follows.

> The purpose of this course is to prepare the Commonwealth's teachers with the knowledge and skills to effectively shelter their content instruction so that our growing population of English language learners (ELLs) can access curriculum, achieve academic success, and contribute their multilingual and multicultural resources as participants and future leaders in the 21st century global economy. (DESE, 2014, p. 7)

Through this framing, the course does acknowledge multilingualism as a resource. However, the remainder of the course curriculum exclusively provides teachers with pedagogical strategies geared toward English language development (DESE, 2014), and none of the available research-backed strategies by which students could further develop or maintain these multilingual resources (see García & Kleifgen, 2018 for overviews of such strategies). If, as intended, teachers follow the strategies taught within this course

across the state and throughout students' years of schooling, students may indeed develop varying degrees of English proficiency. However, it is left entirely unclear how students will maintain, develop, and/or "contribute" their multilingual resources though the SEI instructional model. With little time dedicated to the existence of other program models and pedagogies, the course produces monolingual language ideologies through teacher education that the *equates* English-only SEI with instruction for linguistically diverse populations writ large, rather than one model of many.

Sheltering [monolingual] teachers. Though the SEI endorsement course has become a requirement for earning and maintaining teacher licensure in Massachusetts, no coursework or demonstrated proficiency in the languages commonly spoken among multilingual students in the state is required (DESE, 2019a). Previous research on this endorsement has highlighted a paradox in which teacher monolingualism is framed as a fixed state, while students are expected to learn additional languages to accommodate teachers' monolingualism (Bacon, 2018). While this is not to suggest the viability, or even the appropriacy, of requiring all teachers to be multilingual, this disconnect demonstrates the logic by which students are expected to conform to the linguistic realities of monolingual school contexts, rather than the other way around. With students legally guaranteed access to the *least restrictive learning environment* (U.S. Department of Education, 2005) for learning, the fact that English-only environments have come to be interpreted as such—even for students who learn content less readily in an English-only environment—is a notable illustration of monolingual language ideologies. Thus, the pedagogical and legislative encouragement, even mandating, of such environments

through Massachusetts SEI endorsement exemplifies one of the conditions produced through monolingual language ideologies.

Sheltering [monolingual] students. This sheltering also leads to a third production of monolingual language ideologies—the production of the outside academic, professional, and social world as monolingual, in contrast to the multilingual realities of the U.S. and the global economy more broadly (Shin, 2018). As such, SEI is not only an accommodation for monolingual teachers, but also "shelters" monolingual students from being exposed to the multilinguistic realities that exist outside of their artificially-monolingual school contexts. These students can exclusively speak and learn in the language in which they are most comfortable, sheltered from the challenges of trying to learn in a language they do not know or are still developing. For many, their language use is framed as the most closely aligned with academic language than that of their multilingual (and multidialectal) peers.

Again, this is not to argue that this learning environment is necessarily inappropriate for these students. In fact, the very notion of an "achievement gap" in which English-dominant students outperform their peers deemed ELLs *demonstrates* the ways in which English-dominant students have benefitted from these accommodations. Being taught and assessed in a language with which one is most comfortable, it appears, significantly boosts educational outcomes. However, it is a production of monolingual language ideologies that this sort of sheltering is deemed appropriate for English-dominant students, but the same sheltering is denied to emergent bilinguals. There are indeed debates around which particular pedagogical models are appropriate for teaching emergent bilinguals both English and academic content based on various contextual and

individual factors (see Honigsfeld, 2009; MacSwan, Thompson, Rolstad, McAlister, & Lobo, 2017; Potowski, 2016; Rolstad, Mahoney, & Glass, 2005). However, the unquestioned normalcy of "achievement gaps" as inevitable, or indications of "[in]adequate teacher training," (DOJ, 2011, p. 1.), rather than as gaps constructed by accommodating monolingual students is an illustration of the constraints produced and maintained through monolingual language ideologies.

Furthermore, the very notion of sheltering or accommodating emergent bilinguals within SEI belies a curriculum that has been designed with a different (monolingual) student in mind. Thus, an SEI endorsement with the purpose of ensuring "that our growing population of English language learners (ELLs) can access curriculum" (DESE, 2014, p. 7) provokes an examination of the notion of "access." If one needs to *access* a curriculum or institution, one is necessarily pre-positioned as already existing outside of it (Allan, 2008). This is another production of monolingual language ideologies—the curriculum as a neutral, static entity, to which certain students must receive *scaffolding* as a means of entry, rather than viewing the notion that some students exist within the curriculum and others do not as problematic. Though English-dominant students may be advantaged temporarily by such curricula, they also miss out on the opportunity to be prepared for the linguistic realities of the country in which they live and in the global economies in which they will participate.

Sheltering race-evasion. When mapped onto the racialized nature of monolingual language ideologies, the accommodations listed above merit heightened scrutiny in their implications. This becomes particularly noteworthy in light of the overt racial discrimination that has been furthered through monolingual language ideologies

policies across U.S. history, as has been documented throughout this paper. The Massachusetts SEI endorsement takes place in a context, reflective of wider U.S. educational demographics, of a predominantly White teaching force working with populations of emergent bilingual students, a majority of whom are students of color (DESE, 2015; U.S. Department of Education, 2016). Thus, the intersections of racial and linguistic considerations become unavoidable in such a context.

However, the content of the SEI endorsement course reflects a broader trend in U.S. teacher education of avoiding explicit discussion of race and racism (Annamma, Jackson, & Morrison, 2017; Jupp, Berry, & Lensmire, 2016; Picower, 2009; Souto-Manning, 2018). In the Massachusetts SEI trainers' manual, for example, the word *race* only occurs four times in the 519-page document. By comparison, the word *language* occurs 792 times, *culture* 129 times, and *ratiocination*—a highly specific strategy for sentence combining—occurs 37 times (DESE, 2014). The specific mentions of race in the training manual are generally subsumed under broader mentions of "culture," notions that the manual links to a broad range of topics such as communication styles, beliefs, and values. These notions of culture, while important, also serve as proxies by which to avoid explicit discussion of the topics of race and racism (Bacon, Paper 3; Ibrahim, 2008). As racial dynamics are deeply relevant to the educational experiences of emergent bilinguals and their teachers (Briscoe, 2014; Flores, Kleyn, & Menken, 2015), the evasion of race in an SEI endorsement course fails to prepare teachers with the full range of knowledge they will need to exercise their professional duties effectively. Thus, another production of monolingual language ideologies is the maintenance of race-evasion in teacher education for linguistic diversity. Considering the consistency with which monolingual language

ideologies have coincided with racist, prejudicial, or nativist policies across U.S. history, the race-evasion of the SEI endorsement, and teacher education more broadly, must be carefully questioned.

In sum, a framework of monolingual language ideologies as both racialized and productive helps to reveal a broader range of "accommodations" that are operating within the SEI endorsement initiative. These accommodations work to produce circumstances by which monolingual pedagogies, teachers, and students are "sheltered," in addition to facilitating race-evasiveness in language teaching contexts. By no means are these consequences necessarily *intentional* on behalf of the initiative's architects or the teachers who implement these policies in classrooms. However, it is only through revealing these language ideological productions—many of which are as disadvantageous to emergent bilingual students as they are advantageous to their English-dominant peers—that they can be interrogated and reformed.

Summary & Conclusions

This paper explored the theoretical foundation for the study of monolingual language ideologies. It highlighted features of U.S. history and language policy that demonstrate the need (1) to complexify monolingual language ideologies as racialized in U.S. contexts, and (2) to examine of how monolingual language ideologies both restrict and *produce* certain norms, outcomes, and even advantages for some populations. The piece also demonstrated the affordances of examining specific movements (English-only ballot initiatives) and policies (the Massachusetts SEI endorsement mandate) through a lens that complicates monolingual language ideologies beyond straightforward anti-

bilingualism to examine the complex distribution of restrictions and accommodations these ideologies produce.

Importantly, this piece is not meant to suggest that certain sets of language practices, or the individual state of *being* monolingual, are necessary "good" or "bad." The study of language ideologies focuses less on matters of individual language practices than on policies, histories, and assumptions that produce certain language practices as more valuable than others (García, Flores, & Spotti, 2017). Likewise, as Kendi (2016) has argued of race in U.S. contexts, the presumption that racist policies are primarily driven by the existence of individuals holding racist ideas fails to paint a full picture of how ideologies are reproduced. Instead, Kendi argues for a reversal of this assumption, prioritizing an examination of how racist policies help to produce racist ideas. Thus, analyzing monolingualism as a *racialized* and *productive* language ideology focuses less on individual language practices, or individual understandings of language and race. Instead, such an analysis prioritizes the examination of advantages and restrictions that are ideologically produced through particular language policies and teaching pedagogies. It is, therefore, not enough to only reveal monolingualism's 'unmarked' status (Ellis, 2006). Scholarship must also explicitly mark monolingual language ideologies as racialized and productive of advantages for some at the expense of others. Such an acknowledgement will provide explanatory traction for analyzing the myriad policies and interventions that have thus far failed to "close the achievement gap" between English-dominant students whose language practices are accommodated by school systems and assessments, and those whose language practices are not "sheltered" in the same way.

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SECTION III—PAPER 2

Monolingual Language Ideologies and the Massachusetts Sheltered English Immersion (SEI) Endorsement Initiative: A Critical Policy Analysis

Recent federal and state policies function under the assumption that the educational marginalization of emergent bilinguals is not related to widespread official or *de facto* monolingual education policies and practices, but rather the result of ineffective teacher training (Arias & Faltis, 2012). Numerous initiatives across the U.S. have sought to "close the achievement gap" between emergent bilinguals and their English-dominant peers, largely through initiatives that focus on training teachers in specific pedagogical strategies for contexts of linguistic diversity. Previously an optional specialization, such training is increasingly built into statewide educational policy for general teacher preparation, licensure, and professional development (López, Scanlan, & Gundrum, 2013; Samson & Collins, 2012).

Recent Massachusetts language policy initiatives provide an illustrative case of this phenomenon. In Massachusetts, bilingual education was effectively banned through a 2002 voter referendum, replacing the state's previous mandate for transitional bilingual education, in place since 1971 (Moore, 2008). The policy legislated a statewide model of English-only Sheltered English Immersion (SEI), requiring that "with limited exceptions, all public school children must be taught English by being taught all subjects in English and being placed in English language classrooms" (Galvin, 2002, p.1). In 2011, the U.S. Department of Justice (DOJ) held Massachusetts in violation of the Equal Educational Opportunities Act (EEOA), not for its restrictive language policy, but rather for "not mandating adequate training for SEI teachers" (DOJ, 2011b, p. 1). This focus on teacher

training meant that the state could redress its federal civil rights violation by implementing a state-wide SEI endorsement requirement—the core component of a larger initiative entitled *Rethinking Equity and Teaching for English Language Learners* (RETELL)—while leaving its English-only education mandate in place. Though the English-only policy was officially overturned in 2018, the SEI endorsement remains a requirement for teachers across the state (DESE, 2019a, 2019b).

Teachers themselves play a major role in determining how such language policies are enacted in the classroom (see Menken & García, 2010). However, a significant role is also played by teacher *educators* who authoritatively communicate with teachers about language policies and their implementation (de Jong, 2008). Despite the significance of this role, little research has been conducted on the role of these language policy interpreters (see Moore, 2012). The role of these policy interpreters was encoded into the Massachusetts SEI endorsement initiative in that teachers were mandated to receive their endorsement through state approved curricula, primarily delivered by state-approved course instructors. Thus, the context of Massachusetts' SEI initiative provides a productive case by which to address a major gap in the study of how language policy moves from policy to implementation. The purpose of this study, therefore, is to ask: (1) How have SEI course instructors interpreted and operationalized the SEI endorsement initiative? (2) What experiences, contextual factors, and/or dispositions appear to inform these approaches? And (3) what language ideologies are exemplified, reproduced, and/or disrupted through these approaches?

Theoretical Framework

Critical Policy Analysis

Traditional approaches to policy analysis generally involve analyses that are largely descriptive, with less attention paid to the process by which policy is interpreted by individual actors (Ball, 1994). As this study aims to situate policy within a larger theoretical framework of interpretation, I draw upon the field of Critical Policy Analysis (CPA; Diem & Young, 2015; Yanow, 2007). CPA aims to explore policies within larger theoretical contexts, examining the ideologies and social contexts that inform policy (Young & Diem, 2017). This form of exploration generally draws on qualitative data analysis and/or ethnographic methods to foreground perspectives of those involved in policymaking as situated in a specific context to allow for the generation of a more thorough explanatory framework of policy in action (Hornberger, 2015).

The CPA approach is ideal for the study of policy interpretation in a complex policy environment (Levinson, Sutton, & Winstead, 2009), particularly as CPA aims to "discover and/or question the complexity, subjectivity, and equity of policy" while highlighting both "the intended and unintended consequences of the policy implementation process" (Diem, Young, Welton, Mansfield, & Lee, 2014, p. 1084). This design will challenge the view of policy making as a linear, deliberate, unbiased process (Young & Diem, 2017). This project aligns with previous work in CPA in taking up a qualitative, constructivist approach (de Leon & Vogenback, 2007) within a case study methodology (Baxter & Jack, 2008; Yin, 2014) in which the Massachusetts SEI endorsement initiative serves as a policy case.

Language Ideologies

The study of language ideologies compliments CPA in prioritizing the ideological, historical, and sociological aspects of language and its use (González, 2005; Razfar, 2006; Rosa & Burdick, 2017; Silverstein, 1979, 2004; Wei, 2016). As Massachusetts was under a mandated English-only education law during the implementation of this initiative (2002-2017), an analysis of the SEI endorsement initiative must account for the role of monolingual ideologies, which describes an ideology through which a certain group of language practices become idealized (Bacon, 2018). Monolingual language ideologies undergird the logic by which languages become bounded, namable entities such as English, Mandarin, etc. (Gramling, 2014), but also delimit what is considered as permissible *within* a given language, as certain dialectal features are framed as undesirable deviations from an idealized, *standard* form of the language (Delpit & Dowdy, 2008; Lippi-Green, 2012). Monolingual language ideologies do not draw their effectiveness from being an accurate reflection of actual language practices—which have always been characterized by multilingualism (de Jong, 2008)—but from socially constructed ideas of what language practices *should* look like within a given nation or institution (Park, 2008). In this way, monolingual language ideologies facilitate the construction of language hierarchies based on proximity to idealized language features. Research in linguistics, having established the legitimacy and rule-governed nature of all naturally varying dialects (Reaser, Adger, Wolfram, & Christian, 2017; Rickford, 1999), offers little empirical support for such hierarchies, which instead generally map onto pre-existing class and racial hierarchies (Baker-Bell, 2013; Flores & Rosa, 2015; Godley, Reaser, & Moore, 2015; Rosa & Flores, 2017). In this way,

monolingual language ideologies facilitate social, material, and institutional benefits for those whose language use adheres to this ideal, while simultaneously disadvantaging those whose language use is constructed as aberrant in a given society (Achugar, 2008; Debose, 2007; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1996, 2000a, 2000b).

Literature Review

A growing body of research has explored the role of language ideologies in the policy interpretive process. In particular, this research has highlighted the key role teachers play in interpreting language policy. Below, I provide a brief overview of literature on policy interpretation, teachers' roles within this interpretation, and literature that has examined these roles through a language ideological lens. I then examine how this literature has addressed SEI endorsement policies to frame the specific focus of this study

Language Policy Interpretation and Teachers

Policy research has extended top down notions of policy *implementation* to examine how policies are *interpreted* by individual actors or groups (Coburn, 2001; Coburn & Stein, 2006; Spillane, Reiser, & Reimer, 2002). Recent scholarship in language policy has, therefore, called for a focus on researching policy as an interpretive process wherein key stakeholders play an active role. Across this scholarship, there has been a broadening from the focus on *implementation*, which can still imply a linear process, toward a focus on *appropriation,* a term Johnson (2011) used "to highlight the creative ways that language policy agents put a policy into action" (269). This notion of creative appropriation is central to examining the ways in which these policy agents (e.g. teachers) work both *with* and *against* policies across contexts.

Recognition of this key role played by teachers has led to a growing body of research on how teachers and local district actors as interpret, implement, and/or appropriate language policy (Arias & Wiley, 2013; de Jong, Gort, & Cobb, 2005; Menken & García, 2010). This literature generally focuses on how teachers facilitate or disrupt these policies based on their own ideological stances and teaching contexts (de Jong, 2008; English & Varghese, 2010; Palmer & Snodgrass Rangel, 2011; Stritikus & Garcia, 2003). Hopkins (2016) highlighted the dynamic interplay between teacher beliefs and language policy, documenting how district policy, administration, and teacher training initiatives both shape, and are shaped by, the ideological stances of teachers in regard to language education.

In researching the interpretation of SEI mandates specifically, scholars have mainly focused on teachers and other school personnel who find ways to push back against SEI mandates when they view them as problematic for their learners (de Jong, 2008; Newcomer & Collier, 2015; Wright & Choi, 2006). Marschall, Rigby, and Jenkins (2011), for example, borrow Lipsky's (1980) concept of "street-level bureaucrats" to highlight the power of local actors in interpreting SEI policies. Likewise, Gort, de Jong, and Cobb (2008) documented ways in which three districts resisted Massachusetts' SEI mandate, structuring ways to maintain bilingual education while still obeying the letter of the law under the state's English-only policy. Through this research, Gort et al. (2008) concluded that SEI "does not have a fixed meaning but will necessarily be socially constructed within each context by the beliefs, experiences, and histories of the individuals involved" (p. 41).

Language Ideologies Among Teachers

Through the increased recognition of teachers' role in interpreting language policies, a growing body of research has examined teacher beliefs in regards to language, particularly within university coursework (García, Johnson, & Seltzer, 2016; Lucas & Villegas, 2011; Valdés, Bunch, Snow, Lee, & Matos, 2005; Palmer & Martínez, 2013). Across this research, teacher education around language diversity is considered a deeply ideological endeavor (Faltis & Valdés, 2016). Particularly relevant are ideological tensions between the lived experiences of a mostly-monolingual teaching force and increasingly multilingual populations of students (Banes, Martínez, Athanases, & Wong, 2016; Farr & Song, 2011; Jimenez-Silva, Olson, & Hernandez, 2012).

Thus, much of the research on teacher language ideologies addresses the role of monolingual language ideologies in maintaining restrictive language policies (English & Varghese, 2010; García, Flores, & Woodley, 2012; Rodríguez-Castro, Salas, & Murray, 2016). Bacon (2018) examined monolingual language ideologies in relation to teachers trained under Massachusetts' SEI endorsement initiative. Drawing on a mixed methods approach including language autobiographies, pre- and post-course surveys, and post-course reflections from 127 beginning teachers, findings demonstrated that language ideologies are indeed informed by teachers' previous experiences and beliefs. However, these ideologies are also mediated by institutional "filters"—particularly the training they received around state language policies—that influence how they enact their beliefs about language in classroom settings. Findings such as these call for a deeper examination of language policies, teacher education coursework, and the instructors who play a key role in communicating the state's language policies to teachers through SEI coursework.

SEI Endorsement Coursework

Research on teacher education affirms that teachers' range of language policy interpretation is facilitated by their depth of knowledge around various language program models and theories of language acquisition (Flores, Keehn, & Pérez, 2002; Hopewell, Escamilla, Soltero-González, & Slavick, in press). However, SEI mandates, such as those implemented in California (1998), Arizona (2000), and Massachusetts (2002), have resulted in less emphasis on program variations (i.e. bilingual or dual language education), as teacher education and professional development are restructured to prioritize the SEI methods required within the state's schools (Montaño, Ulanoff, Quintanar-Sarellana, & Aoki, 2005; Park, 2014; Ulanoff, 2014). Though some see a silver lining in the increased emphasis on language knowledge in teacher preparation that generally accompanies SEI endorsement mandates (Kaplan & Leckie, 2009), others mourned the loss of their previous flexibility to train teachers in a variety of educational models, a variation replaced by "one size fits all" state-sanctioned endorsements (Wright & Choi, 2005). In addition, the decrease in program variation that accompanies SEI mandates has not only led to a decrease in bilingual programs, but also a decrease in the number of bilingual teachers themselves (Park, 2014).

While teachers of emergent bilinguals need a complex understanding of language, culture, policy and instruction (Lucas & Grinberg, 2008; Lucas & Villegas, 2011) state-sanctioned SEI courses generally focus exclusively the technical aspects of making English-only content comprehensible (Viesca, 2013). Often based on scripted curricula provided by the state, much of this teacher training generally promotes a limited understanding of the principles of second language acquisition (Arias & Wiley, 2013),

excludes information on how to capitalize on or maintain students' heritage languages (Cline & Necochea, 2004), and generally limits teachers' access to learning about the full range of methods available for working with emergent bilinguals (Montaño et al., 2005; Olivos & Sarmiento, 2006).

Literature "Gaps": Policy and Language Ideologies Among Teacher Educators

As demonstrated by the reviewed literature, studies of language policy implementation often focus on individual teacher beliefs, rather than examining the larger policies and institutional mechanisms that mediate how these beliefs are enacted in practice (Hopkins, 2016). Researchers have documented teachers enacting various interpretations of SEI mandates in classrooms and discussing their understandings of the policy (e.g. Newcomer & Collier, 2015; Wright & Choi, 2006)—but few of these studies ask what informs these teachers' understandings of policy. Considering the key role played by teacher education and professional development in informing teacher interpretation of policy, and therefore practices (Cochran-Smith & Villegas, 2016), there is surprisingly little work connecting the development of teacher beliefs through teacher education. In other words, if researchers are asserting that teachers hold problematic beliefs around linguistic diversity, what role has been played by their teacher education and professional development in instilling, sustaining, or disrupting these ideas?

While there are a growing number of studies examining beliefs among teachers, according to Faltis and Valdés (2016) "Little is known about how teacher *educators* advocate for and think about language… or about the instructional practices favored for preparing teachers to teach in linguistically diverse classrooms" (p. 553, emphasis added). In SEI endorsement initiatives, the key role of an intermediary (a policy

interpreter) is encoded into the policy in that all teachers must receive the endorsement from an instructor executing state-approved materials. Moore (2012) highlighted the role played by these instructors in enacting Arizona's SEI mandate, but to my knowledge, no research to date has explored the role of these key policy interpreters in Massachusetts. This study will therefore prioritize exploring the SEI endorsement policy through the lens of policy interpreters (i.e. SEI course instructors), in addition to examining the policy itself.

Methods

Importantly, this study was not designed to provide an overall evaluation of the SEI endorsement initiative or the effects of its implementation on teachers or students. While varying iterations of such research exists (e.g. Accurso, 2019; Bacon, 2018; Hara, 2017; Haynes, August, & Paulsen, 2012; Haynes & Paulsen, 2013; Imeh, in press), this study is purposefully designed to focus on how certain language ideologies are manifested, reproduced, and/or disrupted within a policy (Massachusetts' SEI endorsement initiative) through the perspective of policy interpreters (SEI course instructors). Therefore, the following methods were selected to facilitate the analysis of policy interpretation as a dynamic, ideologically-informed endeavor, as opposed to a linear process exploring policy inputs and specific teacher/student outcomes (Young & Diem, 2017).

Data Sources

Data source 1: Policy documents. The first data source for this study consisted of official policy documents related to the SEI endorsement initiative, its development, and standards for the state-approved curriculum for endorsement, written between the

years of 2012-2016 (the pilot and statewide rollout period for the initiative). These documents, publicly available through the Massachusetts Department of Elementary and Secondary Education (henceforth DESE), provide overviews of SEI-related requirements for educators and administrators, standards covered in the courses themselves, and processes by which agencies may become state-approved providers of the SEI endorsement courses.

It is important to note that the SEI endorsement policy does not exist as a whole in one specific document. Rather, the policy is an assemblage of laws, licensure requirements, FAQs, and communiques from the DESE. This necessitates an analysis of multiple documents from multiple sources to fully analyze the policy (see Table 1). To collect the documents for this analysis, I drew on Altheide and Schneider's (2013) method of *progressive theoretical sampling* for qualitative document analysis. This process was not intended to yield a comprehensive corpus of all documents related to the SEI initiative across the state, which exist in many iterations across the state's 404 school districts and six years of implementation under study. My goal in this document collection will be to build a sample sufficient to achieve what Altheide and Schneider (2013) called "conceptual adequacy" (p. 36) by collecting a representative sample of policy documents that would outline the initial framing of the policy (Johnson, 2011; Ricento, 2006).

Table 1

Policy Document Sources

Source	Documents
Massachusetts DESE	46
Massachusetts Law	21
Massachusetts School Board	22
U.S. Department of Justice	7
Total:	**96**

Data source 2: SEI course instructor interviews. The second data source consisted of transcripts from semi-structured interviews, an established method of data collection by which to gain insight into policy interpretation (Chock, 1995; Hoffman, 1995; Yanow, 2007). In alignment with previous CPA research, my interviews followed a semi-structured interview protocol (see Appendix A) with questions covering key areas of interest to my research questions and concepts that were highlighted in previous literature: (1) Personal/institutional background, (2) course instruction, (3) policy context; and (4) beliefs around language. I piloted the interview protocol with two experienced SEI course instructors who were not participants in the larger study and revised the wording of questions based on these instructors' feedback. I chose to conduct single interviews with participants due to the fact that the main rollout of the SEI endorsement initiative occurred between 2013-2016, so participants' reflection on their roles were

largely retrospective. Participants were offered interviews by phone, videoconference, or in person, with the majority opting for phone interviews. Interviews lasted approximately one hour.

In assuming a constructivist stance through this research (de Leon & Vogenback, 2007), I analyze these interviews as primarily representative of participants' individualized, momentary interpretations of their experience, as opposed to uncovering an emergent 'truth' (Blommaert, 2005; Mills, Bonner, & Francis, 2006) about the SEI course and its implementation. It is, in fact, participants' subjective interpretation of policy constructed through their narratives that I aim to analyze (Luker, 2008). In this way, interview methods provide a productive method for understanding how policy interpreters themselves understand the policy and its relation to their work (Moore & Wiley, 2015).

Participant recruitment. Participant recruitment was guided through purposive sampling (Miles, Huberman, & Saldaña, 2014), limited to individuals who had served as instructors for the SEI course. As previous research on SEI endorsements documented the importance of the type of institution (Moore, 2012), I tracked participants' institution types (district, university, private provider) while recruiting interviewees to maintain a broad range of institutional affiliations (see Table 2). In many cases, participants taught the course for multiple institutions (i.e. a district provider who also taught the course at a university as an adjunct instructor). In such cases, I grouped participants with the type of institution at which they described the majority of their employment. However, these participants were also marked as "multiple affiliation" for their ability to describe differences between the various types of institutions.

I located prospective participants through publicly available state databases of approved course providers, university course listings, school district websites, and recommendations from members of professional ESL associations in Massachusetts, resulting in a sample of 33 participants representing 20 different institutions who agreed to participate in the study. As sampling procedures were not randomized, this sample should not be considered as fully representative of the general population of instructors across the state. However, in attempting to capture a variety of institutional and geographical settings, I grouped participants by institutional settings (as mentioned above) as well as four broad categories of regional context: Metro Boston, Northeastern/Southeastern, Central, and Western Massachusetts. Each of these regions encompass a variety of demographic and sociocultural range. However, SEI courses were usually taught in specific "hubs" in each of these regions—larger city districts, local universities, or private providers that would travel to smaller districts—from which I recruited participants. Thus, the teachers in participants' courses represented a broader range of geographic contexts than the participants themselves. In other words, while the participant sample was bound to specific geographical centers, their influence went beyond these regions.

Participant demographics. Participant demographic characteristics (see Table 2) align with the general teaching population of the state (DESE, 2015)—most participants identified as White (n=27, 81%), and in all but two cases, as female. Though fully acknowledging the limitations of broad, binary categories of "White" and "people of color," I do not report these participants' specific race/ethnicity as doing so could compromise confidentiality in a sample drawn from a relatively small and interconnected

Table 2

Participant Variables Definitions & Overview

Variable	Definition	Category	# of participants (n=33)
Affiliation & Region			
Primary Affiliation	Participant's primary affiliation for teaching the SEI course	University	12
		District	12
		Private	9
Multiple Affiliation	If participant taught the course within multiple affiliation types.	Yes	7
		No	26
Region	Regional designation of participants' institution	Metro Boston (7 institutions)	14
		NE/SE Mass (6 institutions)	10
		Central Mass (3 institutions)	4
		Western Mass (4 institutions)	5
Course			
Times Taught Course	Number of times participant has taught the course.	1-2	8
		3-6	4
		7+	21
Experience			
Years K-12	Years of experience teaching/leading K-12	2-5	10
		6-9	8
		10+	15
Years Higher Ed.	Years of experience teaching/leading University settings	2-5	4
		6-9	6
		10+	2
Language			
Identify as bilingual	Whether the participant self-identified as bilingual	Yes	20
		No	13
Experienced ESL	Whether participant reported having English as a Second Language instruction	Yes	8
		No	25
Race			
Identify as person of color	Participant's racial/ethnic identification (collapsed to categorical "Identify as Person of Color" to protect anonymity)	Yes	6
		No	27

network of SEI course instructors. For similar reasons, I do not identify specific languages spoken beyond English. However, within participants who identified as bilingual (n=20, 60%), Table 2 does indicate those who reported experiencing English as a Second Language instruction in their own schooling (n=8, 24%).

In terms of professional backgrounds, is important to note that all SEI course instructors in the state occupy this role on a part-time basis or as one component of a larger range of professional duties. That is, being an SEI course instructor is not a full-time position. In accordance with state regulations, however, all had ESL certification and/or a Master's/PhD in a relevant field (i.e. linguistics, second language acquisition). All participants had some degree of K-12 teaching experience, which I grouped based on the Massachusetts teaching licensure renewal periods that occur every five years (DESE, 2019a). No participant had fewer than 2 years of teaching experience (max=30 years). For participants working in university settings as a primary affiliation, I also tracked the number of years they had been working in higher education using the same year groupings. Finally, I grouped participants by the number of times they had taught the SEI course, with the majority of participants (n=21) having taught the course seven or more times. Combined, this group of participants had taught the course 218 times to an estimated 4,500 teachers across the state.

Data Analysis

My analytical approach (see Figure 1) was informed by Altheide and Schneider's (2013) qualitative media analysis. This approach enabled the study to operationalize language ideologies by documenting key frames, themes, and discourses (defined below) within the policy itself. To capture how these aspects were taken up, appropriated, or

disrupted within the process of policy interpretation, I augmented Altheide and Schneider's approach, which is primarily used with policy documents, with interview data coded through approaches recommended by Saldaña (2016) for qualitative interview analysis. In order for the separate document and interview analysis to eventually "speak to" one another, I followed a similar analysis procedure for both documents and interviews, as described below. (For simplicity, I use the term *texts* when referring to both documents and interviews.)

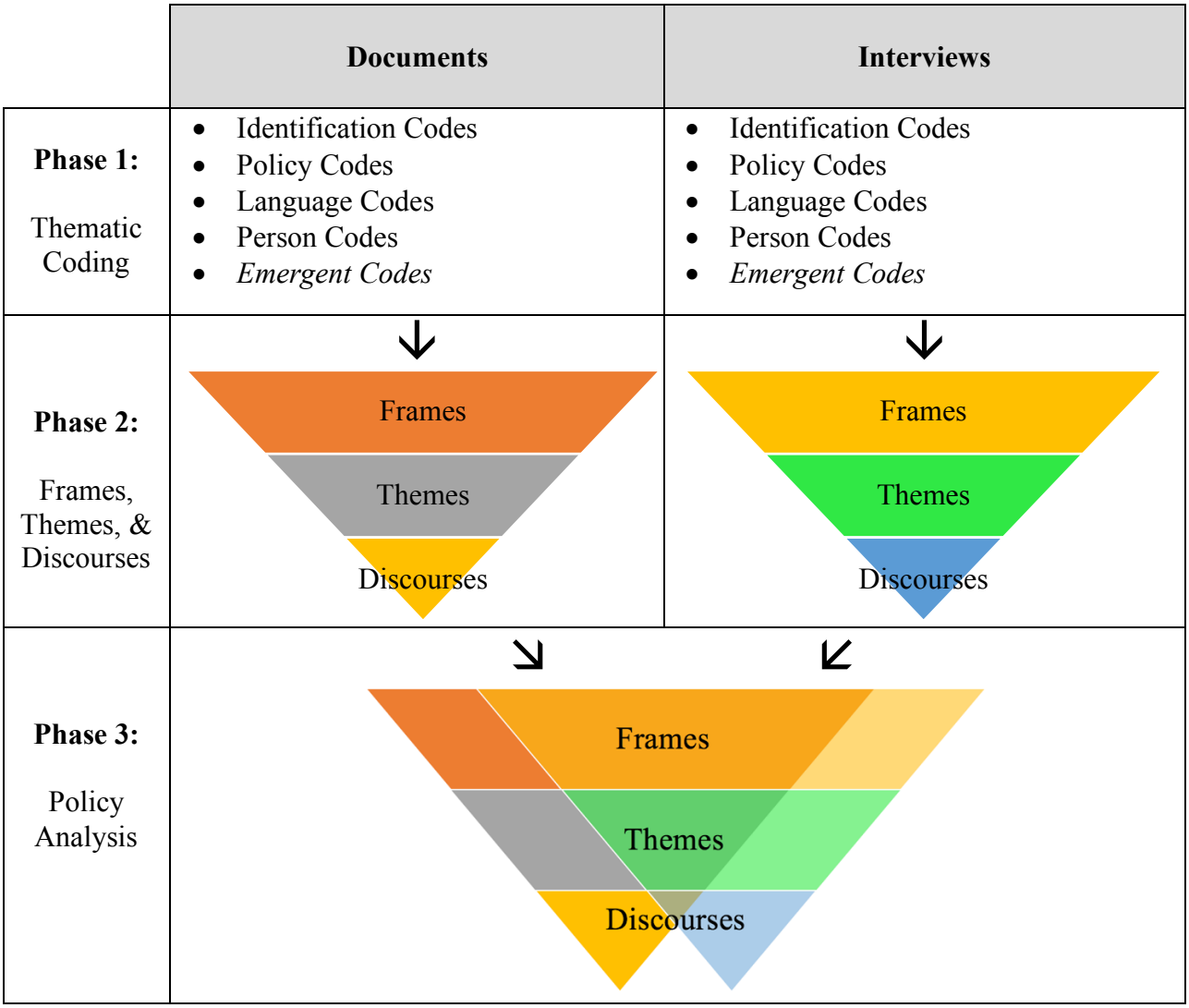

Figure 1. Data analysis.

Following this approach, I read each text in its entirety, taking notes on general impressions, then uploaded the document into MAXQDA qualitative data analysis software. I began by applying general *identification codes* to sort texts by document or demographic characteristics. I then applied deductive codes derived from my research questions and my literature review on monolingualism, English-only, and SEI policies, which were designed to highlight sections of the data relevant to the policy itself (policy codes), language (language codes), particular groups or individuals (person codes), or the course as a whole (course codes).

During the coding process, I identified additional emergent codes based on emergent topics and patterns within the data that I had not previously identified as deductive codes (Charmaz, 2014). I used code mapping to track the generation and consolidation of these emergent codes (Anfara, Brown, & Mangione, 2002). Throughout this process, I wrote analytic memos to track my own reflections on the ongoing data analysis (Rossman & Rallis, 2012). The result of this analysis was an initial schema of coded excerpts to be drawn on for the next phase of the analysis.

The second phase of analysis involved analyzing intertextual patterns, similarities, and differences across texts (Blommaert, 2013; Johnson, 2015). I expanded on this use of Altheide and Schneider's (2013) method in my own analysis, utilizing their framework of *frames*, *themes*, and *discourses* as a secondary coding schema for both policy documents and interviews (see Figure 1). I draw on Altheide and Schneider's framework to differentiate the terms as follows (also see Figure 2): *Frames* are broad thematic emphases that set the focus, parameter or boundary for discussion of a policy or event. Much like a literal frame separates a painting from the wall around it, frames establish

focal points, influence how an issue is positioned, and can delimit "what will be discussed, how it is discussed, and above all, how it will not be discussed" (pp. 51-52). *Themes* represent *what is* talked about in policy discourse—recurring topics or issues present across multiple documents or discussions of an issue. Themes are related to frames in that that particular themes become relevant or irrelevant depending on the frame that is adopted. For example, framing drug abuse as a *public health crisis* would involve themes around prevention programs and medical intervention and prevention rather than punitive themes such as zero-tolerance and imprisonment from framing the issue as one of criminality. Finally, d*iscourses* relate to *how* issues are discussed, or "parameters of relevant meaning that one uses to talk about things" (Altheide & Schneider, 2013, p. 53). These can include specific terms, phrasing, or grammatical structures used to discuss topics. Analysis of discourse at this level aligns with methods commonly used in the field of critical discourse analysis (CDA) to highlight how text, language, and symbols play a role in establishing and maintaining power dynamics (Fairclough, 2013; Gee, 2004; Rogers et al., 2016).

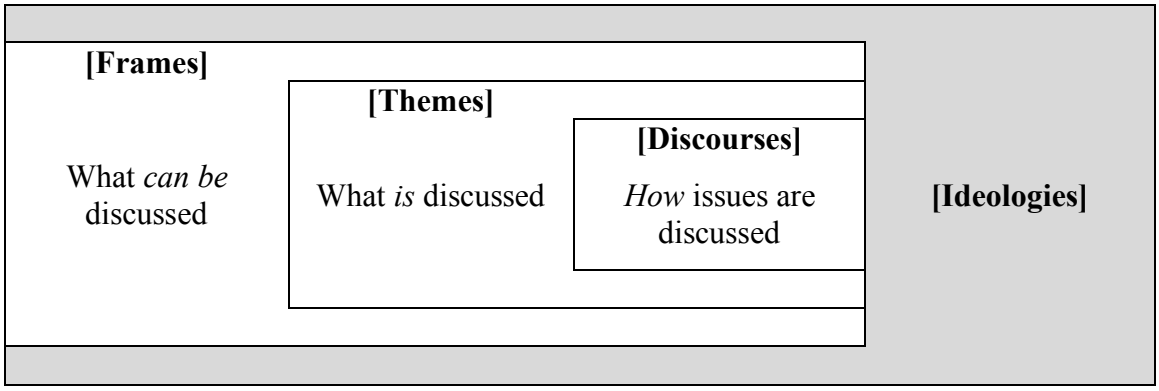

Figure 2. Frames, themes, & discourses (adapted from Altheide & Schneider, 2013) in relation to ideologies.

In phase three, I analyzed how frames, themes, and discourses overlap in ways that reflect and/or reinforce particular language ideologies (see Figure 1) to highlight assumptions around how specific issues, conflicts, or policies were approached across the initiative as a whole. Operationalizing Altheide and Schneider's (2013) approach to this end involved generating reports for each thematic category during the initial coding process. These reports brought together topically related sections of data drawn from several different interviews and policy documents. In analyzing these reports, I grouped the codes thematically to begin answering my research questions around (RQ1) how instructors operationalize the course, (RQ2) reasons for this variation, (RQ3) how particular language ideologies are maintained, reproduced, or disrupted across the policy and its interpretation.

Data Reporting and Terminology

I report the findings of this analysis below. Documents are labeled with conventional APA author/date citations, and participants are labeled with a randomized number (01-33) attached to their primary institutional affiliation: University (UNI), district (DIS), or private (PRI) course providers. For clarity, I use the term *instructors* to refer to the participants and *teachers* to refer to the K-12 educators enrolled in their courses. Though participants often reference these teachers as their "students," for clarity, I reserve the term *students* to reference K-12 pupils. Participants and policy documents mainly referred to these students as ELLs (English Language Learners) in accordance with their designation by the state. I use the term ELLs when referencing participants' discourse or policy documents but use the term *emergent bilinguals* in my own discussion of students. While I use this term for its asset-based framing (García &

Kleifgen, 2018), it should be noted that it is unlikely the students referred to in this study will "emerge" as bilingual, or maintain their existing bilingualism, under the SEI educational model they are receiving (Gort, et al., 2008; McField, 2014).

Findings

The results of this analysis highlight a trajectory of policy design, interpretation, and appropriation (Johnson, 2013). In particular, these results reveal how problems/solutions were constructed across the initiative, reflecting Shao & Gao's (2018) observation that "any specific language policy, first and foremost, must construct/produce a problem as being of a certain type and then claim to address it. Simply put, a policy claims to solve a problem it constructs" (p. 3).

In reporting these results, I begin with the analysis of policy documents themselves (Part 1) to establish the policy's foundational framing and problem construction. Next, based on the policy interpretive and language ideological frameworks that inform this study, I report variations in how participants interpreted the *purpose* of the course (Part 2) and explore how these interpretations manifested within participants' discussions of *executing* the course (Part 3). Finally, in order to offer possible explanations for this variation, I document reasons participants discussed as facilitating or inhibiting their adaptations of the course (Part 4). Together, these findings illustrate the ways that participants' policy interpretation both aligned with and deviated from the problem construction/solutions of the policy itself (see Table 3). The final discussion section groups these findings together into frames, themes, and discourses to highlight how monolingual language ideologies are maintained, reproduced, or disrupted across the SEI endorsement policy and its interpretation overall.

Table 3

Findings Overview

Part	Foundation	Problem Construction	Solution Emphasized	Subcategories
Part 1: Policy Documents	State's "chosen model" of SEI	Adequacy of teacher training	Pedagogical Strategies	Reading, writing, vocabulary as differentiation and "access"
Part 2: Variation in *Purpose*	SEI endorsement course as designed by state	Adequacy of teacher training + Monolingual empathy	"Awareness"	Responsibility
				Asset-Framing
				Empathy
				Language Awareness
				Critical Awareness
Part 3: Variation in *Fidelity*	Fidelity to SEI Course	Fidelity vs. Flexibility	Compliance vs. Innovation	Rule follower
				Adaptor
				Appropriator
Part 4: Reasons for Variation	Contextual & Ideological Variations	State design vs. Ideological stance	Aligning practice with ideology as possible	Contextual/ Relational
				Personal Experience
				Ideological Commitments
				Relation to authority

Part 1: Policy Documents—Framing Violations and Compliance

Analysis of documents from the state and the U.S. Department of Justice, Civil Rights Division (henceforth DOJ) demonstrated that the initiative was framed, almost in entirety, by a letter from the DOJ on July 11th, 2011. The letter notified DESE that the state was failing to fulfil its obligations under the Equal Educational Opportunities Act (EEOA) "by not requiring SEI teachers to receive… SEI training" (DOJ, 2011a, p. 2). The DOJ letter repeatedly referenced Question 2 and "the SEI program Massachusetts

has chosen to implement" (DOJ, 2011a, p. 2) referencing Chapter 71A of Massachusetts law outlining standards for students deemed ELLs under the state's SEI, English-only education mandate. The department did not take issue with the SEI mandate itself, which it judged to be "theoretically sound" (2011a, p. 10), but emphasized that the model could only be interpreted as such if teachers were specifically trained in it, a training Massachusetts made optional to its teachers. The DOJ argued that "the time has come for [Massachusetts] to fulfill its EEOA obligations by mandating that all SEI teachers complete the training needed to shelter content instruction appropriately so that the State can implement its SEI program model effectively" (2011a, p. 11).

The state responded almost immediately, and less than two months later, the DOJ published another letter "applaud[ing] the proactive efforts of the Commissioner of Education and the board to enact a regulation to ensure that teachers are adequately prepared to teach ELL students the academic subjects they need to be successful," (DOJ, 2011b, p. 1., quoting Thomas E. Perez, Assistant Attorney General for the Civil Rights Division). Analysis of Massachusetts Board of Elementary and Secondary Education (BESE) meeting minutes between 2011-2012 revealed the steps proposed, and subsequently undertaken, to achieve this turnabout in DOJ discourse: (1) a unanimous vote to grant the Commissioner of Education authority to draft regulations for an SEI endorsement course (BESE, 2011, Sept.); (2) a preview of an initiative called RETELL (Rethinking Equity and Teaching for English Language Learners; BESE, 2011, Dec.); (3) an opening of this initiative for a period of public comment (BESE, 2012, Feb.), and (4) board approval of the RETELL initiative (BESE, 2012, June). In its entirety, the RETELL initiative included the state's adoption of the WIDA English Language

Development standards (currently used in 39 state education agencies; WIDA, 2019) and the WIDA-aligned ACCESS assessment. However, the core component of the RETELL initiative was (and nearly every subsequent documented reference to the term "RETELL" referred to) an ambitious teacher endorsement initiative through which teachers across the state would be trained and endorsed in SEI instruction.

Thus, with the state's issue framed, from the onset, as one of inadequate teacher training, the state was able to redress its civil rights violations by mandating such training. The prioritization of *training* must be emphasized here, as (1) there was no mechanism put in place to monitor any degree of *execution* (the DOJ letter made mention of such monitoring, but it was not put in place); (2) there was no need to demonstrate any degree of improvement in student educational outcomes; (3) the state was not required to make any broader policy changes to the English-only mandate itself. Thus, the entirety of compliance by which the state was able to redress its EEOA violation was to put in place a system to more systematically train its teachers in the state's chosen form of SEI instruction.

Throughout its implementation, the DESE description of RETELL remained largely unchanged from the 2012 description.

> The RETELL initiative represents a commitment to address the persistent gap in academic proficiency experienced by ELL students. At the heart of this initiative are training and licensure requirements for the Sheltered English Immersion (SEI) Endorsement, which core academic teachers of ELLs and principals/assistant principals and supervisors/directors who supervise or evaluate such teachers must obtain. (DESE, 2012/2019b, p.7)

Across policy documents, the "persistent gap" is generally left undefined, or traced back to the "underserved" nature of ELLs in the state—a circular reference to the undertrained

teachers. In this way, the initiative framed teacher training as the primary lever by which to address the state's shortcomings around serving its emergent bilingual students.

The course itself. In its most basic form, the SEI endorsement course consists of 45 hours of coursework on second language acquisition, English language development, best practices for SEI, and socio-emotional/socio-cultural competencies for teaching emergent bilinguals (DESE, 2014, 2019b). The state designed its course with input from the DOJ, and rolled the course out to teachers across the state across need-based cohorts between 2013-2016. During this time, university teacher preparation programs were required to submit SEI course syllabi to the state in order for their licensure programs to result in teacher SEI endorsement, and provisions were also put in place for private contractors to become state-approved course providers (DESE, 2012). In addition, private providers were also contracted to deliver the course based on the state's formatting.

Analysis of the course participant and facilitator manuals (DESE, 2013, 2014) demonstrates a particular set of strategy-emphatic discourses that remain in the state's current SEI endorsement requirements (DESE, 2019b). The course, as described above, is required to cover theoretical, social, and practical components of teaching English learners. However, in terms of hours spent, 31 hours (72%) of the 43 hours of instructional time are allocated to strategies for vocabulary, reading, writing, and differentiation (these were categories specifically referenced in the DOJ letter, 2011a). Three hours (7%) are dedicated to "culture," and 1 hour (2%) to second language acquisition theory. The remaining eight instructional hours (18%) address state policy and SEI/WIDA standards, with two hours reserved for presentations of final capstone assignments.

Thus, there is a consistent framing across documents—from the DOJ letter, to the state documentation around the initiative, to the course materials themselves—in which *adequate teacher training* is taken up as the main issue in the state's shortcomings in serving emergent bilingual students. This adequacy is defined across the documents as teachers having been trained in a particular set of SEI strategies for reading, writing, and vocabulary learning that were seen as enabling teachers to more effectively allow access to content, in English, for students who were in the process of learning the language.

The policy document trajectory presented a consistent narrative: Adequacy of teacher training remained framed as both the problem and solution for emergent bilinguals in Massachusetts contexts. Thus, the implementation of the SEI endorsement course would allow Massachusetts to redress its DOJ citation while, in theory, improving the educational experience of emergent bilinguals across the state through a strategies-emphatic course design. To reiterate Shao & Gao (2018), this illustrates how a language policy "claims to solve a problem it constructs" (p. 3). After the course was approved by the DOJ and DESE, the next step involved recruiting and training SEI course instructors who would be trained to deliver the course with fidelity across district, university, and private provider capacities statewide. The remaining sections highlight these course instructors and the complex roles they played, and continue to play, as policy interpreters, implementing, adapting, and ultimately ushering the policy from its constructed form to its target audience of the state's 60,000+ teachers.

Part 2: Variations in Purpose—Strategies vs. Awareness

When asked how they would explain the purpose of the SEI endorsement initiative, participants demonstrated a high degree of knowledge of the state policy

background. Their articulations of the initiative's goals aligned almost exactly with the state's RETELL policy narrative itself. As participant (02-PRI) exemplified,

> In my understanding…we have the increasing EL students [and] we're not serving them as well as we could across the state…The other [issue] is the Department of Justice Office of Civil Rights. The state got into trouble with their EL practices, and the state needs to come into some sort of compliance, and using this requirement for the SEI endorsement for all classroom and content teachers was a way to do that.

Across participants, the initiative was understood as a redress in which the notion of compliance played a key role. Some understood this compliance emphasis as filtering down to teachers' perceptions of the course, causing the course to be framed among teachers as "Okay, check mark… back to business as usual." (30-UNI) or "this is a thing I have to show up to and sit through," (16-UNI), or even nicknaming the RETELL initiative as "RE-HELL" (23-UNI). Thus, for some instructors, the compliance-oriented framing of the course became belittling to teachers.

> Teachers are smart. They know when they're being fed a bad class… If it's just going to be a checklist of things that we want teachers to get done, and it's not going to be meaningful and valuable, then it's just going to breed resentment (16-UNI)

Therefore, both in an effort to "win the teachers over" (28-DIS), and based on their own professional judgment, instructors sought to imbue the course with a range of broader personal goals.

From the state's policy design, the course was intended to emphasize specific pedagogical strategies, when instructors were asked about their personal goals for the course, they tended to downplay strategies in favor of what they often described as "awareness." Instructors generally maintained the importance of teachers learning specific strategies for teaching students deemed ELLs. However, they also asserted their

awareness that teachers were unlikely to use, or even remember, the specific strategies themselves. **"**Did I really care if they walked away with those state strategies as much?" 08-DIS expressed, "No, not really. I think that [my goal] was an awareness of who our population is and what their needs are." The ways participants defined this awareness varied, as did the degree to which they prioritized specific forms of awareness. To explore this variation, I report the types of awareness below, grouped by participants' stated priorities around: (1) Responsibility, (2) Asset-framing, (3) Empathy, (4) Language Awareness, and (5) Critical Awareness.

Responsibility. The initial understanding instructors wanted teachers to walk away with was a sense of "collective responsibility" (25-PRI) for students deemed ELLs. Across the sample, the instructors emphasized that this notion was usually a new realization for the state's teachers. As 04-PRI described,

> The biggest thing I ran into in [my district] was teachers who always were like, "It's not my job. I'm not the ESL teacher," when in reality, every student in the school is everyone's responsibility.

Instructors asserted that they had seen even a rudimentary awareness of this collective, and legal, responsibility would impact teaching. One recurrent theory of change was that, once there is a mindset shift, the strategies will fall into place, rather than the other way around—that, "Once you have the mindset that "I am in charge of the student," the strategies are the easiest part." (04-PRI). In this way, instructors saw instilling collective responsibility as the crux of the initiative.

Asset-framing. More specific than a generalized sense of responsibility for students was a form of awareness that involved asset-based mindsets around students deemed ELLs, their capabilities, and having them in the classroom. Beyond instilling the

basic sense of collective responsibility, instructors also described a shift away from what they deemed the pervasive "deficit orientations" (16-UNI) around teaching ELLs students. Instructors diagnosed deficit orientations as pervasive across the teaching force, which they linked to teachers' own language backgrounds and schooling experiences.

> For my [teacher] population in particular these [deficit discourses] are very much a part of the fabric of their own k12 schooling, because overwhelmingly they're English-dominant monolingual, and definitely come in with some long-standing ideas that if you don't speak English that you're a problem to be solved. (15-UNI)

Other participants added a wider critique of "our ethnocentric culture" in which many "look at [knowing a second language] as a disability" (19-DIS) in the case of students deemed ELLs. Many instructors framed their personal goal for the course as shifting this mindset with the larger goal of shifting the problematic historical trajectory of deficit views toward linguistic diversity in the state at large.

Empathy. Instructors' main avenue toward instilling an asset-based awareness, involved building empathy among monolingual teachers toward their bilingual students. To 19-DIS, the course was "written for a very narrow audience… [of] white… monolingual teachers." For this audience, generating "some degree of empathy is really what [the course] is all about" for 05-PRI. Thus, a recurring notion of generating empathy among monolingual teachers combined the above dispositions of responsibility and asset-based views by appealing to teachers' notions of the difficulties their students were likely facing in schools. Participants theorized this lack of empathy as stemming from the fact that a monolingual teaching force had not experienced the same difficulties as their students who were in the process of learning English. The "native English speakers" 30-UNI theorized "all, obviously, read and write well enough to go to [this university]. So, they haven't struggled with these activities [as ELLs have]." Though there were varying

perspectives as to how to generate monolingual empathy, there was persistent agreement about the need to generate such empathy. As summarized by 05-PRI, "I really felt like if teachers just had more awareness and desire to support English learners, then I was happy."

Language Awareness. Beyond ideological dispositions, a small number of participants discussed the need for specific forms of language awareness among teachers. In some ways, this reflected the phenomenon of monolingual empathy in that these presumptively monolingual instructors, the notion of language was described as "invisible." 27-UNI articulated her main goal for the course as "I really want language to become visible to [the teachers]….that they actually can see the language in that class of text, and they also can see the language that their students produce and understand," which she sought to achieve "through a strong focus on language [awareness]" in her course. For these instructors, language awareness went beyond specific strategies recommended by the state, to an awareness of why specific strategies would work in specific cases, or within "specific language systems that make up [different disciplines] (29-UNI) and also when particular strategies would be necessary. This was reflected in 31-DIS'S goal for the course, for teachers "to be more aware of the language of the content they're teaching. And to have strategies to both identify that language and figure out how to teach it explicitly."

Critical Awareness. "Critical awareness" (16-UNI) combined dispositions of responsibility and empathy toward a specific goal of understanding inequity between students deemed ELLs and their non-ELL peers. As 27-UNI described, her goal for the course was for teachers "to have some critical perspectives" around the intersections of

race, language, and prejudice as they impact ELLs and their predominantly White, monolingual teachers.

> Sometimes people tend to think that being "color blind" or assuming that there's some possibility of neutrality, neutrality is ideal. And so I want to sort of expel that notion… if they can step outside of their shoes, or at least recognize that their culture and language does inform them and kind of prejudice them in ways that are unavoidable. (27-UNI)

Similarly, 15-UNI hoped her teachers would bring a critical awareness to analyze the "inconsistencies" by which bilingual education programming was becoming "being very appealing to middle class white monolingual families, but somehow a detriment when it comes to in larger populations of color" in local policy discourse.

For some, this critical awareness was mentioned as facilitating broader advocacy. From 16-UNI's course, she hoped her teachers had "formed an identity as a teacher activist and an advocate." When asked to define this role, she explained

> that [teachers] are not seeing themselves simply as implementing methods and skills or pedagogical tools, but that they're also positioned to advocate for their emerging bilingual students, and also all students who represent anything beyond the white upper middle-class expectations of schools. (16-UNI)

Thus, the purpose of the course, for these instructors, extended beyond "adequate training for SEI" (DOJ, 2011b, p.1) toward helping inspire teachers to advocate around a range of issues around educational inequity.

Part 3: Variations in Fidelity—"Rule followers," Adaptors, and Appropriators

As reported above, participants had a range of personal goals for the course. However, the state prioritized fidelity of implementation. State syllabi and mandated trainings were a key conduit of messaging the importance of consistency. As 31-DIS described, "in the trainings, they were always [saying], 'You may not change the [course] at all… They were really intense about it." 13-PRI described her training as essentially

providing scripting for each part of the course, in that "every slide had a script, and that slides supposed to be [a certain number of] minutes." For 06-DIS, the training "really instilled this kind of fear in us." This emphasis on fidelity created a tension for instructors. This tensions between "sticking to the script" (01-PRI) and pedagogical innovation recurred throughout the sample. While some instructors thought they were "going rogue" (33-DIS) by deviating from the script, they did so in ways that, in their view, made the course more effective. Others either grew to understand the need for fidelity across the state, or simply enacted the role of "rule follower" (05-PRI). I explore these variations in fidelity below, grouping participants by the degree to which they articulated their practices as aligning with or deviating from the state's design: (1) "rule followers," (2) adaptors, and (3) appropriators (Johnson, 2011).

Rule followers. 05-PRI, who characterized herself as "a serious rule follower" described her approach to the course as having "followed the state curriculum with fidelity. We used their slides, their handouts, and all of that." Participants in this category made frequent reference to a looming external authority, making appeals to "the state," "DESE," or, as 17-DIS exemplified, the fact that "It's a serious mandate [by the] Department of Justice" which influenced her to "follow what I'm supposed to do, exactly." However, even in contexts with little state oversight, those in the rule-follower category changed little about the course. 20-DIS had become the lead instructor for her district and described herself as feeling "complete autonomy to do whatever it is that I need to do," but still made no changes to the state's course in her district.

All participants discussed initial reluctance to adhere to the state's regulations in such detail. Many saw utility in the course providing a "common language" (14-UNI) for

educators across the state. Thus, 19-DIS grew to "understand, to an extent" (19-DIS) the reasons behind the initiative's prioritization of fidelity. "I [eventually] bought into what they were attempting to do," reflected 21-DIS, "if you're gonna do a large scale [initiative] like this, you really need it to be something that you can carry through consistently through every district to every teacher." Most, however, described a consistent tension between the pressure they felt to adhere to the states course and their own professional judgement, or the needs of the teachers in their courses.

Adaptors. Adaptors made subtle changes to the course. The most frequently cited adaptation was the amount of "time [spent] on a particular approach" (12-UNI) as a response to teachers' needs. Others supplemented the course strategies with methods from their own practice. 06-DIS recalled repeating "over and over" that the course strategies were "[just] one example of how to do it" encouraging teachers to "get the idea behind the strategy and make it work for you." As the course was not necessarily differentiated for student age-range, 18-DIS insisted "you have to supplement [the strategies]" or teachers would "leave saying, 'This is crock of shit'"(18-DIS).

Adaptors, therefore, sought ways to personalize the course in order to increase teacher "buy-in" (18-DIS) to a course many were reluctant to attend. This required instructors to conduct additional research on "who is going to be in my class so that I can bring in some examples that are relevant to [their districts]" which 25-PRI found made the course "much more real to them." However, these adaptors emphasized that they still "make sure that everything in the course itself was addressed, [that] nothing was omitted" (32-DIS). Adaptors often felt they were "going rogue" (33-DIS) by including even minor innovations and there was a consistent notion of needing to hide the changes they were

implementing. Even due date changes were viewed as a reportable offense by 19-DIS, who stated "I hope you're not going to report to the state on me, but I was feeling very flexible with deadlines" to make the course less stressful for her teachers.

Appropriators. Appropriators extended the content of the course. The most frequent changes involved broadening the language theories represented in the course, including sociocultural perspectives (23-UNI), critical literacy (11-PRI), or translanguaging (16-UNI). UNI-10 connected her theory-emphasis to "thinking about where I struggled [as an ESL teacher] … because I had this handful of ESL strategies, but when the strategies ran out or didn't work I didn't have a framework to fall back on (10-UNI). Others emphasized the ideological dynamics of language. These instructors wanted teachers, particularly those who had grown up comfortable with English, to reflect on their own linguistic privilege. 30-UNI assigned teachers to write about their experiences learning additional languages. As she described, she would often need to point out that "none of you are listing that you *had* to learn the language" which helped teachers to unpack the differences between their experiences and those of their students.

The most significant changes involved additions to course content itself. These extensions were generally driven by a recognition of the U.S. political climate.

> Especially since Trump was elected. I feel like there's a lot more to talk about refugees and DACA, [so] I've added that in… The state [course] had this little section on varying populations [of ELLs]. That used to be kind of dry when I taught it, but now I feel like that's something they really need to understand if they're going into schools. (07-UNI)

For these instructors, the course provided "an entry point to have those conversations and discuss things that ... wouldn't be as natural" (07-UNI) in other courses. Thus, course became a gateway into a range of topics instructors felt were important for teachers to

engage with, extending the notion of support for emergent bilinguals beyond linguistic considerations.

Part 4: Reasons for Variation— Contextual, Experiential, Ideological, and Relational

Context. Previous research posits that institutional contexts largely determine instructors' ability to adapt state-mandated courses. To a degree, my findings aligned with Moore (2012), who found that universities afforded more flexibility around implementing mandated SEI coursework. However, this was inconsistent across participants in the present study. While those who reported the broadest adaptations were all in universities, not all university-based instructors, nor even most, engaged in this level of adaptation. Participants who worked across multiple contexts described *feeling* more autonomy in university contexts. However, their implementation remained largely aligned with the state's directives, justified through the same consistency arguments as in other contexts. "I haven't changed any of [the syllabi or assignments]," said 16-UNI when comparing the state to the district course "just because the consistency [of the course] is key across everyone, because it's leading to an endorsement."

The notion of "leading to an endorsement" was repeated among university faculty, demonstrating how the state's influence extended even to university settings. As courses were subject to state approval, as 22-UNI described, faculty were "very worried that if we didn't do it exactly how they said that we wouldn't get approved [as an official course provider]." jeopardizing the university's accreditation for providing teacher licensure. Thus, while university faculty are positioned as having more academic freedom, participants made clear that "people don't want to exercise their academic

freedom enough to endanger someone's endorsement" (14-UNI). In other words, the university context appeared to be necessary, but not sufficient, for generating substantial innovations within the course.

Personal experiences. Among participants, personal experiences appeared more determinative than institutional contexts in their decision making. Some discussed their strategies-emphasis in relation to past teaching. 14-UNI recalled having "felt so helpless" trying to help a particular student as a new teacher. She wanted her teachers "to have enough [strategies] in their toolkit, so when that kid walks in, they'll be ready" (14-UNI). Others justified their asset-emphasis through reflections on their own monolingualism. "I'm monolingual myself," reflected 19-DIS, "but what drives me is [my students] that are gifted enough to speak a language other than English… so I always try to make [asset-based perspectives] the foundation for the course." Monolingualism was also cited in 30-UNI's prioritization of critical awareness. "I've never had to survive in a language other than English," she reflected, which drove her to prioritize reflexivity, "both for myself and the teachers… who can float through this world [of ESL] but haven't ever really been faced with it" (30-UNI).

Reflections on monolingualism set up a contrast across participants' own school experiences. Most had experienced English-only education. 04-PRI had "never worked [or learned] in a… non-English-only setting," and therefore expressed she "wouldn't know what it would take… to support teachers in [a bilingual education] environment." Instructors who had gone through ESL education themselves, or had family members do so, often integrated these narratives into their approaches. For 13-PRI, her personal identification as "bicultural, bilingual, [and] from a different country," was always "at the

forefront" of her teaching. This inspired her to emphasize issues race and culture in her course, topics that were "never not on my radar screen [as a person of color]." Similarly, 09-PRI connected bilingual advocacy to a grandfather who had immigrated to the U.S. "at a time where, if children spoke Spanish in schools, they were hit with rulers." The generational effects of this discrimination driving this grandfather to "raise his own children to only speak English," inspired 09-PRI to take a leadership role in the SEI initiative and in advocating for bilingual education.

Ideological commitments. Some instructors had ideological commitments they referenced as driving their approach to the course. Often, commitments related to participants' professional knowledge base. 22-UNI for example, mentioned having "studied with some really brilliant researchers who studied English learners, who would have [said], 'English only instruction is ridiculous.'" Such commitments led some to problematize the state's embrace of the SEI model, and even the entire concept of SEI as an educational method. 23-UNI felt she couldn't even "tolerate the name" of Sheltered English Immersion. "Sheltered from what?" she asked, "Content? Challenging language?" For her, the underlying premise of SEI was flawed, in that "when you take out the complexity of the language, you take out the complexity of the idea." Those with similar stances knew they were pushing back against the state's course, but for 16-UNI, her personal commitments made the decision to do so an easy one.

> If I'm not being true to the needs of the students in front of me, then I might as well not be there. As far as I'm concerned, the students in front of me need to know about the assets of bilingualism, and they need to know about what our state is doing wrong. So, it's not something I feel intimidated by. (16-UNI)

Some participants also discussed explicit social justice or activist orientations in their work. 31-DIS felt "a commitment to working towards equity and justice in general" and

16-UNI had “always had a political activist stance, as a teacher” which she was “always going to incorporate that into any class I teach.” Some mentioned having been emboldened to make more modifications to the course by what they described as a political context of nationalist and anti-immigration rhetoric in the U.S. 09-PRI felt that the course material “may have been appropriate in 2012-2013 when they were developed,” but felt the course rang hollow “for the critical moment that we occupy [today].” Thus, ideological commitments around language and policy inspired participants to bring lenses of multilingualism, equity, and social justice to their course implementation.

Relation to authority. Various relations to authority also mediated participants’ implementation of the course. Some felt the reputation of their institutions insulated them from state oversight. At 10-UNI’s university, “Teachers were… doing responsible work in their classrooms and getting jobs and going out of their way to try to get additional licenses” In that context, she felt the state gave them “a long leash”(10-UNI). 14-UNI felt her district’s “high performing” designation led to less pressure than may have been put on neighboring districts, particularly around the English-only mandate.

> Districts that have underperforming schools have had more oversight from the department… My district is high performing…. [So] there wasn’t as much feeling like the state was going to be scrutinizing us [because] we weren’t a [school with a low state ranking].

Thus, once again, institutional flexibility seemed to be less determined by type of institution (UNI, DIS, or PRI), than by the relation to state authority that a particular institution inhabited.

Some took a more individual, oppositional stance to authority, with commentary such as "Well, you can write whatever you want on that [syllabus], but I'm not teaching

some of that because that's crazy." (22-UNI). However, others relied on a particular "political savviness" (10-UNI) as a key component of their policy interpretive work. 10-UNI noted that this savviness involved knowing how to "work *with* policies and work *around* policies a little bit." Other participants collected data if they ever needed to explain their course modifications. Conducting her own surveys within her course, 25-PRI "felt confident [that] if I was ever questioned, I had enough evidence to substantiate why I had made those decisions." For some, however, it was simply a personal stance around their own professional authority to provide the best instruction for their teachers. "I just felt like I was hired for a reason—to know my shit," quipped 20-DIS, "If I know what [my district's] teachers need, then I felt like it was my duty to actually provide that and change [the course] for them."

Thus, the findings of this section point to particular conditions that facilitate participants' flexibility when it comes to the course. While type of institutional setting does play an important role, a more complete picture is offered through examining the role of this institutional context in relation to personal experience, ideological commitments, and relations to authority. These findings help to explain the degree to which participants were able to adapt the course around their own personal and professional goals.

Discussion

This piece has analyzed the SEI endorsement policy, the course itself, and the role of course instructors as policy interpreters. This analysis highlighted variations in how instructors interpreted and operationalize the SEI endorsement initiative alongside their justifications for doing so. These juxtapositions between policy and implementation (see

Table 3) offer insight into how language ideologies are reproduced, maintained, or disrupted through the policy interpretive process. Below, I discuss the specific ways monolingual language ideologies manifested across the policy itself and its interpretation by course instructors, organized by frames, themes, and discourses undergirding the policy and its implementation (see Figure 3).

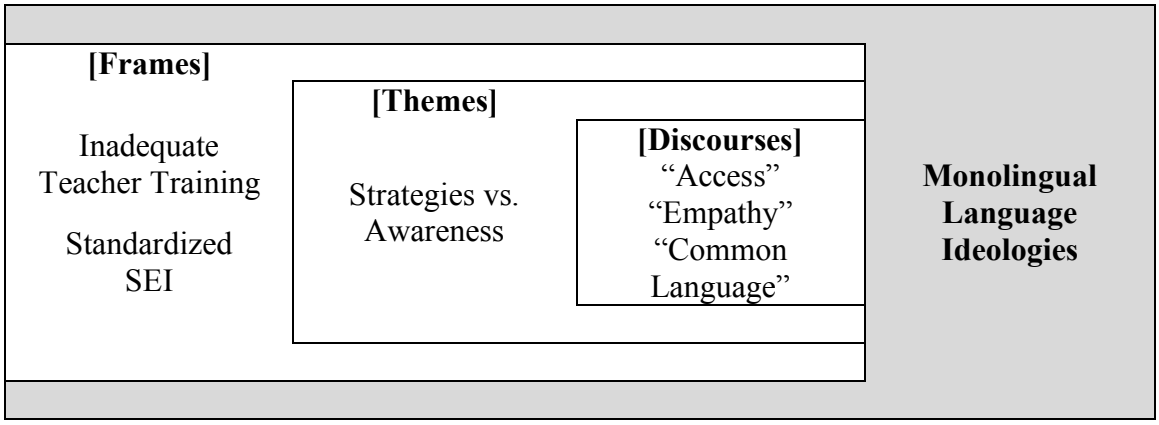

Figure 3. Frames, themes, and discourses (adapted from Altheide & Schneider, 2013) in relation to monolingual language ideologies.

Frames—What *Can Be* Talked About: Adequate Training and Standardized SEI

Both the policy and its implementation established a clear framing of "adequate teacher training" (DOJ, 2011b, p.1) as the state's operative issue. This framing overshadowed a host of other topics generally connected to educational policy, such as student outcomes, curriculum, funding, assessment, or any degree of larger civic purpose of the initiative (Shirley, 2017). This is not to underplay the importance of teacher training, but to highlight how the initiative demonstrated an almost uncanny degree of focus on a single topic compared to the usual complexities of large-scale educational and language policy change (Datnow, Hubbard, & Mehan, 2002; Johnson, 2013). Though the

achievement of emergent bilinguals is a complex issue, the frame of inadequate teacher training exemplifies how a policy can construct its own problem, then claim to have solved it by its own metrics (Shao & Gao, 2018).

This framing left little room to problematize SEI itself. Thus, a secondary framing was the federal embrace of SEI as "theoretically sound" (DOJ, 2011a, p. 10), carried over to the state's policy and the course itself. When coupled with the state's English-only mandate, this framed SEI as *the* way to teach emergent bilinguals—rather than one model out of many. Though some instructors resisted this framing, their own inexperience with bilingual education rendered their attempts as merely informative rather than equipping teachers to implement bilingual pedagogies. Thus, what was meant to be a skill-building initiative was simultaneously de-skilling, as the state's bilingual education knowledge base was replaced with SEI as a "one size fits all" approach (Wright & Choi, 2005). These findings corroborate the impact of framing on what solutions are made relevant or foreclosed in the policy interpretive process (Altheide & Schneider, 2013), but also demonstrates the circular-reinforcement of monolingual language ideologies from policy, to teacher training, to constraining the professional knowledge base around a mandated set of English-only pedagogical orientations.

Themes—What *is* Talked About: Strategies vs. Awareness

Thus, the framing was solidified—SEI as a theoretically sound statewide model, with teachers inadequately prepared to implement the model (DOJ, 2011a). Demonstrating how frames delimit the range of *themes* that can be made relevant as solutions within a given policy (Altheide & Schneider, 2013), the themes of *strategies* and *awareness* were prioritized across the SEI endorsement policy and its

implementation. Strategies were the primary thematic focus within the policy documents and the course itself, which emphasized strategies as the key lever for teacher training, with instructors viewing awareness as equally, if not more, important. These two themes were negotiated within varying degrees of fidelity to the state's course itself across rule followers, adaptors, and appropriators.

There were recurring tensions as instructors' ability to balance or re-prioritize these themes was mediated by the degree to which they felt they had the institutional flexibility to enact a personal/ideological stance around the course. Still, both themes accommodated to the needs and ideological dispositions of monolingual teachers (Banes, Martínez, Athanases, & Wong, 2016; Farr & Song, 2011; Jimenez-Silva, Olson, & Hernandez, 2012), and none of the variations pushed back substantially against the overall framing of teachers as both the problem and solution to the state's struggles to address the needs of emergent bilinguals. These findings reiterate the importance of initial policy framing in delimiting the themes that can be addressed (Shao & Gao, 2018), but also point to the accommodation and reinforcement of monolingual language ideologies, as explored below.

Discourses—*How* issues are talked about: Access, Empathy, and "Common Language"

The specific discourses employed across strategies, awareness, and varying degrees of fidelity exemplified the discursive maintenance of monolingual language ideologies (Achugar, 2008; Park, 2008). One example was the consistent reference across the policy documents, the course itself, and instructors' implementation to the need to provide *access* for students deemed ELLs. As Allan (2008) has explored in relation to

gender in higher education, the term *access* actually reinforces a certain groups' positioning as outsiders; one only needs to access something they are already positioned as existing outside. This notion challenges the process by which access becomes analogous "with the attainment of equity" (Allan, 2008, p. 70) as opposed to reforming a monolingual curriculum that does not center or sustain students' existing linguistic resources (Paris & Alim, 2017; Menken, 2006).

A second discursive reinforcement of monolingual language ideologies was the prioritization of *monolingual teacher empathy*. Such an emphasis presumes and centers the experience of a monolingual audience of teachers, particularly those who had not experienced ESL education themselves. While this is largely an accurate linguistic profile of the state's teaching population and that of the U.S. overall, such an emphasis is self-reinforcing in alienating the growing population of teachers who identify as bilingual (Athanases, Banes, & Wong, 2015). Moreover, participants repeatedly reported drawing on the experiences of teachers' who had experienced ESL to provide insight to monolingual teachers. Thus, bilingual experience in the course was primarily used in service of generating monolingual empathy. Conversely, a lack of monolingual empathy was considered a normal state for teachers. Instructors' discourse positioned this lack of empathy as an excusable, understandable issue to be gently probed through exercises in reflexivity, thus reinforcing monolingual language ideologies.

Finally, another recurrent discourse was the notion of the SEI endorsement having helped to instill a "common language" (14-UNI) across the state around managing the state's growing linguistic diversity. Aside from the phrase, *a common language*, having literal monolingual connotations, this discourse illustrates a more profound, ideological

impact of the initiative: The common language established involved the state's 60,000+ general education teachers, many of whom had no prior training in teaching emergent bilinguals, being trained exclusively through the lens of English-only SEI. Thus, even as the state moves toward more flexibility with program models (DESE, 2018)—they have done so only after the near entirety of the state's teaching force has been trained in English-only SEI, instilling SEI as the presumptive model, or "the road of least resistance" (32-DIS). The SEI endorsement remains a requirement within new the set of laws (DESE, 2019a, 2019b), and thus will remain the core form of teacher preparation that shapes the common language around pedagogical approaches for emergent bilinguals for the foreseeable future.

Implications

This research holds implications for language policy, policy interpretation, and language ideologies more broadly. First, in addition to the importance of *teachers* as policy interpreters, this study demonstrates how *teacher educators* also play an important, and largely underexplored role in policy interpretation. Massachusetts designed a state-wide initiative through a course prioritizing pedagogical strategies; instructors, in turn, made substantial contributions to the initiative by (1) differentiating these strategies for their target audiences and augmenting the course, and (2) prioritizing *awareness* as a core component of teacher preparation. These contributions, and those of SEI instructors across the state, made substantive impacts on the training of over 60,000 educators across the state, which will impact the educational experiences of even higher numbers of students across the state.

Still, when analyzing frames, themes, and discourses across both the policy and its interpretation, it becomes apparent that the broader frames and language ideologies remained largely consistent across the initiative. While the field of policy interpretation has made substantial contributions in highlighting the agency of policy interpreters, this study suggests that policy framing does, in fact, carry emphatic weight on the range of possibilities for interpretation. Policy interpretation, it appears, is not only a matter of individuals with particular ideological dispositions exercising those views on policy. Instead, the framing of a policy itself also carries an ideological authority that interacts with, and in many ways governs, individual interpretations of policy. Such dynamics illustrate the need to interrogate a policy's underlying language ideological foundation in setting the parameters for policy interpretation.

This language ideological examination is also necessary in regard to the role of instructors themselves. The findings of this research demonstrate how personal, experiential, and ideological dispositions play a key role in determining how coursework is interpreted and implemented across a variety of institutional contexts. Participants' own awareness and self-reflexivity around the ideological dynamics of their work provided important insight into their own role as policy interpreters. Still, even among those who considered themselves as "going rogue" (33-DIS) based on their ideological commitments, few can be said to have substantially endeavored to shift the underlying ideological framing of the initiative itself. Further research might take up the question of why even those with the most academic freedom tend to self-govern to keep teacher preparation coursework largely in alignment with the state's priorities, even when they disagree with these priorities on both professional and ideological levels.

Conclusion

It is important to conclude by noting that, when asked if the state was better off having had the SEI endorsement initiative, all participants saw some degree of overall positive influence. "We're not in closets anymore" said 08-DIS, in reference to her previous experience as an ESL teacher sharing a janitor's closet as an "office." As an enduring influence, 07-UNI lauded the fact that "We are no longer allowed to just ignore a course in English Language Learners in our [teacher] preparation programs." Likewise, 15-UNI could never imagine "reverting to a time when you could become a licensed teacher… and never have taken a class on working with linguistically diverse students." Overall, the Massachusetts SEI endorsement initiative reflects many of the tensions between mandating a large-scale initiative, while enabling flexibility and contextual responsiveness. The most gainful moments of the initiative appear to have come to fruition when instructors managed to creatively find a way to break through the course's framing as an "add on" or "checkbox" to instill a sense that linguistically responsive teaching was a core part of instruction for the demographic realities of the education profession. While instructors gave credit to the initiative itself for mandating a space in which to have in these conversations, it was their diligence and ingenuity in making a scripted curriculum come to life that largely drove any degree of success the initiative can be said to have had. As Massachusetts ushers in an era of increased flexibility in language programming—and as bilingual and dual language education programming becomes more popular in the U.S. more broadly—there will be an enduring need to explore educators' agency in policy interpretation and in the continued maintenance or disruption of monolingual ideologies in U.S. schooling and for teacher education that prepares

teachers to theorize about the purposes of education versus simply implementing policy at face value.

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Appendix: Interview Protocol

(A) Personal/Institutional Background

1. Please tell me about your professional background.

2. How did you get involved with the SEI endorsement course?
   - 2b. In what capacities have you taught the RETELL course (e.g. university, private, multiple)? How many times have you taught the course?

3. Were you involved with the process of the SEI course being adopted by your institution?
   - 3a1. (Yes) Tell me about that process
   - 3a2. (No) How did they make you aware of the course?
   - 2b. Did you receive any training? If so, please tell me about your training experience.

4. How would you describe the main purpose of having the SEI course? What's the goal?

(B) Teachers in Course

5. Tell me about the population of teachers you work with in your course.
   - 5a. Teaching experience of the teachers?
   - 5b. I know this is a required course for most teachers - how invested do they seem in the course beginning to end?
   - 5c. Do the teachers generally come from similar language backgrounds? – do you see that affecting how they approach the course?
   - 5d. How about racial backgrounds – do students generally share similar racial backgrounds?

(C) Instruction

6. How do you approach planning for the course – was a syllabus provided, or did you get to build the course from the ground up?
   - 6a. Do you have flexibility in how you teach the course? To what extent?
   - 6b. What accounts for this flexibility/lack thereof?

7. As an instructor, what do you personally most want your teachers to get out of the course?
   - 7a. What brought you to prioritize that emphasis?

8. If you could have played a role in how the state designed the course/endorsement policy, would you have made any changes?

(D) Policy

9. From 2002-2017, Massachusetts had an English-only education policy. That was the policy context when they started requiring the SEI endorsement.

- 9a. Did the policy ever come up in the course?
- 9b. What role to you feel you play as an instructor in interpreting Massachusetts' policies for your teachers?
- 9c. What brought you to this understanding of your role?

(E) Race

10. Most of the bilingual learners in Massachusetts are students of color. Does the topic of race come up in your course?

- 10a1. (Yes) How so?
- 10a2. (No) What do you think accounts for this absence?

11. There's some research that says monolingual English-speaking students are often praised for becoming bilingual, but if students speak a different language, particularly students of color, we prioritize English. Do you see that dynamic playing out in MA?

(F) Shifting Policy/Ideology

12. A new law just passed gives schools/districts more flexibility for program models or to go back to bilingual education.

- Do you think the course will change now that the policy has changed?
- Are you planning to make any changes to your course?

13. With this project, I'm seeing a lot of research that says English-Only, isn't just a policy, but an ideology that's deeply embedded in U.S. history and culture. Are these researchers thinking about this right?

(G) Additional Questions

14. We talked about your students' language background, but do you identify as bilingual?

- 14a. How do you think that informs your instruction?

15. Does your own racial identity, or any other personal ways you identify inform your instruction as well?

16. To summarize, RETELL course has been implemented all over the state – has is helped? How?

17. Is there something else I should ask about that we haven't covered yet?

SECTION IV—PAPER 3

"We won't talk politics, but…": Policy- and Race-Evasiveness in Language Teacher Education

With U.S. classrooms increasingly characterized by linguistic diversity, teacher education has come under heightened scrutiny for responding to these realities. This attention intersects with policy trends that put the teaching profession under increased pressure to drive student outcomes (Cochran-Smith & Villegas, 2016) paired with the profession's simultaneous disempowerment under top-down policy mandates (Ravitch, 2013). In relation to language diversity, such policy mandates generally aim to train teachers in specific pedagogical strategies meant to "scaffold" an English-only curriculum (Echevarría, Vogt, & Short, 2016; McField, 2014) for students learning English as a second or additional language (henceforth *emergent bilinguals*). However, such mandates place little emphasis interrogating language policies themselves (Arias & Faltis, 2012; Varghese & Stritikus, 2005) or on the broader dynamics of race and racism that shape emergent bilinguals' educational experiences in U.S. contexts (Lippi-Green, 2012; Rosa, 2018; Rosa & Flores, 2017; Viesca, 2013). Through such framing, histories of political, racial, and linguistic discrimination faced by emergent bilinguals are overshadowed by a hyper-focus on the teaching profession as both problem and solution.

Though myriad complex issues confront emergent bilingual students in U.S. schools (Proctor, Boardman, & Hiebert, 2016), this study places specific focus on the intersecting dynamics of language policy and race, exploring how these topics are evaded and/or addressed in teacher education. The majority of emergent bilinguals in the U.S. are students of color taught by teachers representing the largely white, English-monolingual

teaching force (Matias, & Liou, 2015; NCES, 2018; U.S. Department of Education, 2016). Historically, such racial disparities, and the power dynamics inherent therein, have played a key role in informing the ways language policies are designed, interpreted, and enacted in U.S. contexts (Bacon, Paper 1; Wiley, 2000). It is, therefore, imperative to analyze the ways in which teachers develop skills around racial literacy and language policy interpretation in teacher education.

While research on preparing teachers to address the linguistic, social, and academic content needs of emergent bilinguals in U.S. classrooms has increased (see Bunch, 2013; de Jong, Harper, & Coady, 2013; Lucas & Villegas, 2013; Valdés, Bunch, Snow, Lee, & Matos, 2005), studies of how race and language policy impact these experiences remain few. To be clear, research has indeed offered important insight into how teachers experience coursework and professional development around racial diversity (e.g. Brown, 2014; DiAngelo, 2016; Howard & Aleman, 2008) and linguistic diversity (e.g. Banes, Martínez, Athanases, & Wong, 2016; Jimenez-Silva, Olson, & Hernandez, 2012). However, in most cases, these studies address the topic of race *or* language as separate studies, rather than examining their overlapping dynamics.

Additionally, most studies have focused on the experience of *teachers* in such coursework and in their roles as language policy interpreters (Menken & García, 2010). Almost no research has focused on teacher educators themselves (Faltis & Valdés, 2016) who play a key role in determining *when* and *how* particular topics are made relevant in teachers' coursework and professional development. Therefore, the purpose of this study is to explore how the intersecting dynamics of language policy and race are addressed among teacher educators. Drawing on poststructural approaches to policy analysis, this

study explores how a group of teacher educators (n=33) approached the topics of race and language policy within a state-mandated Sheltered English Immersion (SEI) endorsement course in Massachusetts. Specifically, the study asks, (1) How do participants approach the topics of language policy and race within a strategy-emphatic course, and (2) What experiences, dispositions, and/or contextual factors appear to inform these approaches?

Theoretical Framework

Poststructural Policy Analysis

Since this paper deal with topics often framed as ostensibly neutral (language policy) or evaded outright (race), I draw on poststructural policy analysis (PPA) for its affordances in exploring such "silences" in educational discourse (Jackson & Mazzei, 2012). Language scholars who draw on poststructural theory generally acknowledge the oppressive nature of restrictive language policies, but have called for a complexified understanding of how power is distributed within and through language policy (García, Flores, & Spotti, 2017; Pennycook, 2006). Poststructural frameworks may draw on approaches to policy analysis grounded in critical theory, but also critique such theories for over-reliance on "grand narratives" in which power is located within individual actors or institutions (Bacchi & Goodwin, 2016). In contrast with critical theory, poststructuralist theory maintains that power is fluid and distributed (albeit unequally) across a variety of actors as they engage in localized discourses (Rhedding-Jones, 1995). Drawing heavily on the work of Foucault (1972, 1980) and feminist theory (Allan, 2008; Weedon, 1997), poststructural theorists understand power as *productive* in that certain discourses produce or construct the norms by which individuals access power in certain contexts or situations (e.g. speaking English in an English-dominated country).

As a mode of inquiry, PPA focuses on assumptions embedded in policy, or interpretations of policy, that constrain the range of solutions or outcomes. This involves a focus on how policy frames "problems" across various texts and policy actors. In addition, PPA analyzes how policy constructs particular *subject positions* (e.g. teachers as apolitical, students as "ELLs") that constrain the identities individuals can take up through their participation in certain discourses (e.g. students must speak "academic English" in school). Finally, PPA acknowledges the need to analyze silences in policy discourse (Mazzei, 2008; Pillow, 2003), such as the absence of any discourse around race or racism in a language policy that predominantly impacts students of color.

Racialized Language Ideologies

When it comes to the study of language and language policy through a poststructural analytical frame, scholarship in *language ideologies* offers a productive lens through which to analyze the historical and sociological aspects of language and its use (González, 2005; Razfar, 2006; Rosa & Burdick, 2017; Silverstein, 1979, 2004; Wei, 2016). Through this lens, an analysis of language policy in U.S. contexts must account for the historical role of monolingual language ideologies—beliefs undergirding the logic which a certain group of language practices are idealized and framed as desirable in educational contexts (Bacon, 2018).

Monolingual language ideologies do not draw their effectiveness from being an accurate reflection of actual language practices—which have always been characterized by multilingualism in North American contexts (de Jong, 2008)—but from socially constructed ideas of what language practices should look like within a given nation or institution (Park, 2008). In this way, monolingual language ideologies construct

hierarchies of idealized language practices (i.e. "Standard English") which often map onto pre-existing class and racial hierarchies (Baker-Bell, 2013; Godley, Reaser, & Moore, 2015; Lippi-Green, 2012). This racialized nature of language ideologies undergirds "the logic by which the unequal distribution of material goods and credentials are given justification through performative mastery" (Debose, 2007) of language practices considered more "standard" or "academic." As such, monolingual language ideologies facilitate social, material, and institutional benefits for those whose language use adheres to this ideal, while simultaneously disadvantaging those whose language use is constructed as aberrant in a given society (Achugar, 2008; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1996, 2000a, 2000b). In U.S. educational contexts, as such aberrancy is frequently mapped onto the language practices of youth of color (Alim, Rickford, & Ball, 2016; Metz, 2017), and multilingual youth of color in particular (Flores & Rosa, 2015), it becomes imperative to examine the co-construction of language and race in U.S. language policy contexts (Ricento, 2000; Rosa, 2018; Wiley, 2014).

Policy-Neutrality and Race-Evasiveness

A core feature of monolingual language ideologies, however, is their pervasiveness—ubiquitous to the point of being difficult to question or analyze as ideologies in the first place (Gramling, 2016). Thus, language policies geared toward monolingualism can be framed as politically "neutral" attempts to align students language practices with those framed as dominant in a given society (Heller & McElhinny, 2017). In a similar way, such policies retain a focus on language to remain ostensibly race-neutral, despite predominantly impacting students of color in U.S. contexts (Viesca, 2013). This reflects a larger trend in U.S. educational and policy

discourse, which scholars generally refer to as "colorblindness" (Carr, 1997; Bonilla-Silva, 2018), or the erroneous implication that race does not matter or can be ignored in modern contexts. Recently, scholars have advocated for an alternative terminology around this concept. Annamma, Jackson, and Morrison (2017), for example, have argued against the term "colorblind" both for its ablest underpinnings—the use of an actual condition as a metaphor for something undesirable—but also for the passive implications of the term "… as something one is struck with or victim to, [which] ignores the power of white supremacy and whiteness to actively evade discussions on race" (p. 153). Throughout this piece, I therefore join scholars including Frankenberg (1993), Dickar (2008), Jupp, Leckie, Cabrera, and Utt (2019) in adopting the terminology "race-evasive" as a more accurate labeling of the act of ignoring or avoiding discussions of race.

Literature Review

Through the theoretical frameworks described above, this study focuses on how instructors address or evade the topics of language policy and race in teacher education—overlapping topics that are often considered politicized or extraneous to teachers' pedagogical roles. The following literature frames what has currently been explored in scholarly literature in relation to this focus. I begin with the broad contestations around the place of political topics in education, and how the field of language ideologies frames this debate. I then highlight scholarship that specifically explores policy and racial awareness in teacher education. Finally, I illustrate spaces in which more research is required to more fully understand how such awareness develops in relation to teaching in racially and linguistically diverse contexts.

Education and Politics

The politicized nature of classroom instruction is a consistently debated topic in the field of education. On one side, there is a generalized notion of schools as apolitical places where teachers are often hesitant to engage in topics considered overtly political or divisive (Gay, 2005; Stone, Hering, Jones, & Pierannunzi, 2001). Recent movements opposing ethnic studies curricula (Delgado, 2012) or "Black Lives Matter weeks" in schools (Kauffman, 2017) ground their arguments in the notion of an education that prepares students around academic content and professional training rather than social reformation (Schiro, 2013). Numerous legal cases have sought to label such education as overtly politicized "indoctrination" (Stolzenberg, 1993). In many cases, teachers simply struggle to find time to address topics that are not included in standardized curricula (Ravitch, 2013), standards that many argue aim to ostensibly de-politicize the curriculum (Apple, 2018; Au, 2011; Ayers, Quinn, Stovall, & Scheiern, 2008).

Conversely, many argue the impossibility of political neutrality in teaching. As far back as 1932, the keynote speaker for the Progressive Education Association argued against what he called a fallacy of an education "completely divorced from politics…" (p. 18) positing that "all education contains a large element of [political] imposition…" and that "the grand acceptance of this fact by the educator is a major professional obligation…" (Counts, 1932, p. 18). Critical theorist Paulo Freire similarly argued that "Washing one's hands of the conflict between the powerful and the powerless means to side with the powerful, not to be neutral" (1985, p. 155). More recently, scholars such as Love (2019) and Zembylas (2006) have argued for the necessity of explicitly addressing

current political issues within education, such as racial violence and oppression, if there is to be hope of disrupting these issues within in broader society.

Policy and Race in Language Ideology

However, through the framework of language ideologies, the pedagogical becomes inseparable from the political, especially when it comes to language policy and race. Scholars of language ideologies have pointed to the role of race and racism in U.S. language policy (Wiley, 2000, 2014) and English teaching (Kubota & Lin, 2009), particularly in regard to English-only movements (Viesca, 2013). Scholars have also pointed to the importance of analyzing the ways in which these racialized policies manifest within classrooms. This necessitates racial awareness in teaching, particularly in regard to the majority of white teachers who teach students of color (Baker-Bell, 2017; Emdin, 2016; Moore, Michael, & Penick-Parks, 2017). From this perspective, race and language ideologies inevitably intersect in education, particularly in the way teachers listen to multilingual/multidialectal students of color and way they understand their students and value or devalue their language use (Alim et al., 2016; Flores & Rosa, 2015, 2019).

Policy and Racial Awareness among Teachers

Through such a lens, the intersections between race and language policy have important implications for teaching. There has been a growing body of research on teachers' role as language policy interpreters (Arias & Faltis, 2012; de Jong, Gort, & Cobb, 2005; Heineke, Ryan, & Tocci, 2015; Levinson, Sutton, & Winstead, 2009; Menken & García, 2010; Moore, 2012). In researching the implementation of SEI mandates, for example, scholars have documented how teachers and other school

personnel can disrupt policies they view as problematic (de Jong, 2008; Newcomer & Collier, 2015; Wright & Choi, 2006). Marschall, Rigby, & Jenkins (2011) borrow Lipsky's (1980) concept of "street-level bureaucrats" to highlight the power of local actors in interpreting SEI policies. Likewise, Gort, de Jong, & Cobb (2008) documented ways in which three districts maintained bilingual education models while still obeying the letter of Massachusetts's English-only policy, concluding that SEI "does not have a fixed meaning but will necessarily be socially constructed within each context by the beliefs, experiences, and histories of the individuals involved" (p. 41).

There also exists a rich range of literature on the importance of teachers' recognition of racial dynamics the classroom, particularly in light of the demographic mismatch between teachers and their students (Espinoza-Herold & González-Carriedo; Faltis & Valdés, 2016; Haddix, 2017; NCES, 2018). Race, thus, is deeply relevant but remains a difficult topic to address in education, particularly within predominantly white spaces characterized by race-evasiveness (Annamma et al., 2017; DiAngelo, 2016, 2018). This lack of racial literacy within the profession impacts not only white teachers, but also impacts the recruitment and retention of teachers of color through the lack of support and preponderance of microaggressions they often face in their professional work (Kohli, 2019; Haddix, 2017).

Expanding the Literature

From a language ideologies perspective that sees race and language policy as fundamentally intertwined in U.S. education, it is necessary to study teachers' awareness of these dynamics. However, while there exists a growing body of literature on teachers' ideological development around race (e.g. Brown, 2014; DiAngelo, 2016; Howard &

Aleman, 2008), and around linguistic diversity (e.g. Banes, Martínez, Athanases, & Wong, 2016; Farr & Song, 2011; Jimenez-Silva et al., 2012; Menken & García, 2010), the topics of race and language are generally researched separately. As such, there exists little empirical work that addresses the overlap in how teachers learn (or do not learn) about the intersections of race and language instruction simultaneously. While some research has been generative in exploring language teachers' awareness around the overlapping dynamics of language and race (e.g. Kubota & Lin, 2009), less literature examines *how* this awareness is developed. In other words, much of the current research documents and problematizes contexts in which individuals representing the white, monolingual majority of the U.S. teaching force have difficulty navigating the dynamics of language policy and race, but places little focus on where teachers *learned* these problematic practices and why they weren't somehow interrupted within teacher education coursework.

Furthermore, the existing research places little emphasis on teacher *educators* who play a key role in facilitating teacher coursework and professional development. According to Faltis & Valdés (2016), "We have no information at present on what teacher educators in all their roles understand about language and language diversity… [or] their attitudes toward language and language diversity in schools" (p.555). Thus, while there is a growing body of work that examines beliefs and ideologies among teachers in regard to race and language policy, there exists almost no similar work with teacher educators as the main research population. As such, we have little indication of (1) how teacher educators conceptualize the dynamics of race and language policy in relation to teacher education, (2) how they do or do not address these topics with

teachers, or (3) what dispositional and contextual factors determine the degree to which they engage with such topics.

Therefore, this study focuses on teacher educators and their choices around whether, and how, to address the topics of language policy and race in teacher education. Framing teacher education as a key space in which teachers can either develop productive awareness around these dynamics, or learn to participate in the continued act of their erasure, this study explores teacher educators' role in these dynamics through a language ideological lens. This focus enables the study to examine what experiences, ideologies, and contextual factors contribute to whether, and how, teacher educators address the intersections of race and language policy. The implementation of a state-wide SEI endorsement initiative in Massachusetts provides a productive context for the exploration of these dynamics, as outlined below.

Methods

Policy Initiative Under Study

Recent shifts in Massachusetts language policy provide an illustrative case of these dynamics. Federal oversight prompted the state to implement an ambitious initiative requiring the state's 60,000+ teachers to earn an endorsement in Sheltered English Immersion (SEI), largely through state-approved coursework. The state had come under federal investigation, not for having mandated statewide English-only education through a 2002 voter referendum, but "by not mandating adequate training for SEI teachers" (DOJ, 2011, p. 1). Thus, this initiative presents a specific example of policy mandates that center teacher education as the "fix" for addressing broader inequities stemming

from racialized language policies that have historically confronted emergent bilingual students in U.S. contexts (Bacon, Paper 1; Wiley, 2000).

According to the Massachusetts Department of Elementary and Secondary education (henceforth DESE), the SEI endorsement initiative "… represents a commitment to address the persistent gap in academic proficiency experienced by ELL students" (DESE, 2017, n.p.). As of this writing, the SEI endorsement remains a requirement for teachers across the state (DESE, 2019a, 2019b). In its most basic form, the SEI endorsement course consists of 45 hours of coursework on second language acquisition, English language development, best practices for SEI, and socio-emotional/socio-cultural competencies for teaching students deemed ELLs (DESE, 2014, 2019b). The state designed its own course, which it rolled out to teachers across the state between 2013-2016. During this time, university teacher preparation programs were required to submit SEI course syllabi to the state in order for their licensure programs to result in teacher SEI endorsement, and provisions were also put in place for private contractors to become state-approved course providers. In addition, private providers were also contracted to deliver the course based on the state's formatting. This study analyzes policy interpretation across all three of these types of providers: (1) District, (2) University, and (3) Private providers.

Data Sources

The data for this study consisted of interviews with SEI course instructors, who were responsible for translating this policy to the 60,000+ teachers across the state during the main rollout of this initiative (2013-2016), many of whom continue to teach the course today. Participant recruitment was guided through purposive sampling (Miles,

Huberman, & Saldaña, 2014) and limited to individuals who had served as instructors for the SEI endorsement course. As previous research on SEI endorsements identified the importance of the type of institution (Moore, 2012), I tracked participants' institution types—labeled as DIS (district), UNI (university) and PRI (private providers; i.e. nonprofits or alternative certification programs) while recruiting interviewees to maintain a broad representation of geographical and institutional affiliations (See Table 1).

I located prospective participants through publicly available state databases, university course listings, school district websites, and recommendations from members of professional ESL associations in Massachusetts. This process resulted in the recruitment of 33 participants. As sampling procedures were not randomized, this sample should not be considered as necessarily representative of the general population of instructors across the state. However, these participants represent a variety of institutional and geographical settings, and as such, are theorized to provide a broad spectrum of policy interpretation. Demographic characteristics of the sample also align with the general teaching population of the state—most participants identified as White (n=27; 82%), and in all but two cases, as female. Though fully acknowledging the limitations of broad, binary categories of "White" and "people of color" (see Table 1), I do not disaggregate racial categories further as this may make specific participants identifiable within their institutional contexts. The sample included relative linguistic diversity with 20 participants (60%) identifying as bilingual, eight of whom (24% of total sample) having gone through ESL programs in their own K-12 schooling.

Interviews followed a semi-structured protocol (see Appendix) with questions covering key areas of interest to my research questions and concepts that were

Table 1

Participant Variables Definitions & Overview

Variable	Definition	Category	# of participants (n=33)
Affiliation & Region			
Primary Affiliation	Participant's primary affiliation for teaching the SEI course	University	12
		District	12
		Private	9
Multiple Affiliation	Whether the participant taught the course within multiple affiliation types.	Yes	7
		No	26
Region	Regional designation of participants' institution	Metro Boston (7 institutions)	14
		NE/SE Mass (6 institutions)	10
		Central Mass (3 institutions)	4
		Western Mass (4 institutions)	5
Course			
Times Taught Course	Number of times participant has taught the course.	1-2	8
		3-6	4
		7+	21
Language			
Identify as bilingual	Whether participant self-identified as bilingual	Yes	20
		No	13
Experienced ESL	Whether participant reported having English as a Second Language instruction	Yes	8
		No	25
Race			
Identify as person of color	Participant's racial/ethnic identification (collapsed to categorical "Identify as Person of Color" to protect anonymity)	Yes	6
		No	27

highlighted in previous literature, including (1) Personal/institutional background, (2) course delivery, and (3) policy/demographic context of the state. I piloted the interview protocol with two experienced SEI course instructors who were not participants in the

larger study and revised the wording of questions based on these instructors' feedback. I chose to conduct single interviews with each participant due to the fact that the main rollout of the RETELL initiative occurred between 2013-2016, so participants' reflection on their roles were largely retrospective. Participants were offered interviews by phone, videoconference, or in person, with the majority opting for phone interviews. Interviews lasted approximately one hour.

Data Analysis

Data analysis was informed by Allan's (2008) policy discourse analysis—an analytic method that merges established methods of qualitative and critical discourse analysis with poststructural policy analysis (PPA). Allan's method was developed in the field of gender studies in higher education, but has also been employed to study language policy (Hernandez, 2013) and normative language structures (Flores, 2013). Borrowing from a range of critical, qualitative, and poststructural traditions, Allan's method offers both the methodological rigor of established qualitative analytical methods as well as the interrogations of assumptions and silences around policy afforded through PPA. I augmented Allan's approach, which is primarily used with policy documents, with interview data, drawing on approaches recommended by Saldaña (2016) for traditional qualitative interview analysis and Bacchi and Goodwin's (2016) approach to interview analysis from a poststructural lens.

Phase 1. Inductive & Deductive Coding. Phase 1 of Allan's approach draws on Altheide and Schneider's (2013) qualitative media analysis, an approach that involves analyzing the texts through a mix of deductive and inductive coding through established qualitative coding methods (Miles et al., 2014; Saldaña, 2016). This approach enabled me

to apply existing theory to the data gathered in this study, while at the same time allowing emergent themes to extend or contradict these theories based on the particular experiences of the policy interpreters (Luker, 2008).

Following this approach, I read each text in its entirety, taking notes on general impressions, then uploaded the document into MAXQDA qualitative data analysis software. I began by applying general *identification codes* to sort interviews by participant demographic characteristics. I then applied deductive codes derived from my research questions and my literature review on language ideologies, English-only, and SEI policies, which were designed to highlight sections of the data relevant to the RETELL policy itself (policy codes), language (language codes), particular groups or individuals (person codes), or race (race codes). During the coding process, I identified additional inductive codes based on emergent topics and patterns within the data that I had not previously identified, using code mapping to track the generation and consolidation of these emergent codes (Anfara, Brown, & Mangione, 2002). Throughout this process, I wrote analytic memos to track my own reflections on the ongoing data analysis (Rossman & Rallis, 2012). The result of this analysis was an initial schema of coded excerpts to be drawn on for phase 2 of the analysis.

Phase 2: Poststructural Discourse Analysis. As previously mentioned, poststructural policy analysis focuses on policy assumptions, absences, and subject positions created within policy discourse. A poststructural analysis will bring into question the ways in which language ideologies act as a productive ideologies. Productive, in this case, does not necessarily mean "positive" or "constructive," but productive in the active sense of *producing* certain assumptions, absences, or subject

positions. To engage in this process Allan (2008) recommends re-reading data in both its original full-text form and the thematically organized code reports (i.e. revisiting phase 1), with an eye toward these assumptions, silences, and subject positions.

At this stage, I compared and contrasted tensions across participants and in how they implemented their courses and their justifications for their approaches. I first revisited the "problem construction" codes to see how problems are framed, and thus solutions limited, within the SEI course itself and participants' interpretation of the course. This analysis also drew on the "person codes" from phase 1 to explore the ways participants described learners, teachers, and other stakeholders in light of the assumptions embedded within these framings. Next, I analyzed silences by comparing themes that participants prioritized with the literature on language ideologies, English-only, and SEI to themes addressed in my data analysis. In analyzing these absences, Allan recommends asking "[W]hat do these silences say? How do they work to make particular images predominant and obscure others? What might be some policy consequences of these silences?" (2008, p. 63), In this way, I drew on these questions to ask how participants' interpretation of the SEI course, and the state's language policy overall, (re)produce particular language ideologies subject positions for those impacted by the policy.

I report the results of this analysis below, topically organized by policy, followed by race. Participants are labeled with a randomized number (01-33) attached to their primary institutional affiliation: DIS (district), UNI (university) or PRI (private/nonprofit providers). For clarity, I use the term *instructors* to refer to the participants, *teachers* to refer to the K-12 educators enrolled in their courses, and *students* to reference K-12

pupils. Participants mainly adopted the state's linguistic designation to refer to students as ELLs (English Language Learners). I use the term ELLs when referencing participants' discourse, but use the term *emergent bilinguals* in my own discussion of students.

Findings Part 1: Policy

Participant interviews revealed a range of engagement with the topic of language policy within the course. As with the topic of race later in the piece, I group approaches by the specificity with which instructors engaged with the topic, described as either policy/race-*evasive* or policy/race-*intentional*. Importantly, these designations should not be understood as a judgement around individual instructors' intentions or professional conduct, but rather, they serve to highlight the discursive complexities that must take place in order to produce an SEI endorsement course in which policy and/or race can be shaped as irrelevant. I begin with an exploration of policy-specific discourse below, which will be followed by a second findings section on the topic of race. The discussion section will bring together the findings on policy and race to discuss the language ideologies and subject positions produced when analyzing this data through a poststructural lens (see Table 2).

Table 2

Findings Overview

		Evasive	Intentional
Policy	Pedagogies	Bracketing Outsourcing	Framing Connecting Subtle Guidance
	Justifications	Self-Neutrality Teacher Disinterest Derailing	Professional Importance Teacher Interpretation
Race	Pedagogies	Omission Proxies	Naming Reflexivity
	Justifications	Not the Point Personal Discomfort Teacher Population	Teacher Population Positionality
Overlapping Tensions (See Discussion)		**Erasing vs. Naming** **Bracketing vs. Framing** **Deferring vs. Disrupting**	

Policy-Evasiveness: Bracketing & Outsourcing

Bracketing. The official course began with an overview of state and national policies around students deemed ELLs that was largely bracketed from the remainder of the course. Illustrating how this bracketing functioned as a vehicle for policy-avoidance, participants mentioned policy coming up either exclusively, or most frequently, "in the beginning section where you teach the laws and stuff" (31-DIS), or during "a segment of the curriculum that addresses [policy] so they understand where we're coming from."(12-

UNI). This broad overview of state and U.S. policies around language, was recalled by 02-PRI as delivered "in a straight-forward line—this rule, then this was the law, this was the court case" before moving onto the remainder of the course. The remaining course material was described by 29-UNI as "much more practical—reading, writing, speaking, etc." in which "we don't refer to [policy] as much." (29-UNI). In this way, participants articulated policy as largely separate from the strategies covered in the course, co-constructing policy avoidance with the state syllabus itself by bracketing policy as an issue to be addressed in a broad overview before getting into the more "practical" (29-UNI) aspects of the course.

A second form of bracketing involved waiting for teachers to broach the topic, then constraining the topic to these short Q&A moments. In this way, policy did resurface during other sessions of the course, "via [teachers'] questions" (01-PRI). 21-DIS reflected that "a lot of times it's participants' questions" that provided the impetus to discuss policy, and 20-DIS articulated a stance wherein she would address policy if a teacher inquired about it, but otherwise avoided the topic in what she described as a stance of neutrality.

> There's not a lot of opportunity for [teachers in the course] to debate policy. It's not because I don't allow it, because I absolutely would if someone brought something up, but I don't bring it up myself. Maybe it's going to sound like an oxymoron—I try to keep a neutral stance, but then at the same time, I will talk about what's discussed [by students] in the course. (20-DIS)

Thus, within this strategy of policy avoidance, the discussion was not specifically disallowed, but the onus was placed on teachers in the course to broach the topic. And even in these cases, policy-avoidant approaches involved an instructor prioritizing "a

neutral stance" (20-DIS) around the topic, thus providing minimal guidance during these bracketed moments of discussion.

Outsourcing. In another form of policy-evasiveness, policy discussions were often outsourced through additional, optional resources that teachers could access, separate from the required materials of the course. Some instructors would "encourage [teachers] to be member of their local affiliates and international affiliates of whatever their discipline is" (17-DIS). Other instructors would provide a list of research or extra articles on language policies and alternative program models so teachers could "read about [policy] and then come to their own conclusions or discussions about it" (30-UNI). When 01-PRI's students brought up questions of policy and alternatives to English-only instruction, she remembered needing to cut off the conversations after "under ten minutes" for the sake of addressing the rest of the day's required material. As she recalled

> The way I ended the conversation… was just pointing people towards research, [saying] "If you're looking to learn more about the benefits of being bilingual or the benefits of dual language literacy here is some research, here is what I can point you to." (01-PRI)

As with bracketing and teacher-initiation, outsourcing maintained policy-avoidance, specifically by framing the topic as optional or extraneous to the course material, and therefore as extraneous to teachers' work with emergent bilinguals overall.

Justifications for Policy-Evasiveness

It is important to note that the approaches described above might simply be described as reflective of the course material itself. However, when asked if participants felt the course covered policy adequately, participants began to describe a more active role in avoiding policy, suggesting that policy avoidance was not exclusively a matter of curricular imposition, but was also co-constructed by course instructors.

Self-Neutrality. When asked if they felt they played a role in interpreting policy for their teachers, some participants downplayed their role, often associating policy interpretation with being "political" or lacking neutrality. "We won't talk politics" 24-DIS summarized as her approach to the course. "I don't think I interpret policy. I try not to. I try to avoid politics…." reflected 30-UNI, "So I wouldn't call myself a [policy] interpreter. I just think I lay out the history for them in a text-based way. Others described policy as a fixed, external factor beyond the need for interpretation.

> I don't know if interpreting is the correct way of looking at it or if I look at it as just explaining why [our policy] is here…. Policy's going to roll out the way policy rolls out… (08-DIS)

Still others maintained a general disinterest in the topic. "I have no idea [about policy] to be honest" stated 03-PRI, "I'm so in the weeds with my work at school. I haven't thought much about [policy]."

Teacher Disinterest. Like 03-PRI, some instructors maintained that teachers who are "in the weeds," had little interest or need for discussions around policy. "As far as explaining all about policy to SEI teachers" said 08-DIS, "I don't think that that's really their wheelhouse, their concern." Others saw little purpose in discussing a topic in which teachers exerted little influence.

> I think in terms of working with experienced teachers, this is the policy, we can have a discussion on it, I think that's an interesting exercise to talk about, but at the end of the day, the policy is the policy. (09-PRI)

However, the most common justification for policy-avoidance was the assumption that teachers had little interest in the topic, and were more interested in day-to-day strategies for their classroom. When asked if her teachers would be interested in further policy discussions, 33-DIS replied "My guess would be no, just from my experience with my

different classes." She described teachers' inspiration as "give me something to do so I know, when I get to the classroom, what to do with these kids" (33-DIS). "Well let me tell you," assured 13-PRI, teachers "go for the strategies. There's no doubt about it." Seeing policy as an abstract concept to teachers, she felt that "Every time you go in lofty, you lose them" (13-PRI).

Derailing. Conversely, other instructors avoided policy topics because they feared too much interest from teachers. 01-PRI described a need to curtail conversation around the state's English-only policy due to her feeling that it was "one of those conversations that has a tendency to spiral and could really derail the entire course." She described her approach as "tip toeing around not wanting to incite rebellion around the fact that Massachusetts…was English-only. (01-PRI). Similarly, 20-DIS described policy as a topic "I don't actively bring up because that can breed a situation where teachers have different opinions and lead the class askew..." She later reflected on her own aversion to policy discussions due to the fact that the topic

> would breed a situation of complaints—"Well, my principal doesn't do this," and, "I don't get this," and, "If the policy is supposed to be this, we're not seeing it in our classrooms." … [and] to be completely honest, I don't want to hear people complain. I just don't. I think that's why I don't bring certain [policies] up. (20-DIS)

Therefore, policy-avoidant approaches were generally justified through a personal distaste for the topic, general disinterest or disempowerment, or—contrastingly—through framing policy as a topic of hyper-interest that would "derail" (01-PRI) the course. All of these justifications worked to co-construct policy avoidance, as juxtaposed with the approaches of policy intentionality described below.

Policy-Intentionality: Framing, Connecting, Subtle Guidance

Framing. Since all participants were working from the same initial course material, this grouping of participants also tended to address policy toward the beginning of the course. However, rather than leaving the topic of policy *bracketed* at the beginning of the course, some instructors found ways to use policy as *framing* to be revisited throughout the course. 29-UNI, for example, had students research and create a timeline of U.S. language policy. She left the students' timeline "up throughout the whole course…. So that whatever we're doing… we continuously look back to the history of language policy and how that effects the course" (29-UNI). Through such structured activities, 25-PRI found her teachers highly, and productively, engaged with the topic of policy.

> The course does a decent job of having some brief summaries of some of the most important landmark cases that inform [ELL education]…. I also bring in a bunch of [student] case studies… They love actually applying the legal information that they've learned to a specific student.... (25-PRI)

Such framing approaches drew connections between policies, the strategies of the course, and teachers' day to day role as policy advocates for individual students.

Connecting. Instructors in this grouping also saw a disconnect between teachers' view of their practice and policy. However, this was framed less as an issue of disinterest, and more as an issue of disempowerment. Therefore, policy-intentionality involved placing emphasis structured experiences for teachers to learn about their role in interpreting policy. "Teachers often see themselves as detached from policy and just implementers of policy instead of influencers on policy" said 16-UNI, "So, I want them to develop the skills to analyze policy on their own. (16-UNI). Policy interpretation was framed as a skill to be developed, and the first step was often "giving [teachers] the space

to discuss" (06-DIS) policy and facilitating dialoge on how policy interpretation connected to their role as teachers.

> I think that our role is… making them aware that teaching is political because teaching is very much affected by the policy. So, whatever your opinion is, you have to be aware that … everything that happens in the classroom, those decisions are made by policymakers. (06-DIS)

For some instructors, these skills could set the foundation for larger advocacy. 16-UNI hoped that, through her course, teachers "formed an identity as a teacher activist and an advocate." She also hoped that her teachers were "not seeing themselves simply as implementing methods and skills or pedagogical tools, but that they're also positioned to advocate for their emerging bilingual students (16-UNI). Thus policy-intentional approaches involved connecting the topic of policy, and overall advocacy, to teachers' roles in working with emergent bilingual populations.

Subtle Guidance. Instructors across the sample were aware that their teachers often had little experience teaching emergent bilingual learners. Some participants even described them as "blank slates" (09-PRI) when it came to language learning strategies. However, when it came to policy, even instructors who emphasized policy-intentionality, did so tentatively—and with a notable degree of self-censorship. This subtle guidance approach generally involved, "paint[ing] a landscape" (10-UNI) of different policy orientations and program models, and letting teachers "make their own choices" (07-UNI) as to the appropriacy of these models. Some participants, for example, had done substantial research around the state's English-only educational model, but held back from sharing their expertise with students.

> I was cautious about saying too much about my own beliefs about… whether that was the right [policy] or not. I just said, "this is the state's policy" and then some other people would share reflections on "I think that is bogus" or "I think that's

great" …. (01-PRI)

While the course itself was predicated upon direct-instruction in specific strategies for teachers to use in the classroom, when it came to issues of policy, instructors often felt teachers needed less specific guidance, opting instead for teacher-led discussion or debate around the issue. In relation to the state's English-only policy, for example, participants described their interest in "having multiple perspectives" on the policy in which the class "weighed the pros and cons but ultimately, [instructors] didn't tell them what was right or wrong" (04-PRI). Thus, even the instructors who emphasized policy-intentionality the most were generally reluctant to provide specific guidance around issues of policy.

Justifications for Policy-Intentionality

Professional Importance. Policy-intentionality was often justified by highlighting policy as an imperative topic for the profession. 21-DIS felt teachers "should be able to interpret policy… to explain why a policy is the way that it is and then highlight some of the pros and cons about the policy." For DIS-06,"The policies show our values, so we need to talk about that." With these assertions came a willingness to embrace the controversy that had caused other instructors to avoid the topic. "All the ESL teachers I know have an opinion about policy" said (05-PRI), and so I would say that you can't help but infuse that into the way that you teach the course." Likewise, 21-DIS framed the inevitability of strong opinions as "an opportunity for people to voice their opinions and to bring out these [policy] issues."

Instructors taking this view saw the course itself as a unique venue for exploring these topics, and that "ESL policy in general is definitely a political thing," (05-PRI) necessitating the topic as essential to address in a course. In addition, policy intentionality

involved instructors seeing themselves as playing a key role in interpreting policy for their teachers. As summarized by 27-UNI

> Oh, I think teacher educators, absolutely, are policy interpreters, whether we explicitly say we are or not. Because we make the choices in terms of how we implement… our course, in the way we present it, and the kinds of conversations we engage in in the classroom…. there's no way to step outside of that. (27-UNI)

Thus, such approaches necessitated a reflexivity around both teachers' and teacher educators' role in policy interpretation, with instructors highlighting connections between language policy and classroom practice.

Other instructors prioritized policy-intentionality for what they saw as connections between the course and the state's English-only policy, a policy they had strong opinions against. Thus, they extended the professional importance of policy interpretation to their own role in furthering or disrupting the English-only policy through their course instruction. For example, 03-PRI emphasized the role of instructors in interpreting the ambiguities around the use of students' home languages in class, asserting that it "totally depends on the [SEI] instructor" to interpret this policy for teachers. She clarified,

> I can imagine some instructor saying…"Oh, you can't use their languages at all. You know it's English-only," and being really strict about that. But, another instructor might… say, "Well, you can use it. Here's some examples where you might use it. Here's some non-examples. So, it just depends on where the instructor wants to take it. (03-PRI)

Some instructors even saw the course as not only reflecting the English-only policy, but reinforcing it. "I think the course was definitely designed for English-only" said (13-PRI), while 24-DIS situated the initiative as part of "an English only movement. It began from there, and it stems from there." These instructors justified this connection by referencing the fact that all of the strategies in the course were English-only methods.

"The course is absolutely reinforcing [the English only policy]" felt 07-UNI, "for teachers, it clearly is [telling them] here's what you're gonna do." If teachers were being equipped only with Sheltered English strategies, the logic went, and little overview of bilingual education programs or methods, the policy would be maintained through the practices resulting from the course. 10-UNI saw English-only as extending beyond any single policy or course, positing that "Even if the English only policy is gone, the ideology is still so widely circulating." She thus saw the course itself as a "a space to chip away at that [ideology]." (10-UNI)

Teacher Interpretation. However, even the most policy-intentional instructors were generally hesitant about giving too much guidance around policy, framing policy guidance as personal opinion rather than professional expertise. Instructors strove to "rein in some of my own perspectives" (16-UNI), or to "leave space for [teachers] to interpret differently" (10-UNI). Even when instructors took strong private stances about the viability of the state's language policies, they tended not to share their perspectives in class for fear of being "preachy" (23-UNI) or getting on a "soapbox" (07-UNI). "My theoretical leaning is towards bilingualism, not English only," asserted 07-UNI. Still, in her instruction, she strongly prioritized "letting [teachers] make their own choices." (07-UNI). Likewise, 04-PRI was "against the [English-only] law… because I didn't learn Spanish by just being spat at in Spanish," but kept her own perspective out of class discussion, noting that "It was interesting having those other perspectives" from teachers in the course.

Thus, there arose a contrast between the amount of authority instructors granted to teachers in relation to pedagogical strategies versus opinions on policy. Across the

sample, instructors tended to frame their teachers as having little experience teaching with emergent bilinguals, language acquisition theory, or even having learned an additional language. 09-PRI, for example, who had described teachers as "blank slates," explained that teachers were "hungry to know what it is they needed to do to have strategies they could use with students" (09-PRI) and required specific, direct instruction around what pedagogies to use. When it came to policy, however, 09-PRI took the opposite approach.

> [My] guidance [around policy] is not, "this is what you should do,"…. At the end of the day, it's not my role to say what is or is not appropriate since so much of working with English Language Learners is to some extent a gray area…. I'm not really there to define what that line is (09-PRI)

Similarly, 10-UNI felt that, as an instructor, is was her role to "…paint a scene [of] historical trends, and a little bit of interpretation too." However, she also emphasized "leaving some space for teachers to craft their own interpretation or reject yours and be fine with that" (10-UNI). Thus, even policy-intentional instructors afforded space for a broad range of teacher interpretation when it came to policy, in a sense, engaging in their own form of "bracketing" of their own professional knowledge in exchange for open teacher interpretation.

Findings Part 2: Race

As 15-UNI described "it's very difficult to have conversations about current educational policy without bringing up issues of equity and inclusion, including around race." 02-PRI was even more direct, asserting that the course itself was a product of "this really racist [English-only] law" (02-PRI). In this way, some participants made clear the connections between discussions around language policy and discussion of race, even though the topic of race was largely absent within the state's course materials itself.

However, as race was another topic associated with controversy and politicization, other instructors engaged in complex practices by which to avoid the topic, as explored below (see Table 2).

Race-Evasiveness: Outright Omission and Racial Proxies

Outright omission. When asked, participants generally affirmed race to be an important topic when it comes to students deemed ELLs, but upon reflection, many expressed surprise that their course did not, in fact, address race specifically. "Race didn't really come up, shockingly" reflected 01-PRI, "I don't think it was ever brought up in the course." As with 01-PRI, this topic was generally answered in the passive voice, about race "not coming up" (14-UNI) in the course itself or among teachers. Yet, an implied understanding of emergent bilinguals as students of color was consistent in the way instructors described linguistically diverse populations. 24-DIS described a class with no emergent bilinguals as a class in which "everybody looks the same" while 13-UNI, when considering how her teachers visualized emergent bilingual students, quipped "Yeah, it's mostly us brown people" that her teachers were picturing. Reflecting on this fact,11-PRI succinctly described the way race was implicitly addressed in the course as, "you're not talking about it, but you are talking about it." (11).

When asked specifically about race in the course, participants generally reflected on its absence as problematic—noting that race was addressed "very, very little" (13-PRI) and was an aspect of the course "that was lacking" (24-DIS). As 10-UNI reflected,

> I think the interaction between race and language, at equity, at least in my syllabus, has gotten pushed down. I'd love to find some ways to make that relationship more plain for our teachers. (10-UNI)

Though, like 10-UNI, instructors felt that discussions of racial awareness "would be a really important conversation to have in the [SEI] course (05-PRI)," most had not yet found a way to consistently broach the topic within their courses. Reflective of bracketing in policy discourse, when race was addressed, participants found it largely disconnected from the bulk of the course—occurring "in the beginning, and that's about it. (07-UNI)" or in a piecemeal fashion. 04-PRI noted that the course, "briefly mention[s] race" but that the topic could be more effective if it were "more woven in as you talk about strategies. (04-PRI)

Racial proxies. One key strategy by which race evasiveness was facilitated—and the avoidance itself simultaneously hidden—was through proxies that took up space to fill the absence of racial discourse. These discourses often involved using *language* or *culture* as a proxy for racial identification. As 19-DIS described,

> I think [we] sort of dance around the race thing a bit. I'm not going to lie…. we talk about culture, we talked about language, we talked about family backgrounds, but they never really talk about race in the course itself…. (19-DIS)

Some participants maintained that the functional issue of the course was language, not race. "I think the course is more about a language perspective," argued 03-PRI, adding that "the course doesn't really distinguish [between language and race]. In contrast, 10-UNI framed the issue as one of separation between the two topics, noting that notions of "race and language have so long been separated" to produce a situation in which "some of our racial oppression has been remapped onto language oppression in a really interesting way." (10-UNI). In this way, whether through separation of language and race or using language status to supersede discussions of race, such framing allowed for the

topic of language to be addressed *in place of* race, illustrating how language status functioned as a racial proxy both for instructors and their teachers.

Similarly, a second facilitator of race evasiveness was subsuming race into broader concepts of culture. When asked how they addressed race in the course, participants often referenced "the iceberg" (08-DIS) that was a part of the state's course syllabus. This popular model depicts a visual representing the ways in which "like an iceberg, the majority of culture is below the surface" (IDOE, n.p.). The model is meant to generate discussion around the 47 aspects of culture, listed on the model most of which exist below the visible surface. The model itself makes no mention of race. Thus, the notion of race was superseded by what 28-DIS called "a more generalized concept of culture." As 08-DIS explained, "When I talk with teachers, I don't talk about race as much as I talk about culture, and culture is not just about race and ethnicity and things like that." For her, race simply wasn't "a big problem or issue or concern at all in our district." (08-DIS). As such, she did not want her teachers to "see" race when they were teaching emergent bilinguals, but to take a more holistic view of culture.

> I just want teachers to look at students as being students… I don't really see race and I don't think the course talks about race in particular but [takes] more of a cultural point of view. (08-DIS)

Similarly, 20-DIS describes discussions of race as absent within her courses, but briefly considered the role she herself might have played in influencing that absence.

> I've never encountered race ever in any of my courses, whether in a positive or negative kind of atmosphere. I think, whether by my own design or [not], I definitely tried to keep it focused on the facts versus ... Not that race isn't a fact, but I try to keep it focused on where a person is from not who they are (20-DIS).

As with 20-DIS, for many participants, the topic of race was framed as less relevant to what teachers needed to know about teaching emergent bilinguals than proxies such as language or culture.

Justifications for Race-Evasiveness

Not the point. For many instructors, the issue was simply time. In "the mad dash to get through everything in the course" race was simply "not the main point" (27-UNI) of the course. As 16-UNI recalled

> There's just so much packed into this course… it's not like taking an ethnic studies course, where you spend the whole semester learning about the history and building a classroom community and having hard conversations. That's not the goal of the course.

So, for many instructors, they questioned whether the course was indeed the right place to be discussing race, or whether that should be more appropriate in a separate course. 09-PRI said she tended to avoid discussing race in her course, but that her institution had "two phenomenal individuals who really delve into issues of diversity and equity in [a separate course]" So for 09-PRI, "when there were concerns that came up [around race] within the context of SEI" those discussions "would take place mostly in [the separate course]." Likewise, 07-UNI's university had a required course where first-year undergrads were able to "talk a lot about race and poverty." For her, this made the topic of race in the SEI course less necessary for teacher candidates because "They get that their freshman year, so that's a space we have to really talk about racial disparities (07-UNI). In this way, the combination of time scarcity, the availability of other courses, and even deference to one's fellow instructors all combined to form a justification for outsourcing the topic of race to other courses. Through this justification, instructors

entrusted that separate space to be sufficient for students to develop understandings of race and make connections to their work with emergent bilinguals.

Personal Discomfort. More often, however, the topic of race was associated with discomfort, either among participants themselves, the teachers in the course, or both. 21-DIS focused on the teachers, noting that "educators are hesitant to bring [race] up." In her experience, teachers tended to back away from the topic quickly when it did arise. As she recalled, "Occasionally [race] comes up in discussion a tiny bit, but I think it's like a place where educators are afraid to go" (21-DIS).

For some instructors, this discomfort extended to a fear of losing control over the class. 20-DIS seemed to associate the idea of talking about race, especially among a white audience, as necessarily problematic.

> [My district] is a very Caucasian, mostly affluent community, and a lot of the teachers have never really taught anyone who speaks a different language… [and] are of different color, and different descent, and race, et cetera. I was very aware of some of the conversations that the teachers were having, and making sure that it didn't steer towards anything derogatory.

Though she noted these conversations "never did" result in derogatory commentary, 20-DIS still steered conversations away from race in her course, noting that she hesitates around discussions of race because "it would not be okay for me to have any kind of race war or anything like that." Thus, the topic of race was often framed as inherently problematic and potentially explosive topic.

Teacher population. Similarly, participants referenced their predominantly white teacher population as the main reason the topic of race was problematic, or even unnecessary, within their course. 14-UNI described this as a cause-effect relationship: "Most of the people I've taught through [the course] aren't very racially diverse, so we

had fewer conversations [about race]. (14-UNI). Whether it was the teachers' own racial identity, or the fact that, or the fact that many of the teachers had "never been in diverse settings" (26-UNI), the topic of race was framed as "very hard to get white middle-class people to understand." (33-DIS). For 06-DIS, this difficulty was though to lead to a discomfort that was best avoided.

> I just think that a lot of teachers have never had to think [about race] before, and they've never even been introduced to that concept before. So then, it's very uncomfortable when they are. (06-DIS)

27-UNI gave a detailed account of an "older white man who was a career changer" and the difficulties he had with the course.

> He just kept hitting a wall with these assignments. And we had some conversations, to the point where he was in tears saying, "I know there's something I'm supposed to be getting here, and I'm just not getting it." And it was hard. It was really hard for somebody, based on his life path, to really be able to step outside of his own shoes. (27-UNI)

Thus, the absence of dialogue on race within the course was largely attributed to either (1) the irrelevance of the topic to a white population, or (2) the discomfort the topic of race might, or did, cause for this population.

Race-Intentionality: Naming and Reflexivity

Naming. With so many factors facilitating race-evasiveness, including the course itself, participants who did include substantial discussion of race in the course became noteworthy. While such inclusion was rare in the sample, a significant focus among only seven (21%) participants' discussion of their coursework, I highlight these participants' strategies and justifications to illustrate ways in which race-evasiveness is not necessarily inevitable. Most instructors who took on more race-intentional approaches simply did so by naming the topic head on. For 19-DIS, race became salient in light of the fact that

"Most of our students who speak a language other than English are also not white (19-DIS). UNI-15 described the topic of race as "inescapable if you're going to teach this material." She referred to the policy aspects of the course material as evidence for this inevitability.

> If you look at the laws and policies… You can't talk about that and not have it be around race. If you talk about the Bilingual Education Act you can't talk about that and gloss over the fact that not all of these students were white (UNI-15)

However, even the race-intentional instructors noted that it was not easy to address race, particularly with predominantly white audiences and/or individuals with less experience discussing race. 16-UNI simply addressed the challenge face on, to spotlight the topic of race as particularly salient within the broader proxy of culture. "[If] I'm going to be asking them to talk about culture," she decided, "I'm also going to ask them to talk about race in particular [because] language and race and culture are just so entwined." (16-UNI). Her main strategy was to have "Socratic discussion[s] about race," in which she and the teachers "had conversations about how it makes us feel to talk about race" (16-UNI). While their techniques varied, there was general agreement among these instructors that "until we start talking about [race] as educators, or in a course like this, we're never going to really move forward" (21-DIS).

Other instructors, noting the fraught nature of spontaneous, unstructured conversation around race, addressed the topic in more structured ways.15-UNI, for example, emphasized demographic and student achievement data in her approach to facilitating race-intentional conversations.

> We look at state statistics around most common nationality, most common languages, and we begin with kind of empirical data that there's less opportunity for disagreement on…. I find that starting from that has been a reasonably good in road into having those conversations [about race], because they see the data in front of

them, and it's grounded in the context that they're familiar with. (15-UNI).

She would then move to more open discussion, but asked students to discuss specific "inconsistencies" such as Dual Language programming becoming "very appealing to middle class white monolingual families, but somehow a detriment when it comes to larger communities of color…" (15-UNI). In this way, she found that providing specific data and structured topics for students to discuss generally led to more productive discussions around the topic.

Reflexivity. Pre-established racial awareness was another factor relevant to facilitating these discussions. For many participants, this involved guiding teachers to develop racial literacy, particularly among white educators. "If you can name your own race and positionality," hypothesized 27-UNI,"then you're more likely to be able to engage in those conversations [about race]." Once these norms were established, 17-UNI found that students could engage with the topics "really effectively in their papers, both white students and students of color." (27-UNI). 16-UNI drew on her own journey of white racial awareness to model that process for white teachers, giving "examples of myself and what I've learned about my whiteness and my family's whiteness" in order to encourage white teachers to reflect on their own racial positionality. She acknowledged, however, that engaging in the topic of race required extensive community building to provide a space in which "people still feel supported and comfortable to share and make mistakes (16-UNI). Recognizing that such an atmosphere "can be really hard to develop," 16-UNI still framed the conversation as one for which the benefits outweighed the risks.

Justifications for Race-Intentionality

Teacher Population. Notably, all instructors were working with the same largely white population of teachers, a homogeneity most drew on to justify race-evasive approaches. In contrast, race-intentional approaches were often justified as seeing these population dynamics as necessitating discussions of race rather than being reason to avoid the topic. "I think that, especially when you have a teaching population that is majority white, middle class" reflected 06-DIS "it's important to talk about our biases and talk about our assumptions." Rather than framing the topic of race as irrelevant among predominantly white populations, some instructors saw the course as a rare opportunity in a professional contexts in which " groups of white [teachers] typically don't have the opportunity to talk about race" (16-UNI).

There was also a sense of generational shift and national ethos around normalizing the discussions of race, even within predominantly white spaces. For DIS-06, the issue was generational, noting that her younger teachers' "generation is more open talking about [race]." 22-UNI reflected on some possible causes for a similar shift.

> I think because of movements like Black Lives Matter and [other movements] like that, people are less likely to hear their first mention of words like systematic inequality or institutional racism from me…. and I think, actually a fair amount of them have an interest in issues like that, and that's part of what led them to teaching. (22-UNI)

Thus, when addressed with intentionality, participants generally found that their teachers "are open to these conversations" (15-UNI) about race.

Instructors remained aware of the potential discomforts that come up when discussing race. However, in contrast to viewing this as a naturally-occurring inevitability, some instructors problematized what might be causing this discomfort.

> I think most people in the United States are afraid to talk about race, because we've made it scary to talk about. And I think [teacher educators] are afraid sometimes to cause discord in the classroom, because they feel that would mean they were not being a good instructor.

Instead of shying away from discord, 16-UNI took the approach of "just acknowledge that it's hard" to find productivity in the discomfort around the topic. 12-UNI had mentioned having difficulty addressing race in the course, but reflected on the role educators could play, and are currently playing, in turning this difficulty into a more productive discomfort.

> I think because of the whole national discussion we're having now about racial matters and how difficult and uncomfortable it is to talk about race, [that] maybe we need to take the lead and have that more of a focus in these courses here as something that would be useful for people to address. (12-UNI)

Thus, some instructors saw the potential of the course, and the broader field of education, as a space to capture a growing moment of racial awareness they saw developing within the broader U.S. context.

Positionality. However, within the small sample of instructors who engaged in race-intentional approaches, the main driver appeared to be their own stance or experience with race. This was particularly true for the participants who themselves identified as people of color. 11-PRI, for example, related her comfort with the topic of race in the course to her own lived experience, "As a person of color I was just comfortable with the idea that we're just talking about race [when talking about ELLs]" adding surprise that other teachers could find a way to not address race in the course—"you'd have to be blind to not think you're talking about race in some way." 22-UNI saw it as less of a choice for her to talk about race and more as something her teachers read-onto her as a person of color.

> I'm a brown person…. People assign a set of experiences to that appearance in a lot of complicated ways. My students do that too. They assume that I'm a second language learner, that I learned English in school. They assume a lot of things about my cultural experience that don't hold to be true, and so I think in some ways that primes the conversation…. (22-UNI)

Similarly, 15-UNI, summarized her positionality as the instructor of the course as "I'm not white, and I'm trilingual." She affirmed that knowing "how additive that experience has been to me and what I can do" was a key driver in the race-intentional, and asset-based stance she took on in preparing teachers for contexts of racial and linguistic diversity.

This contrasted with the experiences of white instructors who were able to engage in conversations about race as a matter of choice, as "something that I had studied and was important to me (16-UNI). 25-PRI, who described her own experience as having grown up as an "ELL," but presenting as white, chose not to share her own experience in ESL schooling with her teachers until the end of the course.

> I do share [my own ESL experience] with them but I don't, typically, until the end of the class. I don't really know why I do that but I always have. I think part of me feels that either it may skew their thinking of me in the course or [make them] question my level of expertise in the course because I may not sort of be the 'monolingual expert….'I have just felt it works better if I tell them at the end. (25-PRI)

Some white instructors mentioned that they primarily mentioned race when there were students of color in the class, positing that their experiences might enlighten white, monolingual teachers. 19-DIS, had found this to be the case when her district started recruiting a larger population of Latinx teachers.

> So [now race] comes up, in that we talk a lot about the Latina culture in my classes, but that's just based on our members of our participants that might happen to be Latina… We can bring that [experience] in a way that was really beneficial for the whole class.

She mentioned she "tried my best, of course" not to ask "our Latina participants to have to speak to the entire Latina population," but noted that the presence of teachers of color was her primary mechanism through which to address the topic of race.

Discussion

The results of this study demonstrated whether and how instructors addressed policy and race within a strategy-emphatic course. It also explored the experiences, dispositions, and/or contextual factors that appeared to inform these approaches. The findings sections of this piece were organized topically, to lay out whether and how participants emphasized these topics and their justifications for doing so. The discussion section flips this dynamic to discuss the logics by which race and policy were *not* emphasized, and how they were constructed as irrelevant or extraneous through a poststructural and language ideological lens. This goal of this discussion is to bring the findings on race and policy together to specifically discuss how these topics—often marked as "too political" (27-UNI)—are avoided or addressed in teacher education. This section is organized around three tensions emerging across the data in regard to these topics: (1) Erasing vs. Naming, (2) Bracketing vs. Framing, and (3) Catering vs. Disrupting (see Table 2). The organization of each tension is based on the poststructural notion of language ideologies as *productive,* again, not in the sense of necessarily being "positive," but in the fact that they *produce* certain norms, subject positions, and or a constrained range of solutions within an assumed problem construction (Allan, 2008). Following this format, I discuss how the findings around both race and policy discourse (re)produce particular language ideologies and subject positions for those impacted by the policy. In other words, I explore what makes these factors *evadable* in the first place,

and what forms of intentionality disrupt these evasions. Notably, I argue that these productions were not necessarily intentional on behalf of policy interpreters, but were rather co-constructed between the policy itself (i.e. course materials and standards of the course—which were largely policy- and race-evasive) and instructors' interpretations. Nevertheless, the purpose of exploring these dynamics is to examine the logics by which the underlying assumptions around language, race, and policy are so pervasively commonplace so as to rarely be noticed as an interpretive choice on behalf of instructors at all. Each tension is explored through (1) *productions* and (2) *disruptions*—noteworthy moments in which participants exercised agency in pushing back against the normative productions and subject positions of the policy itself.

Erasing vs. Naming

Producing erasure. The most noteworthy ideological production across this sample was the act of erasure (Ibrahim, 2008), or the discursive moves by which race and policy were made irrelevant. Paradoxically, one strategy of erasure involved making a topic so broad and ubiquitous as to be unnoteworthy. Such was the case with the absence of racial discourse in a course discussing a racialized population of emergent bilinguals. Since the subject position of "ELLs" was pervasively presumed to imply students of color, race could thus be produced as an unnecessary, already-addressed topic. However, race was simultaneously produced as a topic controversial and uncomfortable. Therefore, proxies such as language or culture replaced race, often to facilitate white teachers' (and white instructors') comfort. Thus, the notion of race was erased by being subsumed under broader notions of culture and language. In many cases, this erasure appeared to disempower both instructors and teachers to develop racial literacy by which to address

the topic head on (DiAngelo, 2016; Guinier, 2004) or to even recognize their productive role in racializing emergent bilinguals (Flores & Rosa, 2015; Rosa, 2018).

A second form of erasure was produced through presumed disempowerment or disinterest, primarily around the topic of policy. As with race, policy could be framed as an already-addressed, given state ("the policy is policy," to reiterate 09-PRI). In this case, however, the topic was framed as already-addressed by policymakers in a way that obscured teachers' role as policy interpreters. Thus, the subject position of a policy-neutral teacher was constructed—teachers as policy implementers rather than interpreters (Johnson, 2013; Menken & García, 2010). This position was furthered through the perception that teachers were exclusively interested in executable teaching strategies rather than in connecting these strategies to policies they could play an active role in interpreting. These approaches combined to further produce the notion of educational policy as distant, impenetrable, and irrelevant. At times, this allowed the English-only strategies taught in the course to be disconnected from their role in furthering an English-only policy, rather than the strategies themselves manifesting as what Zamudio, Russell, Rios, and Bridgeman, (2011) referred to as "micro-policies" of curricular and classroom management, or what 06-UNI phrased as policies that "show our values."

Disruption through naming. Though rare across the sample, some participants found ways to address the erasure of race and policy, at times simultaneously. For most, simply naming the presence of race or language policy was enough to prove disruptive of the subject positions of policy-neutrality and race-evasiveness. The identification these topics built pathways for teachers to engage in race- and policy-intentional discourse in course assignments and discussions, and to make broader connections between language

policy and race. As some participants pointed out, a lack of policy awareness all but ensures the continuation of an English-only policy through the SEI endorsement course (McField, 2014). In the same way, the absence of racial literacy occludes possibility for interrogating racism embedded within restrictive language policies and broader educational policies (Santa Ana, 2004; Arias & Wiley, 2013). Thus, the act of naming represented a small but effective disruption.

Bracketing vs. Framing

Producing brackets. A second ideological production involved bracketing—producing certain topics as temporarily relevant, but disconnected from the larger concerns of the course. This manifested most clearly by bracketing race as a topic to address in a different course, and as policy as something outside of the teachers' purview altogether. When instructors did address these topics in the course, it generally occurred only as part of an initial overview that remained disconnected from the "practical" (29-UNI) course material. Such bracketing produces these topics as marginal in contrast to core course material that must be studied with care. Therefore, even when the topics of race and policy are addressed, when bracketed, they are still produced as less relevant to teachers' work.

Bracketing was further produced in only addressing the topics of race and policy "if [the teachers] brought something up" (20-DIS). Though instructors generally framed this as responding to teachers' needs, placing the onus on others to broach the topics frames them as extraneous or of specialized interest. Instructors exhibited varying degrees of intentionality by providing resources for teachers to explore outside of class, but such acts continue the production of these topics as optional rather than core

components of the course. In addition, questions remained, particularly in regard to race, as to who was able to engage in these topics as a matter of choice (white teachers, white instructors) and who was implicitly presumed to have interest in or awareness of the topic (teachers and instructors of color).

Disruptions through framing. Some instructors managed to disrupt the notion of bracketing, building in discussions of race and policy as *framing* throughout the course. In these cases, participants viewed the topics of race/and or policy as core components of the course, and understood their role as "making" these topics "come up" (22-UNI) throughout the course. This framing not only involved discussions, but also alternative assignments that gave teachers a space to explore the topics in depth, and served to imbue the topics with importance as actual course components teachers would be graded on. 29-UNI's small addition of leaving a timeline of language policy up for the duration of the course, for example, was a key illustration of framing.

Still, even instructors who prioritized policy- and race-intentionality throughout course often engaged in productions that disrupted their own attempts at framing. In particular, instructors were often hesitant to offer their professional expertise on certain topics they felt were "too political" (UNI-27). Interestingly, as no participant reported any administrative directives or overt censorship within their course contexts, much of this silencing appeared to be self-imposed. Instructors were all open to sharing their expertise around language *strategies*, but when it came to notions of race or policy, participants generally avoided the topics altogether or intentionally "rein[ed] in" (16-UNI) their views. When instructors *did* speak on the topic they worried about being "preachy" (23-UNI) or getting on a "soap box" (07-UNI). As no participant viewed

themselves as being "preachy" about vocabulary or other language learning strategies, this discourse illustrated a key production silencing the "political" notions around language teaching (García, Spotti, & Flores, 2017; Pennycook, 2006) as well as a disruption of their *own* expertise, marking of notions of race and policy as "opinions" (05-PRI; 10-UNI; 20-DIS) rather than topics supported by evidence from empirical research. In other words, in contrast to the notions of an over-politicized professoriate engaging in political indoctrination (Counts, 1932; Stolzenberg, 1993), participants in this study were notably self-conscious around expressing their own views, even when those views were a supported by research or professional expertise.

Deferring vs. Disrupting

Producing Deference. A third production was instructors' deference to their audience of teachers, particularly in regard to the predominantly white, monolingual teaching populations in their course contexts. Contextual and audience awareness has long been understood as a key aspect of effective teacher education (Ashton, 1984; Grossman & McDonald, 2008). However, at times, instructors' degree of audience awareness appeared to border on fear, most notably fear of discord around a "race war" (20-DIS) or the course being "derailed" (01-PRI) by heated policy discussions. Instructors' deference to their audiences played a key role, particularly in that their deference often appeared to be self-fulfilling. If instructors assumed teacher disinterest in regard to policy, for example, or discomfort around the topic of race, these dynamics tended to characterize the experiences they reported teachers having in the course. Thus, deference played a key role in producing the relevance or irrelevance of policy and race in coursework.

Disrupting Deference. Some participants found active ways to disrupt deference. These instructors often justified their intentionality around addressing race and policy, not in spite of the relative racial and linguistic homogeneity of their teaching populations, but *because* of those dynamics. This was particularly the case in seeing the course as a rare "opportunity" (16-UNI) to discuss dynamics of race and language policy with white, monolingual teachers. In contrast to those who presumed the topics of race and policy to be either disinterest or hyper-interest that would derail the course through conflict, when instructors assumed an interest in the topics and constructed engaging, structured activities around them, they generally found participants would be productively engaged.

However, these topics were generally addressed in ways that still presumed, and deferred to, a white, largely monolingual population. Participants interpreted this population as one that needed to be accommodated so as not to be discomforted, or as those to who needed to be educated, often through the experience of teachers or instructors of color. This, again, surfaces the question of who takes on the burden of doing this disruptive work. In this sample, it was often instructors color who were the ones taking up the most race-intentional approaches—not always by their own choice—while white instructors engaged in race-intentionality as a chosen matter of personal interest. While the sample size of instructors of color in this study was too small to productively generalize this finding, it does align with previous research on the disproportionate expectation placed on teachers and teacher educators of color to address the topic of race in predominantly white spaces (Haddix, 2017; Kohli, 2019). Thus, the disruptions characterized by this sample do not yet fully disrupt the notion of deference to a white, monolingual audience.

Conclusion

This study documents the ways in which policy- and race-evasiveness intersect, and are dynamically produced in teacher education. Even within a largely race- and policy-evasive endorsement initiative, the moments in which some participants were able to disrupt this framing to generate productive discussion around policy interpretation and racial literacy demonstrate the agentive role of teacher educators as policy interpreters. As the Massachusetts SEI endorsement course is not particularly unique in regard to its strategy-emphatic framing of teacher education, this study holds implications for teacher education across the many areas of linguistic and racial diversity that continue to characterize U.S. schools. While further research is necessary among broader populations of teacher educators to explore more fully the nuances of the key roles they play, this study underscores the importance of teacher educators in shaping the practical, political, and ideological dynamics of teacher preparation. By documenting several key strategies by which to engage in policy- and race-intentionality, even in evasive demographic and curricular contexts, this study holds practical implications for helping teachers to navigate the broader racial and policy interpretive aspects that characterize the profession. As awareness grows around the ways in which race and language policy intersect to impact the experience of emergent bilingual learners in U.S. schools, helping teachers to navigate these dynamics on behalf of their students remains a key imperative for the profession.

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Appendix: Interview Protocol

(A) Personal/Institutional Background

1. Please tell me about your professional background.

2. How did you get involved with the SEI endorsement course?
   - 2b. In what capacities have you taught the RETELL course (e.g. university, private, multiple)? How many times have you taught the course?

3. Were you involved with the process of the SEI course being adopted by your institution?
   - 3a1. (Yes) Tell me about that process
   - 3a2. (No) How did they make you aware of the course?
   - 2b. Did you receive any training? If so, please tell me about your training experience.

4. How would you describe the main purpose of having the SEI course? What's the goal?

(B) Teachers in Course

5. Tell me about the population of teachers you work with in your course.
   - 5a. Teaching experience of the teachers?
   - 5b. I know this is a required course for most teachers - how invested do they seem in the course beginning to end?
   - 5c. Do the teachers generally come from similar language backgrounds? – do you see that affecting how they approach the course?
   - 5d. How about racial backgrounds – do students generally share similar racial backgrounds?

(C) Instruction

6. How do you approach planning for the course – was a syllabus provided, or did you get to build the course from the ground up?
   - 6a. Do you have flexibility in how you teach the course? To what extent?
   - 6b. What accounts for this flexibility/lack thereof?

7. As an instructor, what do you personally most want your teachers to get out of the course?
   - 7a. What brought you to prioritize that emphasis?

8. If you could have played a role in how the state designed the course/endorsement policy, would you have made any changes?

(D) Policy

9. From 2002-2017, Massachusetts had an English-only education policy. That was the policy context when they started requiring the SEI endorsement.

- 9a. Did the policy ever come up in the course?
- 9b. What role to you feel you play as an instructor in interpreting Massachusetts' policies for your teachers?
- 9c. What brought you to this understanding of your role?

(E) Race

10. Most of the bilingual learners in Massachusetts are students of color. Does the topic of race come up in your course?

- 10a1. (Yes) How so?
- 10a2. (No) What do you think accounts for this absence?

11. There's some research that says monolingual English-speaking students are often praised for becoming bilingual, but if students speak a different language, particularly students of color, we prioritize English. Do you see that dynamic playing out in MA?

(F) Shifting Policy/Ideology

12. A new law just passed gives schools/districts more flexibility for program models or to go back to bilingual education.

- Do you think the course will change now that the policy has changed?
- Are you planning to make any changes to your course?

13. With this project, I'm seeing a lot of research that says English-Only, isn't just a policy, but an ideology that's deeply embedded in U.S. history and culture. Are these researchers thinking about this right?

(G) Additional Questions

14. We talked about your students' language background, but do you identify as bilingual?

- 14a. How do you think that informs your instruction?

15. Does your own racial identity, or any other personal ways you identify inform your instruction as well?

16. To summarize, RETELL course has been implemented all over the state – has is helped? How?

17. Is there something else I should ask about that we haven't covered yet?

SECTION V—SYNTHESIS & CONCLUSION

This section presents a broad discussion connecting the three papers of this dissertation. I first revisit the goals and research questions of this dissertation. Next, I summarize how these questions have been answered in the overall dissertation. I conclude by describing the implications of this dissertation for the study of language policy, language ideologies, and teacher education more broadly.

Goals and Questions

This dissertation had two main goals. (1) To put forth a theoretical framework for the study of monolingualism as a language ideology and (2) To apply this framework to an analysis of the Massachusetts SEI endorsement initiative and its implementation. Specifically, this analysis asked the following research questions.

> **RQ1.** How has the theoretical framework of monolingual language ideologies been applied to language policies in previous research, particularly in regard to U.S. SEI educational contexts? What are the current affordances and limitations of this framing?
>
> **RQ2.** How have SEI course instructors interpreted and operationalized the SEI endorsement initiative? What experiences, contextual factors, and/or language ideologies appear to inform these approaches?
>
> **RQ3.** Considering how language policy intersects with dynamics of race and racism in U.S. contexts, how do SEI instructors approach the topics of language policy and race within the SEI endorsement course? What experiences, contextual factors, and/or language ideologies appear to inform these approaches?

Individually, these questions set the focus for each respective paper in this dissertation.

Paper 1

This paper addressed RQ1 by laying out previous research on monolingual language ideologies in relation to a historical analysis of U.S. language policy and SEI educational mandates. The analysis revealed the limitations of the current research in substantively addressing race and racism in U.S. language ideological contexts. Second, this paper demonstrated the affordances of analyzing monolingual language ideologies as *productive*—in producing certain advantages, accommodations, or "sheltering" for certain populations. Applying this framework to the Massachusetts SEI endorsement initiative demonstrated the affordances of this framework in highlighting how teacher education can function to reproduce monolingual language ideologies, even in the absence of (or after the repeal of) specific English-only education policies.

Paper 2

The second paper applied this framework within a critical policy analysis of the Massachusetts SEI endorsement initiative to address RQ2. This paper highlighted the ways in which the initiative itself was established to prioritize two key frames—*adequacy of teacher training* and *standardized SEI*—as the operative levers by which to address the needs of emergent bilinguals in the state. When juxtaposed with the perspectives of SEI course instructors, this analysis demonstrated how instructors interpreted the course by (1) prioritizing *awareness* to augment the state's strategies emphasis, and (2) bringing varying degrees of innovation to their operationalization of the course. Beyond contextual differences, these innovations were also facilitated by a range of personal, ideological, and relational factors. However, even the most ardent innovators kept the overall framing of the initiative intact, demonstrating the role of policy itself in delimiting the boundaries

of policy interpretation. Overall, this study pointed to specific ways in which monolingual language ideologies are maintained, reproduced, and disrupted through the policy interpretive process—a process largely mediated by how instructors balanced strategies vs. awareness in their instruction as well as the course's ideological underpinnings of access, monolingual empathy, and SEI as a common language across the state.

Paper 3

This paper took up a specific analysis of discourses around language policy and race among SEI course instructors. Drawing on poststructural policy analysis, this paper addressed RQ3 above. Once again highlighting the key role played by course instructors, participants' discourses around race and language policy illustrated specific pedagogical moves and justifications by which the topics were evaded or addressed. In particular, this study documented how monolingual language ideologies manifested in the tensions between *erasing vs. naming, bracketing vs. framing,* and *deferring vs. disrupting* in relation to the topics at hand. This paper drew out larger implications for teacher education on race- and policy-intentionality for topics often considered "too political," or as existing outside the purview of teachers and teacher educators. When analyzed simultaneously, the overlap in how these topics were addressed or evaded provided further empirical documentation of the language ideological framework developed in Paper #1 around the intersections of race, language policy, and teacher education in U.S. contexts.

Synthesis & Implications

Together, the three papers comprising this dissertation hold implications for analyzing the intersection of language policy and language ideology, particularly within teacher education for contexts of linguistic diversity.

Implications for study of Language Ideologies

First, the three papers highlight the affordances of analyzing the role of language ideologies in relation to language policy. Previous research has posited that language ideologies play a key role in the pedagogical and policy interpretive process, but often address and interrogate these ideologies in the abstract. The papers in this dissertation document specific ways in which language ideologies interact with the policy interpretive process. Furthermore, previous research on language ideologies has focused mainly on the negative impact of certain language ideologies. While this is important research that must continue, a more complete understanding can be gained by examining who *benefits* from these ideologies as well. In the case of monolingual language ideologies, this dissertation demonstrates specific ways in which these ideologies serve to advantage, accommodate, or "shelter" certain populations or policies. Further research can take up the notion of language ideologies as productive to add further nuance to the discussion of who benefits from particular ideologies across a range of educational contexts.

Implications for Policy Interpretation

Second, this study adds to the literature on policy interpretation, specifically highlighting the roles played by teacher educators in the language policy interpretation process. While research on policy interpretation has been generative in demonstrating the importance of policy interpretation, the papers in this dissertation also point to the power

of policy itself to constrain the range of interpretations that can be offered. Thus, while the field should continue to examine the role of policy interpreters, this should not diminish the role of a policy itself in influencing these interpretations. Across these findings, the consistency with which instructors' framing of the policy, even the language they used to frame the initiative, was largely consistent with that of the state. In this way, there is truly a bi-directional interplay between policy and policy interpretation. The language ideological focus of this dissertation also highlights the ways in which language ideologies mediate this interplay is subtle, but powerful ways.

Implications for Teacher Education

Finally, the three papers demonstrated the role of teacher education in maintaining or disrupting monolingual language ideologies. Drawing on the framework developed in Paper 1, Papers 2 and 3 document the key role played by SEI course instructors in prioritizing certain topics or aspects of the course, choices that have important impacts for both the pedagogical and ideological development of teachers. A through-line across the dissertation papers was the consistency with which language ideologies played a key role in mediating policy, and teacher educators' simultaneous role of influencing and being influenced by these dynamics. As there exists almost no research on teacher educators as language policy interpreters, this dissertation highlights the importance of teacher educators in the policy interpretive process, the affordances of explicitly teaching teachers about their role as policy interpreters, and the generative role that can be played by further studies on these interpretive dynamics. In the meantime, this dissertation documented specific examples of how teacher educators maintain, reproduce, or disrupt

monolingual language ideologies within their policy interpretations, alongside their ideological and contextual reasons for doing so.

Conclusion

Recent decades have seen myriad policies, pedagogies, and programs meant to "close the achievement gap" between emergent bilinguals and their monolingual English-speaking peers. However, across the U.S., this "gap" persists (Gándara & Hopkins, 2010; Varga et al., 2017). This study demonstrated how monolingual language ideologies manifested within a specific, large-scale intervention in ways that impacted the initiative's ability to fulfill its goals around "Rethinking Equity and Teaching for English Language Learners" (DESE, 2019). Therefore, this study has implications for the study and generation of policy in demonstrating how monolingual language ideologies are maintained, even within a comprehensive and ostensibly equity-driven initiative such as the SEI endorsement initiative.

However, this dissertation also demonstrates that "rethinking equity" is a process, not a one-time event or endorsement course. As mentioned, Massachusetts has just repealed its previous mandate for English-only SEI education. The new law provides districts increased flexibility in choosing program models for emergent bilingual students, and lays groundwork to establish a state seal of biliteracy to be awarded to select students upon graduation (DESE, 2018). While the passage of this law represents a substantial victory for bilingual education in Massachusetts, beyond program flexibility, the law itself does little to address the policies and ideologies that continue to disadvantage emergent bilingual students in the state (Alvarado, 2019). Furthermore, the law includes no mandate that bilingual education must actually be practiced (in contrast

with Massachusetts law pre-2002). Massachusetts has gone through 15 years of mandated monolingualism in education and practice, and as Hopewell et al. (in press) described, bilingual education is notoriously difficult to revive after years of restrictive language policies. Therefore, the new policy shift underscores the importance of policy interpreters in capitalizing on these changes.

In particular, the new law leaves the SEI training mandate in place. It is notable that the state has brought back the option of bilingual education almost immediately after having trained the entirety of its teaching force in English-only oriented SEI. It remains unlikely that the state will undertake a second statewide endorsement mandate to re-train these teachers in the broader range of linguistically responsive pedagogies afforded by the new law. It remains to be seen whether the SEI course itself would undergo any changes to reflect the new policy context for new teachers who enter the profession. As it stands, however, the repeal of the state's English-only mandate may paradoxically leave the SEI endorsement as the major vehicle by which the defunct English-only policy continues to exert influence. With most current teachers trained through English-only SEI, and new cohorts of teachers continuing to be trained through similar coursework, a modification to state law may have little more than cosmetic influence. It therefore remains necessary to examine the continued influence of the SEI endorsement mandate as a vehicle for monolingual language ideologies in both policy and practice.

As with the other 49 U.S. states that have no explicit English-only policy, yet still educate the overwhelming majority of students in English-only environments, these shifts in the Massachusetts context will underscore the importance of interrogating the ways monolingual language ideologies are maintained across various iterations of educational

policies and program models in U.S. contexts. Massachusetts' policy shift underscores the importance of policy interpreters who now have an even more important role to play in interpreting the new policy to maintain or disrupt monolingual language ideologies. This context provides a generative starting point from which to examine larger shifts in U.S. language policy, including the increasing popularization of dual-language programming and state-sponsored seals of biliteracy. Across these important shifts toward an ostensible embrace of bilingualism, this study reminds us of the consistency with which monolingual language ideologies have been maintained throughout U.S. history to uphold the status quo of racial and linguistic hierarchies. Thus, the field must remain vigilant around these policy shifts, asking language ideological questions around who stands to benefit, and how, from these policies and pedagogies.

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