

A Socio-cultural Analysis of Teacher Learning:
Developing Professional Identities amidst Struggles for Inclusive Education

by

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ABSTRACT

One of the critical imperatives for the development of inclusive school systems is the capacity to nurture and develop teachers who have the skills, critical sensibilities, and the contextual awareness to provide quality educational access, participation, and outcomes for all students; however, research on teacher learning for inclusive education has not yet generated a robust body of knowledge to understand how teachers become inclusive teachers in institutions where exclusion is historical and ubiquitous. Drawing from socio-cultural theory, this study aimed to fill this gap through an examination of teacher learning for inclusive education in an urban professional learning school. In particular, I aimed to answer the following two questions: (a) What social discourses are present in a professional learning school for inclusive education?, and (b) How do teachers appropriate these social discourses in situated practice? I used analytical tools from Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Grounded Theory to analyze entry and exit interviews with teacher residents, principals, site professors, and video-stimulated interviews with teacher residents, observations of classroom practices and thesis seminars, and school documents. I found two social discourses that I called *discourses of professionalism*, as they offered teachers a particular combination of tools, aiming to universalize certain tools for doing and thinking that signaled what it meant to be a professional teacher in the participating schools. These were the Total Quality Management like discourse (TQM-like) and the Inclusive Education-like discourse. The former was dominant in the schools, whereas the latter was dominant in the university Master's program. These discourses overlapped in teachers' classrooms

practices, creating tensions. To understand how these tensions were resolved, this study introduced the concept of *curating*, a kind of heuristic development that pertains particularly to the work achieved in boundary practices in which individuals must claim multiple memberships by appropriating the discourses and their particular tool kits of more than one community of practice. This study provides recommendations for future research and the engineering of professional development efforts for inclusive education.

DEDICATION

To my family, who has not been able to be together for 10 years: my sister Erica, my parents Ana y Roberto, and my brother Gustavo. They have provided great support and encouragement though the 11 years that I have been in the United States. I dedicate this dissertation also to my U.S. family, my in-laws Susan, Dair, Julie, and Chet, who have been my family for over 7 years and have welcomed me as a family member without reservation. I dedicate this dissertation to all the A-Team at the Equity Alliance – to the current ones and the ones who left. And, especially, I dedicate this dissertation to my life-long learning partner and lover – Lekha – who daily continues to shape who I am becoming.

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The notion of intellectual property is an interesting one. We work and see the world drawing from and ventriloquizing the ideas of others; we orchestrate our thoughts and communicate using a language that has been developing over time by previous generations; we use computers and other material tools created by others, in other spaces, and in other times. We receive feedback from colleagues, shape our thoughts as we interact with others, and receive funding from private and public agencies. And yet, sometimes we claim to be solo authors of a piece of work.

I believe that this dissertation is far from being a product of my agency, though this one plays a big role. To believe so, it would be to refute some of the results I present in this study. Following this reasoning, I want to thank to a group of individuals who are, in part, also authors of this dissertation. I owe my immense debt and gratitude to my advisor Alfredo Artiles and to Elizabeth Kozleski, who have taught me what it means to be a scholar who is dedicated to do equity work and to nurture new generations of researchers. They have taught me not only with their impeccable example of scholarship, but also with unique and rich opportunities that have shaped my continuous transformation into a scholar.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Inclusive education came as a response to educational systems' exclusion of students who are viewed as *different* (e.g., students with disabilities, minority students, and students from low socioeconomic backgrounds) from meaningful access and participation in education. I refer to these students as *marginalized students* throughout this dissertation. A critical imperative for the development of inclusive school systems is the capacity to nurture and develop teachers who have the skills, critical sensibilities, and the contextual awareness to provide quality educational access, participation, and outcomes for *all students*. UNESCO's (2010) *Education For All* (EFA) report pointed out that to achieve universal primary education would require 1.9 million new teachers who are prepared to provide quality education to marginalized students by 2015. In addition, at least in the U.S, there has been increasing attention in the last two decades to incorporate standards for teaching *all* students in teacher preparation programs and national teacher accreditation associations (Cochran-Smith, Davis, & Fries, 2004).

Despite these advances, professional development programs for pre- and in-service teachers continue to struggle to prepare teachers who can contribute to fulfill the promises of inclusive education. Unfortunately, researchers on professional development for inclusive education have not yet generated an understanding of how teachers learn to become inclusive teachers in educational systems where exclusion tends to be ubiquitous (Slee, 2010). With this study, I aimed to fill this gap

by examining teacher learning for inclusive education in an urban professional learning school.

Defining Inclusive Education

Definitions of inclusive education vary across nations (Artiles, Kozleski, & Waitoller, 2011), schools (Ainscow, Booth, & Dyson, 2006a), and even across the inclusive education literature (Artiles, Kozleski, Dorn, & Christensen, 2006).

Whereas in the international community inclusive education is concerned with *all* students, in the United States (U.S.) inclusive education has been defined as access to the general education classroom for students with disabilities (Artiles & Kozleski, 2007; McLaughlin & Jordan, 2005). Furthermore, since the enactment of accountability reforms, such as the No Child Left Behind Act (No Child Left Behind Act of 2001), inclusive education has focused not just on access to the general education classroom and curriculum for students with disabilities but also on the academics outcomes of these students (McLaughlin & Jordan, 2005); however, longstanding equity indicators such as the disproportionate representation of minority students in special education (Waitoller, Artiles, & Cheney, 2010) and poor opportunities to learn and outcomes for marginalized students suggest that inequities are ubiquitous in educational systems and affect students who experience various forms of marginalization because of their differences (e.g., learning disability, Latino, English language learner).

In a recent definition of inclusive education, Artiles and Kozleski (2007) acknowledged these intricacies of educational exclusion. They defined inclusive education as the process to transform educational systems to increase not only

access and participation in general education for students with disabilities, but rather on access, participation, and outcomes for students who have endured marginalization due to ethnic identity and ability level in educational systems fraught with inequitable structural and social conditions. (p. 353)

Corbett and Slee (2000) also argued that inclusive education is about exposing and dismantling all forms of exclusion; it involves to be “cultural vigilantes” (p. 134). Indeed, inclusive education is (or should be) a political issue about the structures of opportunities for all children and youth to participate meaningfully in democracy (Slee, 2010).

In this study, I articulate previous definitions of inclusive education, drawing from the work of Nancy Fraser (1997, 2008), to set a more comprehensive agenda for inclusive education. The inclusive education movement should be a continuous struggle toward (a) the *redistribution* of quality opportunities to learn and participate in educational programs, (b) the *recognition* and value of differences as reflected in content, pedagogy, and assessment tools, and (c) the opportunities for marginalized groups to *represent themselves* in decision-making processes that advance and define claims of exclusion and the respective solutions that affect their children’s educational future. These three tenets are not mutually exclusive. Inclusive education should not be reduced to any of them lest unintended consequences emerge. For instance, if inclusive education is narrowed to access to quality opportunities to learn without valuing student differences, schools may assimilate students to the dominant

culture of the school and create resistance from certain groups toward schools, diminishing their engagement in education.

The current context of teacher learning for inclusive education is fraught with inequities and exclusions in multiple forms that contribute to the misdistribution of access and participation, the misrecognition of students' differences, and the political misrepresentation of marginalized groups. These forms of exclusion highlight the significance of conducting research on how teachers learn to become inclusive teachers.

Teacher Learning Research as a Response to Exclusion: A Rationale for the Study

Exclusion in education systems. Examining teacher learning for inclusive education is a critical task to build school systems' capacity to nurture inclusive teachers. To build such capacity is an arduous task, given the multiple forms of exclusion found in education. Groups such as members of indigenous communities, ethnic minorities, children from poor populations, female youths, and youth with disabilities find themselves at higher risk of being excluded from access to quality school programs because existing educational systems are not designed to respond to macro structural forces that perpetuate disparities or to diverse learners' needs.

The latest report of EFA (2010) pointed out that 72 million U.S. children do not yet have access to education, and that still millions of children leave school without having acquired basic literacy and numeracy skills. The EFA report stated that "failure to address inequalities, stigmatization and discrimination linked to wealth, gender, ethnicity, language, location and disability is holding back progress

toward Education for All”(UNESCO, 2010, p. 2). In England, for instance, issues of equity for students with special needs were found to be tightly bound to broad social, economic, and educational inequities (Dyson & Kozleski, 2008), whereas in India, the development of an inclusive agenda still encompassed a range of exclusionary practices that deny access to education and marginalized students with disabilities, particularly females (Singal, 2004).

In the U.S., inequitable outcomes that signal exclusionary practices are evident throughout the educational system. The so-called *achievement gap* continues to exist between Latino, African American, and Native American students and their White peers. For instance, 40% of White fourth-grade students performed at proficient level on the 2010 National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) math section, whereas only 12% of African American, 18% of Hispanic, and 20% of Native American students achieved at this level on the same test (Contreras, 2010). Furthermore, whereas the national graduation rate for White students is 75%, the national graduation rates for Latino, African American, and Native American students are 50%, 53%, and 51% respectively (National Center for Education Statistics, 2009).

These inequitable patterns are also observed for English Language Learners (ELLs). Only 29% of ELLs scored at or above basic achievement on the 2005 NAEP for mathematics (or reading) in eighth grade, compared to 71% (or 75%) of non-ELLs (Kohler & Lazarin, 2007).

With regard to inequitable outcomes in special education, African American, Hispanic, and Native American students are more likely placed in special education

and be educated in more segregated educational environments than White peers who have the same diagnosis (U.S. Department of Education, 2006). Even in districts that have high rates of inclusion, African American and Latino students are less likely to be included in the general education classroom, a phenomenon exacerbated among students from low-income households (LeRoy & Kulik, 2004). ELLs, in addition, are overrepresented at the state and district levels in the high-incidences categories of special education and increasingly placed in more segregated settings when compared to their White peers (de Valenzuela, Copeland, Huaqing Qi, & Park, 2006; Sullivan, 2011), particularly in states who have English-only policies (Artiles, Klingner, Sullivan, & Fierros, 2010).

Furthermore, special education students continue to fall behind in educational outcomes, particularly minority students with disabilities (Henderson, 2001; Wagner, Newman, Cameto, & Levine, 2006). For instance, only 1% of Hispanic students with disabilities were enrolled in a four-year college, whereas 10% of White students with disabilities were in enrolled in these college programs (Wagner, et al., 2006)

Ladson-Billings (2006) argued that a focus on these unequal outcomes – the so-called *achievement gap* – “moves us to short-term solutions that are unlikely address the long term underlying problem” (p. 4). Instead of focusing on the achievement gap, researchers, policy makers and educators should focus on the historical funding disparities in education, the exclusion of marginalized groups from political decisions that affects them, and the moral debt that U.S has with the education of marginalized groups. Indeed, the outcomes previously described are just the tip of the iceberg.

They signal the legacy of historical inequities in the U.S (Tyack, 1993), fraught with assumptions about whose knowledge systems and whose economic interests are valued (Apple, 2009) and who may participate of civic process (Ladson-Billings, 2006). It is a history in which ideologies about education, language, race, and abilities have been closely intertwined, privileging certain cultural practices, abilities, and languages over others (Deschenes, Cuban, & Tyack, 2001). Specifically, youth with disabilities from racial and linguistic non-dominant backgrounds have been among the most marginalized, experiencing a *triple jeopardy*. That is, these students' cultural and linguistic practices and ability differences do not fit in the privileged institutionalized social and academic practices of schools (e.g., the ways of writing, speaking, and acting), and as a result they have been often labeled as deficient and in need of treatment though remedial, and sometimes segregated, education.

Discussions about the exclusion of marginalized students, thus, must foreground the underlying assumptions that value some differences while marginalizing others and underscore pervasive systemic inequity in opportunity and access (Kozleski & Smith, 2009).

In line with this argument, inequitable outcomes are the result of systematic limited access to opportunities to learn for students from marginalized backgrounds. In the U.S, these students are more likely to be taught by inadequately prepared and under qualified teachers (Darling-Hammond, 2004). Furthermore, marginalized students typically attend schools with the least funding. For instance, more than 53% of ELLs are concentrated in urban schools in which 30% of the students are also ELLs (Kohler & Lazarin, 2007). Furthermore, almost half of Latinos and African

American students are enrolled in these schools, compared to 5% of their White peers' enrollments. These schools tend to have large concentrations of low-income students, high-turnover teacher rates, and significantly fewer resources than affluent schools (Darling-Hammond, 2004). This circumstance is exacerbated by pressure from accountability policies, as these schools tend to have lower students' assessment scores: Teachers may subsequently narrow their curriculum to the content and skills required to pass the test, watering down the quality and quantity of materials provided to students (McNeil, 2000).

Students who embody more than one layer of difference add complexity to these forms of exclusion. The monolithic view of students embedded in educational policies reduces opportunities to learn for students with disabilities who are also Latino, African American, and/or ELLs. For instance, ELLs identified for special education are less likely to receive instruction in their home language than their general education peers, and districts serving these students have reported to not have appropriate mechanisms to identify ELLs for special education nor they have the services to provide quality opportunities to learn for these students (Zehler et al., 2003).

The significance of investing in teacher learning. In the midst of this gloomy context, research has offered some hope: The presence of high-quality teachers in schools is positively related to students' educational experiences and outcomes (Darling-Hammond, 2004; Dreeben, 1987; Kaufman & Rosenbaum, 1992). For instance, even when accounting for students' socioeconomic status (SES) and ethnicity, high-quality teaching is significantly associated with better educational

outcomes and increased likelihood to take advanced courses, graduate on time, attend to higher education institutions, and obtain good jobs (Kaufman & Rosenbaum, 1992). Furthermore, teachers have a much stronger influence over what their students learn than any other factor, such as class size or composition (Wright, Horn, & Sanders, 1997), and students who were taught by several consecutive highly qualified teachers have shown greater achievement gains than those who were not (Sanders & Rivers, 1996).

Thus, an understanding of (a) what kinds of knowledge and attitudes teachers must acquire to provide meaningful and quality education for all students and (b) how they come to learn them is a worthwhile scholarly undertaking. Bransford, Darling-Hammond, and LePage (2005) summarized the literature on the former matter, pointing out that deep knowledge about the content to be taught, having a Master's degree in a relevant field, and knowing methods and strategies to teach specific content contributes to a teacher's efficacy. However, in the case of teaching marginalized students, this knowledge about content and methods is not enough, particularly given that most teachers now work with these students in some capacity (Banks & et al., 2005). Teachers working with these students must have the knowledge, disposition, and skills to bridge their students' experiences, culture, language, and needs to academic content and experiences (Banks & et al., 2005). As Gay (1993) argued, a teacher must be a "cultural broker" who "understands different cultural systems, is able to interpret cultural symbols from one frame of reference to another, can mediate cultural incompatibilities, and knows how to build bridges or establish linkages across cultures that facilitate the instructional process" (p. 293).

Teachers who have knowledge about and training in special education are more likely to have positive attitudes about including students with disabilities in the general education classroom (Avramidis & Norwich, 2002; Sharma, Forlin, & Loreman, 2008). Furthermore, teachers who have the knowledge and skills about evidence-based classroom management and curriculum accommodations and modifications (Nougaret, Scruggs, & Mastropieri, 2005) and know how to build relationship with families (Harry, 2002) tend to be more effective with students with disabilities. In light of these findings, I turn now to the topic of teacher learning.

Teacher Learning

A growing body of research on teacher learning attempts to address how teachers learn to use their understanding of content, pedagogy, assessment, culture, and language to solve specific problems of practice. In addition, investigators examined how teachers learn to address individual students' differences within the demands of the larger group and how teachers become members of the professional communities. Some work suggested that teachers learn from their own practice through reflecting, writing journals, looking at videos of their own practice, and conducting action research (Cochran-Smith & Little, 1993). Formal and informal interaction with other teachers, particularly in mentoring relationships, was found to be an effective vehicle for teacher learning (Feinman-Nemser & Parker, 1993).

Teachers learning may follow a developmental trajectory (e.g., Berliner, 2001; Richardson & Placier, 2001). For instance, novice teachers tend to offer superficial and general observations when asked to evaluate classroom practices, whereas more expert teachers attend to specific classroom aspects connected to students' work and

generate more detailed observations and interpretations (Richardson & Placier, 2001). In addition, teachers develop expertise through a set of developmental stages from novice to expert (Berliner, 2001). Though the sequence and timing of the developmental stages may vary in complexity, this line of research has provided the basis to understanding teacher expertise (Hammerness, Darling-Hammond, & Bransford, 2005). Unfortunately, scholarship focused on individual teachers, providing little insight about how teachers' development and learning is mediated by the communities and institutions in which they work. This body of research, furthermore, was silent about how teachers learn to include and meet the needs of students who embody multiple layers of difference, especially students from marginalized backgrounds.

Research on the development of teachers in communities of practice (Little, 2002) is based on the work of cognitive and cultural psychologists who have emphasized the situated, cultural, and contextual nature of learning (e.g., Cole, 1996; Lave, 1996; Wenger, 1998). This perspective emphasizes understanding how knowledge is generated within the teaching community (Cochran-Smith & Little, 1993) and focuses on how teachers identify problems of practice, challenge routines, and draw from the works of others to solve specific problems of practice (Cochran-Smith & Lytle, 1999). This line of research, in addition, focuses on how teachers construct particular representations of practice through their interactions with peers and the use of tools, how they make practices visible to others and to what degree, and how they operate within organizations that afford certain learning opportunities for teachers and not others (Little, 2002). Communities of practice are also important

mediators of teachers' responses to standard-based and accountability policies (Gallucci, 2003). In summary, how teachers' learning is embedded in the communities in which they work has been well-researched, yet teacher learning in relation to inclusive education concepts and practices remains elusive. Students receiving special education services, thus, tend to be ignored by this literature.

A disjuncture exists between practices and knowledge systems in the different contexts in which teachers learn (e.g., university programs and schools; (e.g., Grossman, Smagorinsky, & Valencia, 1999; Smagorinsky, 2009; Smagorinsky, Cook, Moore, Jackson, & Fry, 2004; Smagorinsky, Gibson, Bickmore, Moore, & Cook, 2004; Smagorinsky, Lakly, & Johnson, 2002). Pre-service teachers and beginner teachers deal with and develop their teaching identities in the midst of the tensions created by the mismatch of what they learned in their university program and what actually is practiced in schools. For example, teachers are trained in universities that teaching should be student-centered, but many schools mandate teacher-centered practices. These educators may lose motivation or be conflicted with the kind of teacher that they are becoming in schools, even considering leaving the profession (Smagorinsky, et al., 2002). Pre-service teachers' identities develop during student teaching as they encounter tensions with their cooperating teachers and then later when able to exercise more authority as they transition to full-time teaching positions (Smagorinsky, Cook, et al., 2004). Drawing from sociocultural and activity theory (Engeström, 1987), this line of research has emphasized the cultural, social, and historical contextualization of these tensions and their respective resolutions. Despite advances, evidence of how teachers learn to include

marginalized students is rare. Furthermore, university programs are assumed to transmit homogeneous and well-bounded concepts and practices that are modified only when implemented by teachers in their school practice. As a result, little is known about how teachers may be exposed to concepts and practices that leak meaning and that, even when they may have the same label, have slightly different meanings across contexts and individuals.

How pre- or in-service teachers gain multicultural competence has been primarily investigated via the evaluation of different pedagogical approaches (Cochran-Smith et al., 2004) such as pairing pre-service teachers of different racial groups (e.g., Solomon, 2000), using autobiographical writing (e.g., Clarke & Medina, 2000), or using teacher book clubs to explore cultural narratives (e.g., Florio-Ruane, 2001). Others have advanced this literature with explorations of multicultural content, such as knowledge about diverse groups, addressing language differences, and selecting a diverse a meaningful curriculum (e.g., Morales, 2000; Torok & Aguilar, 2000). These last studies, in particular, have relied heavily on self-report questionnaires and surveys (Cochran-Smith et al., 2004). In general, research on developing teachers' multicultural competence has provided little understanding on the use of this competence in situated practice, such as a lesson in the classroom, or on the inclusion of students with disabilities.

In the limited research on teacher development for including students with disabilities, there has been a focus on changing teachers' attitudes and beliefs about including these students in the classroom. Findings suggest that long-term and substantive on-site professional development contribute to positive attitudes toward

including students with disabilities and increase teachers' perceptions of their own capabilities to teach those students (Avramidis & Kalyva, 2007; Forlin, Keen, & Barrett, 2008; Kosko & Wilkins, 2009). In addition, particular forms of professional development have been tested for effectiveness in teaching instructional strategies (e.g. co-teaching, differentiated instruction, among others) to include marginalized groups (e.g., Klingner, Ahwee, Pilonieta, & Menendez, 2003). To date, this work has been conducted with the individual (e.g., pre- or in-service teacher) as the unit of analysis, with narrowed attention to the acquisition of discrete technical skills (e.g., learning a particular direct instruction strategy). The social, cultural, and institutional contexts in which teachers learn – contexts that tend to exclude students with multiple layers of differences – have been largely overlooked.

Examinations of how partnerships composed of schools and universities worked together to transform schools' culture and practices to include all students (e.g., Ainscow et al., 2006a; Carrington & Robinson, 2006) have relied heavily on descriptive accounts of changes at the school level, generating little understanding about how individual teachers learned in the context of school-wide changes. These communities tend to have their own ways of thinking and practices that do not always mesh seamlessly, resulting in tensions for teachers (Smagorinsky, Cook, et al., 2004; Smagorinsky, et al., 2002). A nuanced understanding is lacking on how teachers navigate the tensions that emerge from participating in two communities, such as their schools and the universities partnering with them, or about how the concepts and practices that teacher learn take different shapes in situated practice.

Unfortunately, very little is known about how teachers learn to become inclusive teachers, such as how they address multiple forms of educational exclusion in social, political, cultural, and institutional contexts. Furthermore, the factors that mediate teacher learning for inclusive education in situated practice and how teachers' daily practice connects to broader and historical struggles for inclusive education are unclear. Given the inequitable educational outcomes and opportunities to learn for students from marginalized backgrounds who experience various forms of exclusion, it is critical that scholars generate knowledge about how and to what extent teachers learn to adequately serve these students. Unfortunately, previous research has dichotomized the preparation of teachers for students of diverse culture and languages and the preparation for including students who receive special education services.

The Present Study

This study contributed to the literature on teacher learning for inclusive education by beginning to explore (a) how concepts and practices in learning institutions such as university programs and schools do not travel seamlessly across and within these institutions (b) how teachers learn to become inclusive teachers in situated practice (i.e., how teacher learning for inclusive education is mediated by sociocultural and institutional factors in particular activities), and (c) how teachers learn to serve students who embody multiple layers of difference (e.g., a Latino, ELL, low-income student who receives special education services). The two guiding research questions were *What social discourses are present in a professional learning school for inclusive education?* and *How do teachers appropriate these social discourses in situated practice?*

To answer these questions, this study utilized data from a larger project funded by the Office of Special Education Programs (OSEP), called the Urban Professional Initiative for Inclusive Education (UPIE). The UPIE comprised a partnership between a state university and three elementary schools located in an urban district located in a southwestern city called The Rio Grande school district (pseudonym). The goal of this partnership was to transform the participating schools into inclusive schools and to develop a group of leader-teachers for inclusive education through a Master's program embedded in the partnership.

Data for this study was derived from the first year of this partnership, examining the institutional context in which teachers participating of the Master's program learned and taught and how they appropriated the tools available to them through their schools and the Master's program. This year covered the entire trajectory of the first cohort in the Master's program. Thus, data were available from the beginning of the program until the teachers graduated from it.

The analysis was based on a wide variety of data sources, including entry and exit interviews with various school and university staff (e.g., principals, language coaches, teachers, university professors), various policy and other documents from schools and the university, audio recordings of the Master's program seminars, field notes from school visits, videos of teachers' lessons in classrooms, video-simulated interviews, and the final Thesis projects of teachers participating in the Master's program. To analyze this rich set of data I combined methodological tools of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA; Fairclough, 1995) and grounded theory (Strauss &

Corbin, 1990). This allowed me to tap into issues of power and equity that shape teachers' learning in their daily practice.

This study informed the engineering of professional learning programs for inclusive education by providing an understanding of how teachers engage with and learn in these programs. In addition, findings had the potential to inform teacher development policy, providing guidance to support teacher learning programs that work best for preparing inclusive teachers capable of addressing multiple layers of exclusion. Finally, this study contributed to a theory of teacher learning for inclusive education by providing an understanding of how teachers engage with institutions fraught with inequities and exclusion while developing their identities as teachers for all students.

Chapter 2

A Decade Of Research On Professional Development For Inclusive

Education: Toward Interdisciplinary Lenses

One of the greatest challenges for inclusive education has been preparing teachers to provide high-quality education while valuing all students' and families' differences. Most attention and efforts in building this capacity have focused on pre-service teachers, whereas in-service teacher learning for inclusive education has received little attention. Recent work has highlighted the importance of the years of teaching experience, prior training, access to resources, and curriculum in shaping teachers' attitudes toward including students with disabilities in their classrooms (Ernst & Rogers, 2009). Furthermore, long-term and substantive training that focuses on the specific needs of schools and teachers in developing positive attitudes toward including students with disabilities in the general education classroom (Avramidis & Kalyva, 2007; Forlin, Loreman, Sharma, & Earle, 2009; Kosko & Wilkins, 2009) and in developing inclusive school cultures (Carrington & Robinson, 2006; Deppeler, 2006; Peters, 2002) is important.

The focus of this study was teacher learning for inclusive education. For this purpose, I synthesized and critiqued the empirical knowledge base on this topic with the goal of expanding the research on teacher learning for inclusive education. In particular, I aimed to answer the following questions with a comprehensive review of the literature: (a) How is teacher learning for inclusive education studied? (Descriptive profile of studies) (b) How is inclusive education defined in the professional development literature? and (c) How is teachers' learning examined? For the purpose of this review, I broadly defined *teacher learning for inclusive education* to

include a continuum of changes in teachers, including changes in behavior, knowledge, teacher practice, and beliefs and attitudes toward inclusive education and marginalized students. Thus, I not only reviewed the research on teacher learning for inclusive education but also related research that purportedly encompasses this construct, such as the examination of efforts to increase practicing teachers' capacity for inclusive education (e.g., in-service trainings, workshops, seminars, Master's-level classes for licensed teachers, professional development schools, AR projects).

This review is significant for at least four compelling reasons. First, examining research on professional learning for inclusive education conducted in the 2000s provides information about the *Zeitgeist* of this decade, pointing out the strengths and shortcomings of this research so that new forms of theorizing and researching about this topic can emerge in the next decade. Second, definitions of inclusive education provide the focus and *telos* of policies and teacher learning programs for inclusive education and shape the unit of analysis of research on teacher learning for inclusive education. These definitions point to the *who*, *what*, and *where* of inclusive education. That is, who is the one who must be included (e.g., students receiving special education services, racial minorities, females), what must be done for this to happen (e.g., redistribute access, recognize and value differences, or provide opportunities for equal participation with families), and where these actions should take place (e.g., school, classroom). Accordingly, it is relevant to take stock at how the research community is defining inclusive education to examine if these definitions address contemporary socio-historical contexts of exclusion, particularly in the midst of rapidly changing demographics and new forms of capitalism. Third, examining how research examines and evaluates professional

learning efforts for inclusive education highlights what researchers consider a measure or evidence of change in the process of becoming inclusive teachers and schools. This evidence is used, in turn, to design teacher-learning programs. Fourth, this literature review provides information about publication and methodological trends to point out the attention that professional development for inclusive education has received in the research literature in the last decade.

In the following sections, I described the methods I utilized to search and select the reviewed articles. I next synthesized the research on professional development for inclusive education. I outlined in the last section of this chapter a conceptual lens to study teacher learning for inclusive education, which addresses the shortcomings of previous research.

Methods for Literature Search and Study Selection

I searched for teacher learning for inclusive education studies in three major education search engines: EBSCO Academic Search Premier, ERIC via Lumina, and Education Full Text-Wilson Web. I combined the following descriptive terms and key words in the searches to maximize the number of potential studies: Using the connector *and*, the terms *inclusive education* or *inclusion* were combined with the terms *teacher training*, *teacher development*, *teacher education*, *teacher learning*, *teacher preparation*, *professional development*, or *AR*. I connected these terms until all possible combinations were exhausted. This search of the literature produced 1115 articles. After deleting duplicates and selecting only the studies on teacher learning for inclusive education, I narrowed the selection to 317 articles. I examined these to decide whether they met the literature review's study selection criteria:

1. The study questions, purpose or hypothesis addressed *at least one* of the following aspects:
 - a) The impact of professional development for preparing teachers for inclusive education or the impact on in-service teachers of an implementation of inclusive education in a school. If both pre- and in-service teachers are included in the study, the authors must have disaggregated the results to discern the particular impact on in-service teachers.
 - b) The trajectories or experiences of in-service teachers through a professional development program or through the implementation of inclusive education in schools.
2. Source of publication: the studies must have been published in peer-reviewed journals as a way to address the quality of the research. This excluded studies published in book chapters, technical reports, and studies presented at conferences.
3. Time range: the studies were published between 2000 and 2009 to portray a decade of research in teacher learning for inclusive education.
4. Research method: the studies were data-based (either primary or secondary), with quantitative, qualitative, or mixed designs. Thus, I did not analyze essays, literature reviews, editorials, or papers that addressed the issue of in-service teacher development solely from a conceptual point of view.
5. Participants: the study participants were in-service teachers working K-12 public schools.

6. Data collection: Studies collected data over time (e.g., pre- and post-survey or questionnaires, observations and interviews across time) to document changes (e.g., in attitudes, beliefs, knowledge, practices) in in-service teachers.

A study needed to meet all six criteria to be included in the review database. Applying these selection criteria to the 317 publications identified in the searches resulted in 36 eligible journal articles (see Appendix A for a complete list of the articles which met criteria). The most common reasons for which studies did not qualify for this literature review were that they focused on *pre-service* teachers (e.g., Andrews, 2002), addressed teacher preparation for inclusive education from a conceptual point of view (e.g., Trent, Artiles, Fitchett-Bazemore, McDaniel, & Coleman-Sorrell, 2002), only described a teacher preparation program (e.g., Florian & Rouse, 2009), or collected data only at one point in time (e.g., Forlin, et al., 2008; Hodkinson & Devarakonda, 2009).

Results

How Is Teacher Learning for Inclusive Education Studied? A Descriptive Profile of the Studies

This analysis offered general features of this research, including the publication trends over time, publication outlets, the subject areas of focus, and the methodological characteristics of studies.

Publication trends. The publication trend showed an increasing attention in the mid-2000s and then a gradual decreasing trend in the last half of the decade (see Figure 1). Forty seven percent ($n = 17$) of the articles were published between 2005 and 2007, with 22% ($n = 8$) of the articles published in 2006 alone.

Regarding the publication outlets, the majority of articles (33%, $n = 12$) were published in special education journals such as *Learning Disability Quarterly* (3), *The European Journal of Special Needs Education* (2), *Research and Practice for Persons with Severe Disabilities* (2), *Exceptional Children* (1), *Exceptionality* (1), *Journal of Developmental and Intellectual Disability* (1), *Mental Retardation* (1), and *Deafness Education* (1). A journal with an inclusive education focus such as the *International Journal of Inclusive Education* published 17% ($n = 6$) of the selected articles, and it was the journal that published the most research on professional development for inclusive education. Journals with a specific focus on teacher education, such as *Teacher Education and Special Education* (3) and *Teacher Education Quarterly* (1) published 11% (4) of the selected articles. Another 11% of the articles (4) were published in school psychology journals, such as *School Psychology International* (1), *Educational Psychology in Practice* (1), *European Journal of Psychology in Education* (1), and *Intervention in School and Clinic* (1). Nine percent ($n = 3$) of the articles were published in journals with a specific focus in a subject area, such as the *Journal of Research in Science Teaching* (1), *Reading and Writing Quarterly* (1) and *School Science in Mathematics* (1). Finally, I found 17% ($n = 6$) of the articles in other educational journals such as *Cambridge Journal of Education* (1), *Education and Educational Policy* (1), *International Journal of Educational Management* (1), *Journal of Action Research* (1), and the *International Journal of Educational Development* (1).

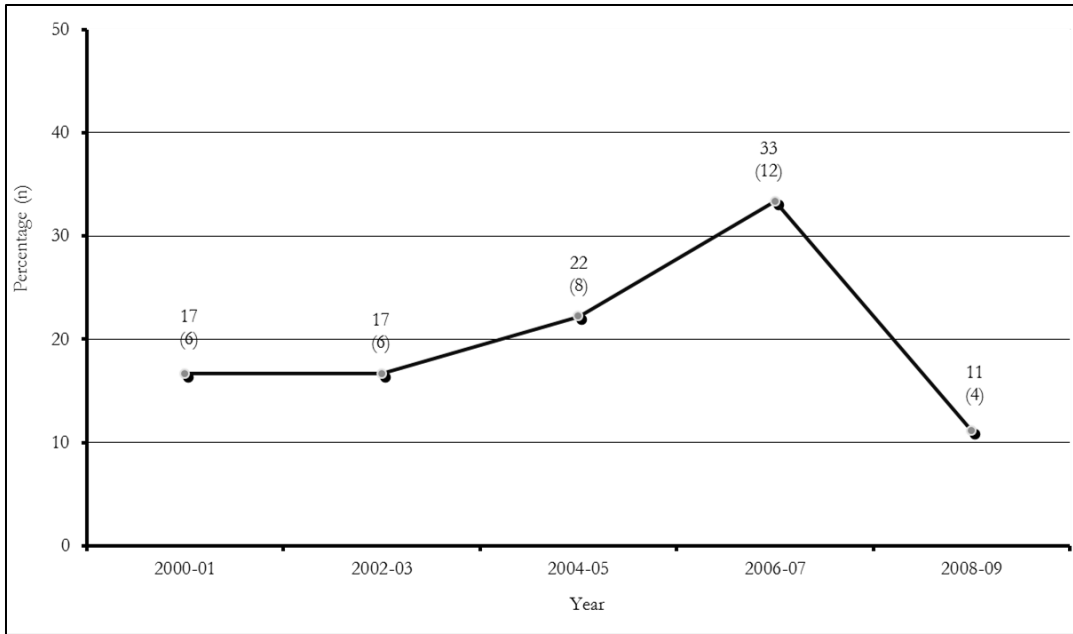


Figure 1. Proportion (frequency) of studies by year of publication.

Research methods.

Design. Teacher learning for inclusive education was mostly studied using qualitative methodologies. Fifty-six percent ($n = 20$) of the studies relied on qualitative methodologies, 28% (10) relied on mixed designs, and 16% (6) relied on quantitative methodologies. The majority of studies using quantitative designs (67%) were published in the second half of the last decade, whereas qualitative and mixed designs were consistently published throughout the 2000s.

Subject areas of focus. Half (50%, $n = 18$) did not report a specific subject area of focus. This is problematic because, in part, teacher learning involves experiences with specific subject matter as learners (Bransford, Cocking, & Donovan, 2000). Learning to be a teacher, furthermore, demands making meaning of the different vocabulary, syntax, procedures, experiences, and patterns of resources that vary across content areas (Gee, 2006). Understanding teachers' opportunities to

learn and how those opportunities are taken requires a description of the content area and specific materials the teachers engaged in professional development efforts.

Professional development efforts focusing on Literacy and Science had the most attention in the literature. Studies that focused on Literacy (reading and writing) accounted for 25% (9), whereas studies in which professional development had a focus on Science accounted for 11% (4) for the studies. Six percent (2) of studies focused professional development efforts on two subject areas (Reading and Math; Science and Math), and 3% (1) contained a focus on four subject areas (Science, English, Math and History) or on social studies.

Samples. There was great variation in sample sizes, ranging from one participant to 122. An analysis of participants' information yielded some interesting results. Fifty-eight percent ($n = 21$) did not report the level of training of the participants. The remaining 42% (15) included teachers with a level of training varying from only having teaching certifications to having doctoral degrees; however, this information was not presented clearly in the articles. The remaining articles reported ranges or averages. On average, most of the teachers whose level of training was reported had a teaching certificate or a four-year university degree. Fifty-eight percent (21) also did not report teachers' years of teaching experience. The remaining studies included teachers whose years of experience ranged from 1 to 27 years of experience, with an average of 10 years.

Fifty-three percent ($n = 19$) of the articles did not report any of the teachers' demographic information. Twenty-five percent (9) of the articles reported only on gender information, 22% (8) reported information on gender and race/ethnicity, and only 6% (2) reported information in gender, race/ethnicity, and SES. Most of the

teachers from the studies that reported demographic information were females (79%). The ethnic background of the participants from studies who reported this information tended to be White (75%), with the remaining of the teachers' racial background being 18% African American, 6% Hispanic, and 1% Middle Eastern. The two studies that reported information about their participants' social class background described them as working or middle class. Authors treated race/ethnicity and social class as monolithic constructs and did not examine how this aspect of teachers' biography mediated their learning and growth as inclusive teachers.

Participants were predominantly teachers in the primary grades. Forty-seven percent ($n = 17$) of the selected studies focused solely on teachers working in primary grades, whereas 17% (6) focused on teachers working in high school and 11% working in middle school. Another 11% reported that the teachers were working in K-12, and 6% (2) reported that they were working middle and high school. One study reported that their participants worked in primary and high school, whereas 6% (2) did not report the grade level in which their participants worked.

Data sources. All qualitative studies used some combination of interviews, observations, students' and schools' documents, focus groups, and teachers' journals. Studies using mixed designs collected some combination of these data and also surveys, implementation checklists, and quantitative assessments of teachers' and students' knowledge. Studies based on quantitative methodologies relied heavily on surveys, with the exception of one study which used an implementation checklist. Two studies that used surveys to collect information also used questionnaires.

Interestingly, 47% ($n = 17$) *relied only on teachers' reports* rather than having either observation or video footage of teacher practice.

Data analysis procedures. Forty percent ($n = 8$) of the qualitative studies did not clearly report their analysis procedures, 30% (6) of the qualitative studies used grounded theory, and the remaining studies (6) used other forms of coding (e.g., Categorical Analysis using Miles and Huberman's approach, content analysis). Six using mixed methodologies relied in a combination of categorical analysis (Miles & Huberman, 1994) and descriptive statistics (e.g., percentages), whereas 4 of the mixed designs studies used a combination of categorical analysis and inferential statistics (e.g., χ^2 and t analysis, ANCOVA, χ^2). One study used a combination of descriptive statistics and descriptive qualitative analysis.

Location. Fifty-five percent ($n = 20$) were conducted in the U.S, 13% (4) were conducted in England, 8% (3) were conducted in Australia, and 6% (2) were conducted in Greece. Studies conducted in Canada, Cyprus, Netherland, New Zealand, South Korea, and Trinidad y Barbados each accounted for 3% (1) of the selected studies. Of note is that studies conducted in the U.S tended to dominate the publications in first half of the decade. Seventy-three percent of studies between 2000 and 2004 were conducted in the U.S, whereas in the remaining half of the decade studies conducted in the U.S comprised 47% of the selected studies. Between 2005 and 2009 there was an increase in studies conducted in England, and in other countries without a large inclusive education history (e.g., South Korea, Greece, Cyprus, Trinidad y Barbados). This indicates an increasing attention to preparing teachers for inclusive education in countries without a long tradition of inclusive education.

Professional development efforts. By far the most frequent (53%, $n = 19$) form of professional development in which teacher learning was examined was AR. In these studies, faculty and teachers worked together in inquiry-based projects to improve inclusive practices. The length of these AR projects varied from five weeks to three years. Interestingly, 74% (14) of AR studies were published in between 2005 and 2010, which indicates an increasing interest in involving teachers in the construction of their own knowledge that is situated in their daily practices and struggles. Fifty-three percent (10) of these AR projects involved university partnerships with individual teachers, and 47% (9) of these were school-wide systemic efforts. AR studies evaluated the impact of this form professional development effort on teacher learning by looking at changes in teacher and school practice.

Fourteen percent ($n = 5$) examined teacher learning during onsite training on specific teaching strategies (e.g., partner reading) conducted by specialists (e.g., university professors) and followed up by classroom observations and feedback on the performance of the teaching strategy. Four of this group of studies consisted of university partnerships with individual teachers, whereas one was a school-wide systemic effort. The length of these professional development efforts ranged from 20 weeks to seven years. These studies focused on changes in teacher practice using observations and implementation checklists to evaluate the fidelity with which the teacher implemented the strategy.

Eleven percent ($n = 4$) examined teacher learning during professional development efforts that consisted of a combination of university classless and university faculty observations and feedback of teachers in their classroom. The

length of these efforts ranged from 10 months to three years, and all of these studies involved partnership of university with individual teachers. Eleven percent (4), in addition, focused on workshops on developing inclusive practices. These professional development efforts tended to be shorter in length, ranging from two days to two weeks. Three of these professional development efforts focused on individual teachers, while one of these studies was a statewide workshop. These efforts were examined for a focus on teachers' practices, attitudes toward inclusion, and knowledge about inclusive practices.

Six percent (2) examined the practices and beliefs of teachers working in professional development schools (PDS). These studies lasted two years and described, through ethnographic methods, teachers' practices and the school understanding of inclusion. The PDS models consisted of collaborative partnerships in which a school and a university worked together to provide a clinical setting for pre-service teachers, engage in continuous professional development for school staff, promote and engage in inquiry process to advance knowledge tailored to school needs, and provide high quality education for all students (Teitel, 2003). In Peters's (2002) study, for instance, the PDS matched specific teachers and faculty areas of interest, mainly content areas. Teachers engaged in inquiry-based projects in which they reflected on and changed their own practices working with faculty. The PDS described in Peters's article had two goals: (1) to "create effective learning communities whereby students (and teachers) would be motivated, engaged, active learners and (2) to learn to teach for understanding whereby experiential, project-based, 'reality-based' curriculum and instruction interacted" (p. 293). In addition, this PDS focus on reaching marginalized and special educational needs (SEN) youths,

crating with faculty an inclusive language program and a social skills and communication program for students with severe disabilities. The other study (Stockall & Gartin, 2002) did not describe the PDS model.

One study (Huai, Braden, & White, 2006) examined the impact of a three-month online course on teachers' understanding of assessment accommodations and alternative assessments. This course lasted three months and involved individual teachers and parents. Finally, another study examined the impact of a special educators' weekly newsletter on how to include children with disabilities in their classrooms for part of the day toward improving teachers' self-efficacy and attitudes toward inclusive education.

Summary of the descriptive characteristics of the selected studies.

In summary, the analysis of the descriptive profile of the selected articles provided interesting insights. The trends of publication over time showed that the number of articles published peaked in the middle of the decade and then showed a decreasing trend. There have been an increasing number of published studies in countries without a long tradition of inclusive education. Research on teacher learning for inclusive education is mostly published in special education or inclusive education journals, and only half reported the specific subject area of focus.

Teacher learning for inclusive education is mostly studied using qualitative methodologies in which artifacts were collected, and in turn, analyzed with tools from grounded theory or strategies recommended by Miles and Huberman (1994); however, 40% of the qualitative studies did not clearly report their analysis procedures, which makes evaluation of the results difficult (e.g., Lloyd, 2002). On the other hand, quantitative designs tended to rely on surveys and on inferential

statistics. Unfortunately, 47% of the selected articles relied only on teachers' reports, rather than having either observation or video footage of teacher practices, providing little information of what occurred in situated practice.

In general, there was little information provided in the selected articles about participants' demographics. Key identity markers such as gender, race/ethnicity, and social class, and information about the level of training and years of teaching experience, tended to be omitted. This is problematic because these markers are part of teachers' background and experiences that mediate their learning (Bransford, et al., 2000). Most studies were conducted in the U.S, followed by England, and AR was by far the most frequent form of professional development in which teacher learning was studied.

How Is Inclusive Education Defined in Teacher Learning Research?

I found three definitions of inclusive education in the selected articles. A group of studies defined inclusive education as related *only* to ability differences (i.e., students with disabilities, at risk, having learning difficulties, or SEN). This group of studies either focused on access to the general education classroom or on changing school cultures and practices. Another group of articles defined inclusive education as concerned with changing the curriculum to take into account gender and cultural differences but overlooked the exclusion of students with diverse abilities. A third group of articles defined inclusive education as a process of overcoming barriers to participation and learning *for all students* (students with diverse abilities, cultures, gender, *and* racial/ethnic background). Interestingly, studies defining inclusive education with regard to ability differences accounted for 87% of the articles published in the first half of the decade but for 63% of the articles published in the

second half of the decade. This indicated an increase over time of professional development efforts that broadens the boundaries of inclusive education to include others kinds of differences (e.g., race/ethnicity, gender, culture).

An enduring view on ability differences: Access to the general education classroom. By far, the bulk of this literature (67%, $n = 24$) defined inclusive education with regard to ability differences. That is, they defined inclusive education as pertaining to students with disabilities, at risk, or having learning difficulties (i.e., SEN). Out of these 24 studies, 83% (20) defined inclusive education as access to the general education classroom and curriculum for students with disabilities, at risk, or having learning difficulties. SEN definitions accounted for 56% of the total number. These studies focused on supporting teachers to provide instructional accommodations and implement instructional strategies to provide access for students with diverse abilities to the general education classroom and curriculum.

These findings support previous reviews that inclusive education studies exclusively attended to students at risk, having learning difficulties, or with SEN (Dyson, Howes, & Roberts, 2002). Artiles et al. (2006) pointed out that this is explained by the fact that the 1994 Salamanca Statement endorsed inclusion as an important benefit for special education. This association between inclusive education and special education was particularly stronger in countries with special education policies before 1980 (e.g., U.S). Indeed, 85% of reviewed studies conducted in the U.S focused on training teachers to include students with disabilities in the general education classroom.

Klingner et al. (2003), for instance, conducted a study to scale up four research-based practices for inclusive classrooms. The researchers provided a 2-week professional development on Partner Reading, Collaborative Strategic Reading, Making Words, and Phonological awareness. Klingner et al. (2003) used the *Classroom Observations and Implementation Checklist* (Klingner, et al., 2003) to identify high, moderate, and low implementers and the barriers that these groups of teachers faced while implementing the four strategies. The authors did not explicitly define inclusive education in the article; however, the unit of analysis – teachers’ implementation of research-based practices to include students with disabilities – stressed access to the general education classroom for students with disabilities. Furthermore, the authors wrote, “with this study we continued our line of research in professional development designed to facilitate the sustained use of research-based practices in heterogeneous classrooms that include students with special needs” (p. 424). Thus, inclusive education was narrowed to the technicalities of including special education students in the general education classroom.

Studies that defined inclusive education as access to the general education classroom for students with disabilities, such as Klingner et al.’s (2003), had a clinical perspective. Such a framework holds that remedial interventions and accommodations to the general education curriculum are the remedies for the exclusion of students with disabilities from the general education classroom. This group of studies was based on a *naïve pragmatism* that stressed models, practices, and tools without examining and contesting the underlying assumptions and discourses that stand behind them (Skritic, 1995). This naïve pragmatism eclipsed the possibilities to attend to issues of power. This is representative of the special

education field, which has been dominated by medical and deficit models that locate the problem within students, pathologizing students with diverse abilities at the expense of examining the cultures in schools in which power differentials result in inequitable access, participation, and outcomes (Reid & Valle, 2004). As Slee (2010) stated,

If teachers are to interrupt the constancy of exclusion they ought to be acquainted with its character and operation. In this respect, becoming an inclusive educator requires that they not only acquire disciplinary knowledge, pedagogical skills, and inclusive dispositions, but that they know how to identify the manifest the insidious ways in which exclusion is established through and in schooling. (p. 19)

Furthermore, defining inclusive education as access to the general education classroom and curriculum for students with diverse abilities shaped the unit of analysis of these studies as they examined how teachers redistributed access to general education classroom and curriculum. Importantly, access to the general education classroom and curriculum does not guarantee valuing and supporting students' cultural identities, and abilities, and linguistic differences. It neither guarantees that the curriculum is representative of and meaningful to the students and their families, nor that classroom participation practices (e.g., turn-taking patterns, individual work, solving timed tasks) are inclusive of all students. A tight relation exists between the content and practices of the curriculum and power (Apple, 1985). Indeed, although certain groups preside over what goes in the curriculum and what practices are worth having in schools, others remain disenfranchised.

The critical question, thus, is inclusion or access into what (Erickson, 1996). Inclusive education, at least in the U.S, has been conducted with an assimilationist perspective – it places students from non-dominant backgrounds into schools without transforming the dominant culture that informs policies and practices. Thus, access and integration must be accompanied with continuous examinations of which differences are valued and which are treated as problematic. If inclusive education is narrowed to access to general education classrooms and curricula without valuing student differences, schools may end up contributing to assimilating students to the dominant culture of the school and may create resistance from certain groups toward schools, diminishing their engagement in education (see Ogbu, 2001).

As Kozleski and Waitoller (2010) wrote, “Teaching is a political act where access to participation and educational goods are distributed according to particular value systems that recognize certain knowledge and cultures while excluding others” (p. 660). A definition of inclusive education based on access and participation to the already existent general education practices and content does not open opportunities to study how teachers learn to redistribute access and participation for all students, recognizing all knowledge systems and dismantling the unequal distribution of power that benefits some at the expenses of others.

An enduring view on ability differences: Transforming school cultures.

Whereas the first group of studies focused on ability differences from a classroom perspective, another group of studies defined inclusive education as an ongoing and systemic process of changing school culture and ideology to inform practices that facilitate access participation, and learning for students with diverse abilities. These studies examined schools and teachers as they struggle to transform their culture so

that all ability differences are valued. This group of studies accounted for 17% ($n = 4$) that defined inclusive education with regard to ability differences.

Deppeler (2006) investigated the impact of a two-year AR project that involved the collaboration between an Australian school and university. The purpose of this study was to enhance “teachers’ capacity to respond to diversity through collaboration and active involvement in evidence-based inquiry in their schools” (p. 347), and to examine this process among eight schools and 45 teachers. Deppeler collected audio recordings, notes of teachers’ discussions, participants’ research reports, reflective journals and mind maps, classroom observations, interviews, email conversations, surveys on beliefs, and knowledge about inclusive practices, and students’ measures of literacy achievement. Teachers became more confident and reliant using inquiry to support student learning, collaboration increased and was understood as enhancing learning skills on inquiry, and teachers became more open to be observed and receive feedback from peers. Teachers’ positive attitude to their students’ was paralleled with valuing assessments that focused on student learning and with a rejection of assessments that were divorced from the classroom; however, the inquiry process was not sufficient by itself to interrupt all exiting practices or change all teachers’ belief about students’ differences. Teachers, for instance, when searching for practices to improve their students’ outcomes, focus rather on fixing students’ deficits than on student learning. Deppeler wrote,

In spite of these efforts, it became increasingly apparent that for some teachers, engaging with evidence about student learning would not be a sufficient condition in itself to prompt their critical examination of deficit beliefs or to change practices continue to

explain students' low achievement by focusing in their disability. (p. 353)

Studies that defined inclusive education as an ongoing and systemic process of changing school culture stressed ability differences, falling short from examining how teachers learn to overcome barriers for all students. Exclusion is pervasive (Slee, 2010) and has many faces and victims that embody multiple layers of difference; the goal of inclusive education should be to “identify and dismantle exclusion” (Slee, 2010, p. 18) in all its forms. Following this view of inclusive education, research on teacher learning for inclusive education should examine teachers' thinking and practices with regard to issues of exclusion for all students.

Definitions based on race, class, gender, and culture. Five studies (14%) based their definitions of inclusive education focusing on race, class, gender, or culture. Interestingly, these studies avoided mentioning students with disabilities in their definitions of inclusive education; however, issues of educational attainment, and therefore ability, were implicitly intertwined in the studies.

Two of these studies, Capobianco and colleagues (2007; 2006), conducted six-month AR projects to examine closely how three high-school science teachers made sense of their classroom experiences as a result of engaging in collaborative AR on feminist pedagogy and gender-inclusive practices. The authors collected data from semi-structured interviews, whole-group discussions, classroom observations, and review of school documents. In this AR project, the teachers and the university researcher defined classroom-based problems and sought their solutions to contribute to a collective knowledge about teaching and learning for all students. In

addition, teachers developed research competencies associated with data collection, analysis, interpretation, and critical reflections.

Drawing from feminist theory, Capobianco and colleagues (2006; 2007) contextualized inclusive education in a struggle to transform structures of power in modern and postmodern societies. The authors examined the intersection of these power structures with the social distributions of power on scientific inquiry and implementation. According to the authors,

this model deals with the extent to which teachers, students, and other stakeholders take steps to restructure the culture and organization (e.g., schools and universities) from which science learning takes place so students from diverse racial, ethnic, and social-class groups will experience educational equality and cultural empowerment. (Capobianco, 2007, p. 4)

Capobianco and colleagues (2007; 2006) reported that teachers became researchers of their own practice, gaining new knowledge about feminist science teaching and creating a tool kit of practices for inclusive science teaching. For instance, one of the teachers created the space necessary for her students to begin thinking, raising questions, and talking about the role science plays in their lives. By revisiting her own experiences as a female learning and teaching science, this teacher moved forward in her understanding of who her students were and what role science might play in their lives. This teacher, furthermore, gained the practical knowledge necessary to generate and evaluate her own thinking, taking on the role of researcher and developing and critically analyzing her own knowledge about teaching for more diverse groups of students.

Both groups of studies – those that defined inclusive education with regard to ability differences and those that defined inclusive education stressing cultural, racial/ethnic, and gender differences – have fragmented students’ differences. These fall short from addressing how gender and culture are closely tied to perceptions of abilities, limiting the possibilities of studying how teachers learn to address the intersections of various forms of exclusion. The longstanding link between ability, race/ethnicity, language, and social class differences indicate that these constructs have historically been intertwined and related to deficits (Ferri & Connor, 2005). For instance, students from marginalized cultural, racial, linguistic, and social class groups have historically been disproportionately placed in institutions and programs (e.g., special education, asylums, mental health institutions) for individuals with disabilities (Artiles, Waitoller, & Neal, 2010). Currently, the overrepresentation of marginalized students in special education is a reminder that the dominance in schools of certain cultural practices, abilities, and languages intertwine, creating multiple complex barriers to educational access, participation, and outcomes.

Broadening the scope of inclusive education: Participation and learning for all students. Seven studies (19%) defined inclusive education in broader terms, as a systemic process of overcoming barriers to participation and learning for all students. These articles used the definition of inclusive education, drawing from the *Index for Inclusion*, which is a self-review instrument for school change that changes the focus of inclusive education from students with disabilities to overcoming barriers to learning and participation and providing resources to support learning for all students (Booth & Ainscow, 2002). These studies had a school-wide focus, rather than focusing on individual teachers. Their professional

development efforts were based on school-wide AR projects that aimed to overcome social exclusion of students.

Dyson and Gallannaugh (2007), for instance, reported part of the results from a larger study in which they examined the impact of a three-year collaborative action research project guided by the Index for Inclusion (see Ainscow et al., 2006a for a complete report on this research project). In particular, they were interested in understanding what were the barriers to participation and learning, what practices could help to overcome them, and how could those practices be encouraged and sustained. To answer these questions the authors collected data from interviews with school personnel, students, parents, local authority personnel, and school governors. The authors also observed school practices and collected school performance data.

Dyson and Gallannaugh (2007) presented an account of a school that was attempting to develop inclusive practices while meeting standards-based policies in England. They reported that teachers had a deficit perspective of students and families and thought that boys, in particular, had trouble learning, especially if the boys' parents lacked skills and experienced unemployment. Teachers' concern for these students increased as the AR project developed, which involved a willingness to take more risks to improve students' learning. To these teachers, inclusion became the means to provide experiences that were missing from students' lives, and therefore, raising the academic achievement for all students. Inclusion, thus, became the means to meet standard based policies. Dyson and Gallannaugh concluded that the school reinterpreted inclusive education and standard based policies and that the meaning of inclusion was not determined by national policy. The authors wrote that "some development of inclusive practice—however hesitant and ambiguous—might

be possible even if national policy were entirely hostile, and is, we suggest, even more likely in the current ambiguous policy context” (p. 484).

The studies that had a broader definition of inclusion identified excluded group of students in rather ample terms, which resulted in a general, rather than a nuanced, understanding of how teachers address specific intersections of differences. Furthermore, they only defined inclusive education in terms of redistributing access to opportunities to learn and recognizing and valuing students’ differences. Yet, authors did not provide an understating of how teachers learned to collaborate with families and students so that they can represent themselves and have an equal say in the decisions that affect their lives. Note that in this definition of inclusion and in the Index for Inclusion, teachers are the ones identifying and addressing barriers for learning— they are the experts and the political voices that get to decide for families and students. In the case of Dyson’s and Gallannaugh’s (2007) study, teachers identified barriers on the basis of achievement in standards-based assessments. On the other hand, families and students did not have power to identify what are the barriers to their education or to use their own assets to overcome them. Because this group of studies was informed by a definition of inclusion that is silent about issues of political representation, it fell short in generating knowledge about how teachers learn to provide meaningful participation in educational decisions to families.

Furthermore, though these studies broadened the definition of inclusive education to embrace all students, they provided no understanding of how the school staff addressed language differences. The massive immigration waves that occurred in the 2000s have changed the *ethos* of schools, bringing larger numbers of students whose languages are different from the language taught in the school. In the

U.S, for instance, ELLs' enrollment in schools increased from 9 to 21% between 1979 and 2008 (National Center for Education Statistics, 2009). These students face various forms of exclusion because their language and culture are seen as a barrier, rather than as an asset, for learning. Research on teacher learning for inclusive education has generated little understanding about how teachers learn to address language differences in their classroom

Summary of the definitions of inclusive education in the selected studies. In summary, I found three definitions of inclusive education in the selected articles. The largest group of studies (67%) defined inclusive education with regard to ability differences (i.e., students with disabilities, at risk, or having learning difficulties). This group of studies either focused on access to the general education classroom or on changing school cultures and practices. Another group of articles defined inclusive education with regard to gender and cultural differences but overlooked exclusion for students with diverse abilities, and a third group of articles defined inclusive education as a process of overcoming barriers to participation and learning for all students.

Regarding the *nbo* (i.e., who are the subjects of exclusion) of inclusive education, the majority of studies defined inclusive education while fragmenting students' differences. That is, they tended to focus either on ability, racial/ethnic, social class, *or* gender differences. This monolithic and fragmented definition of inclusive education did not afford an examination of how teachers learn to dismantle the intersections of various forms of exclusion. Even studies that defined inclusive education as pertaining to all students did not succeed in providing detailed information about how teachers engage with intersecting forms of exclusion.

Regarding the *what* (i.e., what should be done to dismantle exclusion) of inclusive education, studies that defined inclusive education as access to the general education classroom focused on the technicalities of redistributing access and participation but paid little attention to issues of recognizing students differences. The remaining group of studies stressed both redistributing access and participating in education and recognizing student differences. Notably, there was no attention in the selected studies to understand how teachers learn to engage and share power with families. If families do not have the political representation to be part of the decisions that affect them, school may find resistance from families whose needs are increasingly not addressed. As Hess, Molina, and Kozleski (2006) noted,

engaging in conversation with families around their needs, as well as assisting them in their efforts to advocate for their child, is the first step in creating more equal partnerships between parents of children with special needs and educational professionals. (p. 148)

Regarding the *where* of inclusion, the first group of studies (i.e., access to general education classrooms for students with disabilities) focused on classroom-based efforts, whereas the remaining studies had a school-wide focus.

How is Teachers' Learning Examined?

Teachers' professional development was examined by either focusing on the outcomes of such professional development efforts or by examining the process and changes that teachers experience as they participate in professional development efforts. Process-based (PB) studies accounted for 55% ($n = 20$) of the total selected studies, whereas outcome-based (OB) studies accounted for 45% ($n = 16$). The publication of these groups of studies was consistent across the 2000s.

Process-based studies. PB studies described the process of teachers' participating in the professional development efforts. These studies provide information about the sequences of actions taken by the participants, the struggles and tensions that emerged throughout the process, and the actions and events occurring at the end of the process. Though these studies presented the outcomes of their professional development efforts, they claimed that inclusive education is an ongoing process that does not have final outcomes. Fifty percent of these studies defined inclusion as pertaining to all students, whereas the other half defined inclusion as pertaining only to students with diverse abilities (i.e., disabilities and SEN). The majority of these studies (78%, $n = 14$) were based on AR projects, and half of these studies were school-wide systemic professional development efforts, whereas the other half focused on individual teachers. In what follows, I describe studies that are representative of PB studies and point out some shortcomings and unanswered questions.

Carrington and Robinson (2004) reported the process and outcome of a collaborative AR involving an Australian primary school and university staff. The purpose of the study was to examine how the school in collaboration with the authors used the Index for Inclusion, incorporating a critical friend- and peer-mentoring model. The authors collected data from focus groups interviews, reflective journals, and surveys, and they reported that – guided by the index for inclusion – the school staff collected information to identify priorities for development. These areas included preventive behavior management, strategies to increase on-task behavior and diminish students' anger and frustration, and teaching strategies to increase independent learning. Based on these areas of focus, the

authors designed professional development activities. The school staff engaged in various group activities and professional development events that focused on the cyclical and spiral process of planning, implementation, and review. This process involved revising the school's beliefs and values underpinning its policies and practices. Teachers reported that being in control of their own learning, having a critical friend, and open collaboration with peers enhanced their ability to solve the identified school issues. Survey data indicated that 84% of school staff indicated that having a supportive school community was as important as raising academic achievement. Staff members understood that an inclusive school culture that is tolerant of differences must cater to the needs of all students. Staff members, in addition, reported that though their students were challenging, they could make a difference in their learning. Carrington and Robinson (2004) reported that the index for inclusion facilitated communication and problem solving in the school community. The study did not report student data.

Carrington and Robinson's (2004) investigation – like the rest of PB studies – relied heavily on descriptive accounts of the process teachers and researchers went through while using the Index for Inclusion; however, there was little theoretical interpretation and conceptual refinement. Concepts such as teacher learning were not clearly theorized nor defined, resulting in a lack of understanding about the complex interactions between the participants, policies, practices, and the larger institutional and historical forces that shaped the daily inclusive or exclusionary practices of the school. PB studies left several items unanswered. How do teachers and researchers talk about, enact, and make meaning of inclusive education as they participate in institutional settings in which exclusion is ubiquitous? How do the

policies, discourses, and practices that are already operating in schools mediate the work of researchers and school professionals? What critical incidents illustrate the moments in which policies, discourses, and practices exclude some students? How do researchers and school professionals navigate these critical incidents?

Furthermore, as the researchers and participants engaged in different activities (e.g., professional development activities, classroom activities), it was not clear how teachers' meaning-making processes and participation varied across settings. How did teachers translate their learning from professional development efforts to their daily practices? What factors mediated this translation? Do definitions of inclusive education varied from professional development efforts to situated practices? How did this variation occur? What kinds of mediational tools help teachers make meaning of inclusive education across professional development efforts and situated practices? What kinds of participation are teachers afforded in their classroom practices and the professional development efforts? What mediates this participation? What kind of identities are teachers afforded in professional development efforts and in classroom practices? How are these identities negotiated across and within each activity? What mediational tools teachers use to enact their identities in each activity? Unfortunately, these questions remain unanswered not only in Carrington and Robinson's study but in all the literature on teacher learning for inclusive education research.

Carrington and Robinson (2004) favored a situated perspective in which local understandings (i.e., inclusive education) are elicited and in which local participants develop their own solutions to address barriers for learning emerging from their own schools. Carrington's and Robinson's study, however, presented a monolithic view of

the process of building an inclusive school culture. Several questions remain unanswered. Do all teachers agree upon the same school priorities? Were there disagreements on what were the most significant barriers for student learning? How were these disagreements negotiated? Do all teachers buy into these priorities and therefore in the AR project, though they may have not been in agreement with them? What and how policies and institutional and historical discourses mediated this negotiation of priorities? For instance, the authors reported that in a survey conducted in a professional development activity 42% of the participants responded that there was an emphasis on valuing difference rather than conforming to what is normal, whereas 49% was not sure about this statement and 9% disagreed with it. It is not clear how these teachers who were either unsure or disagreed with this statement negotiated their participation in the AR project and how their learning trajectories were shaped by their beliefs about how the schools dealt with difference.

Schools are far from having monolithic cultures (Artiles et al., 2006); research on teacher learning for inclusive education in the 2000s, however, fell short from providing a detailed documentation of the tensions that emerge from the daily negotiations that occur in schools that, in turn, shape teacher identity and participation, and that are mediated by institutional and historical discourses that inhabit the institutions. Understanding these daily negotiations and mediation is crucial, as institutional and historical discourses create contexts in which school professionals make sense of their practices and coordinate collective efforts to create equity for students with disabilities (Kozleski & Smith, 2009). This finding is consistent with Artiles et al.'s (2006) observation that in inclusive education research

there is a lack of thick descriptions of “how mediating processes were constructed in interpersonal contexts” (p. 84).

Davies, Howes, and Farrell’s (2008) study overcame this critique by examining the tensions that emerge from the process of becoming an inclusive school using a more refined conceptual lens. The authors drew from the findings of an AR to develop inclusive practices in secondary schools to examine the underlying processes that facilitate and constrain the collaboration of teachers and school psychologists as they create inclusive practices. Data collection procedures included questionnaires, pre- and post-interviews, and focus groups. Using Cultural Historical Activity Theory (CHAT), the authors analyzed the tensions that emerged from the work done by teachers and school psychologists. CHAT focuses on goal-oriented activities in which individuals interact with tools, institutional rules and arrangements, the distribution of labor, and the larger community. According to the authors, the object of the activity was the development of inclusive practices. Davies et al. (2008) reported that there was a tension in the activity system between the subjects (i.e., teachers) and the tools of the activity system (i.e., methods for teaching). As teachers felt pressure to raise students’ test scores, they developed methods tailored to achieve this goal, which left little space for other methods and forms of learning and reflection. There was also a tension between the subjects and their role in the school (i.e., division of labor), as teachers felt that they were solely responsible for the classroom, they were less likely to engage in collaboration and reflection with other peers. Teacher’s perceptions of pupils’ difficulties, furthermore, were based in a deficit perspective in which the problem was within the child and must be fixed by specialists (e.g., school psychologists and speech pathologists).

This division of labor created tensions as teachers engaged in AR and were challenged by constructivist rather than clinical views of students' learning struggles. Regarding school psychologists, the authors reported tension between the individual and an expert-based view of the psychologist role and the collaborative work that is needed while transforming schools. School psychologists' work during the AR was in tension with the school districts' expectations of their time allocation and related deadlines based on individual caseloads. Teachers also had difficulties to grasp AR practices, as they wanted to rely on school psychologists' expertise rather than engage in reflection and dialogues about their practice. Davies et al. (2008) concluded that

CHAT usefully focuses attention on the centrality of the artifacts that mediate the relationship between the various subjects and objects that are involved in this action research project. It also usefully highlights the cultural-historical roots of these social learning systems; their multi-voicedness, and the tensions and contradictions that are an inevitable result of activities that take place in and between the systems. (p. 414)

Davies et al. (2008) provided more detailed information about the tensions that emerged from the interpersonal processes of transforming schools for inclusive education; however, they relied solely on teachers' reports (e.g., questionnaires, focus groups, interviews) to support their findings. These procedures did not allow the authors to provide thick descriptions on how those tensions actually played out in situated practice. How did teacher participation in classrooms and professional development activities were shaped by their reliance on school psychologist

expertise? How do teacher participation in school and professional development activities were mediated by the teaching methods they chose to raise academic achievement? How their perception of ownership over their own classrooms mediated their participation in professional development efforts and school activities and their trajectories of becoming someone else? Unfortunately, the data sources utilized in this study limited the researchers' possibilities of providing nuanced descriptions of teachers' participation and their trajectories in becoming inclusive teachers.

As many other PB studies (Ainscow, Booth, & Dyson, 2006b; Carrington & Robinson, 2004; Dyson & Gallannaugh, 2007; Robinson & Carrington, 2002), Davies et al. (2008) were concerned with the transformation of the entire school community and use concepts that branched off sociocultural theory, such as community of practices (Lave & Wenger, 1991) and CHAT (Engeström, 1999). For instance, using CHAT Davies et al. (2008) aimed to understand the tensions that emerged of a goal-oriented activity (i.e., transforming schools for inclusive education) as the teachers and school psychologists participated and interacted with mediational tools, rules, the rest of the community, and the established division of labor. A critique of this study is that the researchers failed to address a key theoretical premise in this theory – the idea that individuals are always becoming someone else as they participate in goal-oriented activities (Lave, 1996). Hodges (1998), furthermore, pointed out that teachers sometimes resist accepting an identity, negotiating and constructing another identity in the midst of this conflictive situation. How were teachers' identities mediated as they participate with the rest of the school community in professional development efforts for inclusive education?

How teachers' identities mediated their participation in these professional development efforts? And how teachers resisted or accommodated to these efforts when they did not identify with an inclusive education culture and were more concerned with complying with standard based policies as reported by Dyson and Gallannaugh (2007). Engaging with this last question, in particular, will overcome the shortcoming of having a monolithic view of school culture.

Another aspect of teacher identity and participation that is missing from the literature on teacher learning for inclusive education is the role of historical contingencies in teachers' development for inclusive education— how teacher identity and participation is interpreted in light of the historical power struggles and unequal distribution of power that excluded certain students while benefiting others. Teachers who engage with an inclusive education agenda enact a historical struggle for access participation and outcomes for all students. They are in a dialogical relationship with the past of such struggle as they participate in school activities (Holland & Lave, 2001). In the case of Davies et al. (2008), for instance, teachers struggle with moving away from seeing school psychologists as the experts. This reflects how historically the U.S education system has dealt with difference – treating it as special cases in need of specialized professionals. Thus, how do the tensions between teachers and school psychologists and their assigned roles mediate how teachers learn to deal with difference in situated practice?

Carrington and Robinson (2004) and Davies et al. (2008), the remaining PB studies, did not report thoroughly their methodological design, which makes it difficult to assess the quality of their methods. Data collection and analysis procedures tended to be described in broad terms. Furthermore, PB studies reported

the demographics of their participants, and the level of training and years of experience. Those studies that described the demographics of their participants treated constructs such as race and gender as monolithic, yet these groups are highly diverse, encompassing a wide range of experiences and identities. For instance, the experiences and identities of Latinos vary across, national, generational, language, and socioeconomic differences (Artiles, Sullivan, Waitoller, & Neal, 2010).

In summary, PB studies provided information about the sequences of actions taken by the participants, the struggles and tensions that emerged throughout the process, and the actions and events occurring at the end of the process. PB studies, furthermore, provided information about the local understandings of inclusion and how these understandings shaped local practice. The findings from these studies suggest that AR projects in which university staff and the entire school worked together to transform schools are a promising approach to professional development for inclusive education. The two studies based on PDS also presented some interesting findings as these teachers continuously engage in inquiry projects to examine how to best serve all students.

A limitation of PB studies is that they relied heavily on descriptive accounts of events providing little theoretical interpretation. In addition, PB studies did not differentiate teacher learning across different activities (e.g., professional development activities, classroom activities) nor the mediating factors that may have shaped their learning trajectories in professional development efforts and their classroom practices. PB studies (e.g., Ainscow, et al., 2006b; Dyson & Gallannaugh, 2007; Robinson & Carrington, 2002) presented a monolithic view of processes providing little understanding of how teachers engage in professional development

efforts and how this engagement shapes teacher learning. Furthermore, though many of these studies used theoretical assumptions from sociocultural theory, they paid little attention to issues of teacher identity and to how these identities are part of larger historical and enduring struggles to transform schools for inclusive education. Finally, PB studies did not provide a clear account of their data collection and analysis procedures, rather they tended to provide this information in ample terms. Unfortunately, PB studies provided little information about the demographics of the participants and treated identity markers such as race/ethnicity, gender and social class as monolithic and static.

Outcome-based studies. OB studies reported the end results of the professional development efforts. These studies relied in pre- post measures of knowledge, self-efficacy, beliefs about students with disabilities, and attitudes toward inclusion, and one study relied on post professional development observations to identify changes in practice. Interestingly, these studies, with one exception (i.e., Zozakiewicz & Rodriguez, 2007), focused on ability differences. Seventy-six percent of the professional development efforts studies were onsite training and workshops or university classes with classroom feedback, which tended to be of shorter length. By far, these professional development efforts studies focused on individual teachers (88%, $n = 15$), whereas only 12% (2) focused on school-wide professional development efforts. In contrast to PB studies, the majority of OB studies (81%) reported some aspect of teachers' demographics, level of training, or years of teaching experience. All but one (i.e., Zozakiewicz & Rodriguez, 2007) used either quantitative or mixed designs.

Johnson (2000) conducted a quantitative study using a control group to examine the impact of a statewide four-day workshop on schools' capability to develop inclusive school plans. The workshop goals were to form a school-site task force to increase awareness about including students with disabilities, develop an understanding of classroom practices to successfully include students with disabilities, develop school plans to improve inclusion, and establish a inclusion support facilitator in each school. The author collected data using surveys and questionnaires from both the schools who participated in the workshop ($n = 67$) and for those who did not ($n = 51$). Factor and Chi-square analyses indicated that schools that went through the state's workshop were significantly more likely to discuss teaching team strategies to include students with disabilities, share knowledge and beliefs about inclusion, establish a school site action plan to include students with disabilities, and implement co-teaching strategies. The authors concluded that the state workshop made an impact in schools that participated on it, having a positive influence in creating more inclusive schools.

In another study, Sari (2007) examined the impact of 21 hours of professional development efforts on classroom teachers' attitudes toward deaf students educated in general education classrooms. Very little information was provided about the characteristics of the professional development efforts. The author used a quasi-experimental design, randomly assigning teachers to control ($n = 61$) and experimental groups ($n = 61$), and collected pre- and post-test measures using the "The Opinions Relative to Mainstreaming" survey and a competency in teaching students with deafness survey designed to measure the knowledge of teachers of students with deafness. A *t*-test analysis yielded a significant difference

between the experimental and control groups' post-test scores on both the competency test and the opinion relative to mainstreaming survey. The authors concluded the in-service training had a positive effect on the attitudes and knowledge of teachers of students with deafness.

Four of the OB studies also looked at teachers' implementation of the acquired knowledge and techniques during the onsite training provided by faculty members (Bryant, Linan-Thompson, & Ugel, 2001; Clark, Cushing, & Kennedy, 2004; Klingner et al., 2003; Klingner, Arguelles, & Hughes, 2001). Bryant et al. (2001) conducted a study to examine professional development activities aimed at helping content area and special education middle school teachers integrate reading strategies into their subject area. Six special and content area teachers participated in a four-month professional development training to support teachers integration of three reading strategies based on word identification, fluency, and comprehension skills. The researchers were also interested in general and special education teachers' individual knowledge about their struggling readers and the reading strategies they used to help these students comprehend content area text. The researchers collected data from pre-post interviews, in-service evaluation forms, intervention validity checklists, and a promoters-and barriers-to-implementation checklist. These two checklists aimed at looking at issues of fidelity of implementation and the obstacles in implementing the practices. Bryant et al. (2001) reported that the ratings from the checklist yield partial implementation fidelity for word identification strategies and collaborative strategic reading, whereas partner reading yielded the highest implementation fidelity. Regarding the obstacles for implementation, the teachers were overwhelmed by issues such as the effects of low-SES on student learning and

the academic needs of ELLs. The teachers were overwhelmed with the pressures of teaching struggling readers – particularly students with disabilities, teaching the curriculum, getting students ready for their state's high-stakes assessment, and providing adaptations for struggling students.

Johnson (2000), Sari (2007), and Bryant et al. (2001) illustrated how OB studies examined teacher learning. These studies were based on the assumption that certain knowledge, techniques, and procedures work best when developing inclusive classrooms. OB studies, thus, rely heavily on *instructionism* (Sawyer, 2006), which is based on the assumption that “knowledge is a collection of facts about the world and procedures for how to solve problems” (Sawyer, 2006, p. 1). Experts teach novices knowledge and procedures and then evaluate *individuals* to identify whether there has been a change after their interaction (i.e., professional development efforts). The shortcoming of examining teacher learning for inclusive education from an instructionism perspective is that by placing a heavy emphasis on individual outcomes, the framework ignores the complex process that take place as the individuals interact with other colleagues in their daily practices in schools. These authors did not provide nuanced analyses of the teachers’ trajectories and the mediating factors that shaped their learning. OB studies, furthermore, were politically decontextualized. They examined teachers’ outcomes without situating the teachers in the political and ideological context of the institutions in which they work that contribute to the pervasiveness of exclusion. Unfortunately, *PB* studies also fell short of achieving this level of examination.

OB studies, in addition, were based on the premises that teacher learning can be measured by the administration of surveys, tests, and questionnaires to see

whether teachers changed their attitudes toward inclusion and students with disabilities, implemented certain practices, or gained the knowledge transmitted in the professional development effort. Research from the learning sciences field provided evidence that learning is far more complex than OB studies' outcome measures. A complex understanding of learning demands a situated approach (Greeno, 2006). That is, that "instead of focusing on individual learners, the main focus of analysis is on activity systems: complex social organizations containing learners, teachers, curriculum materials, software tools, and the physical environment" (p. 79). The mediational role of the instructors of the professional development efforts, the materials and tools utilized (e.g., vignettes of teachers, case studies), the rules of participation of the class or workshop, the context in which teachers implemented the taught teaching techniques and procedures, and teachers' previous understandings of inclusive education, differences, and schooling were not examined in OB studies. PB studies also fell short in examining these interactions.

Summary of Findings

The scarcity of empirical articles (36 in a 10-year period) on teacher learning broadly for inclusive education and the methodological and conceptual limitations of this literature demonstrated that little is available about teacher learning in professional development for inclusive education. In the following sections, I summarized the methodological and conceptual limitations of previous research on teacher learning for inclusive education.

Methodological limitations. Research on teacher learning for inclusive education tended to describe methods in rather ample terms, which made difficult to examine the trustworthiness of this knowledge base. Furthermore, research on

teacher learning for inclusive education tended to rely on teachers' reports, providing limited accounts of what actually occurs in situated practice. Furthermore, half did not report a specific content area, and there was little description of teachers' level of training, years of experience and demographic characteristics. Even when these characteristics of teachers' were reported, they were not taken into account when analyzing the data.

Conceptual limitations.

Limitations of definitions of inclusive education. The definitions of inclusive education that informed research on teacher learning for inclusive education tended to fragment students' differences. The who of these definitions tended to focus either on ability, ethnic/racial, gender, or social class differences. As a result, research on teacher learning for inclusive education has yielded little understanding about how teachers learn to overcome the intersection of multiple forms of exclusion. In addition, the what of these definitions tended to focus on exclusions based on misdistribution of access and participation and misrecognition and undervalue of students' differences. As a result we know very little about how teachers address the participation of families on deciding what are the educational barriers and how to overcome them.

Limitations of how teacher learning is examined. PB studies relied heavily on descriptive accounts, which resulted in little understanding about the complex interactions between teachers, policies, and structures of power that shape situated social practices that distribute educational access and participation for some students but not others. PB studies, in addition, provided little understanding about how teachers' learning varied across situated practices and about the diversity of

understandings, commitment, and practices within school cultures, as well as about how teachers may resist professional development efforts. A key aspect of learning that was missed from this literature was teachers' identity, resulting in a lack of understanding regarding becoming new kinds of teachers.

On the other hand, OB studies identified changes in practices, knowledge, attitudes, and beliefs about students with disabilities and attitudes toward inclusive education. These studies highlighted the importance of professional development contributions toward creating teacher capacity for inclusive education, yet they relied on theories of learning based on instructionism (Sawyer, 2006), which evaluate learning based on individual outcomes and ignore the complex social organizations in which learning occurs (Greeno, 2006). The great majority of these articles, furthermore, narrowed attention to technical issues (e.g., instructional strategies) based on single classrooms, providing little information on how teacher learning for inclusive education is shaped by cultural and historical forces.

Inclusive education came as a response to social exclusion and is situated in a sociopolitical and historical struggle to provide access, participation, and outcomes for students and families who have been disenfranchised from education. Focusing on technical issues, thus, will not provide a rich understanding on how teachers' ways of being and participating varied and transform across time and place within these charged contexts. Research in professional development for inclusive education, unfortunately, did not provide an understanding of how teacher learning is connected to these historical struggles.

Research Questions

In this study, I aimed to address the identified limitations of the research on teacher learning for inclusive education by answering the following two questions:

1. What social discourses are present in a professional learning school for inclusive education?
2. How do teachers appropriate the social discourses present in a professional learning school for inclusive education?

In the following section, I put forward an interdisciplinary conceptual framework to study teacher learning for inclusive education.

Toward an Interdisciplinary Theory of Teacher Learning for Inclusive Education

In the following sections, I put forward an interdisciplinary conceptual framework to study teacher learning for inclusive education that addresses the shortcomings of research on teacher learning for inclusive education. Within the framework, I fused concepts from cultural psychology, critical theory, political science, and sociolinguistics. I present the definition of teacher learning that informs this study. Then, I break down this definition, providing a detailed explanation of it.

Teacher Learning For Inclusive Education

I define *teacher learning* as the appropriation of social discourses to enact situated identities and participate in professional development and school activities contextualized in contentious, historical, and enduring struggles (Gee, 2001; Holland & Lave, 2001; Lave, 1996). In the following sections, I broke down this definition of learning into three sections to put forward a conceptual lens to understand teacher learning for inclusive education. In the first section, I explained what I meant by shift

in “the appropriation of social discourses”. In the second section, I described what I meant by teacher participation “in professional development and school activities”. Finally, I explain situated identities “in contentious, historical, and enduring struggles”.

Social Discourses in the Making of Teacher Identities

The first part of the definition of learning that informs this study stated that teacher learning involves a shift in the appropriation of social discourses. To understand this statement we must examine first the concept of *semiotic mediation*. Research from cultural psychology suggested that individuals come to know, make meaning, and experience the world through the use of mediating artifacts (Cole, 1996; Vygotsky, 1978). Key to thinking, thus, is learning to use these artifacts (Vygotsky, 1978). I used the terms *artifacts* and *tools* interchangeable in this dissertation and in a broad sense as

an aspect of the material world that has been modified over the history of its incorporation [...] artifacts are simultaneously ideal (conceptual) and material [...] define in this manner, the properties of artifacts apply with equal force to whether one is considering language or the more usually noted artifacts such as tables and knives. (Cole, 1996, p. 117)

Mediating artifacts, thus, include material tools such as computers, textbooks, as well as tools for thinking, such as literacy and mathematics (Rogoff, 2003). Artifacts are culturally and historically situated. They have been developed, appropriated, shaped, and sometimes reconfigured by generations of individuals as they engage in goal-oriented activities with other members of the communities in a particular social and

historical moment (Rogoff, 2003). Activity systems are complex social organizations that involve subjects (e.g., teachers), their communities (e.g., school staff), artifacts (e.g., social discourses), outcomes (e.g., learning to be inclusive teachers), division of labor (e.g., who does what), and rules (e.g., school policies; (Cole, 1996; Engeström, 1987). These activities are negotiated and constructed by participants as they interact with the rest of the elements of the activity system (Greeno, 2006). Thus, activity systems change as participants shift their roles and tools they use and as tensions emerge between the elements of the activity (Cole, 1996).

Teachers make meaning of and experience professional development for inclusive education through the use of multiple artifacts as they participate in professional development and school activities. They may come to learn about how to engage in AR projects with an inclusion agenda through the use of such artifacts as the Index for Inclusion (Booth & Ainscow, 2002), which mediates the way teachers identify barriers for students' learning and develop solutions accordingly. By participating in this activity, teachers may appropriate the Index for Inclusion, shaping it to meet the particular needs of their community. From this vantage point, a key question for professional development for inclusive education research is how teachers appropriate artifacts while participating in professional development activities for inclusive education.

An artifact that has a significant impact on how teachers learn and it is crucial for this study is *social discourse*. I defined social discourses as regulated social practices in its language aspect (Fairclough, 1989) that “systematically form the object of which we speak” (Foucault, 1977, p. 49), enabling and constraining what can be said, by whom, and with what authority (Ball, 1993). Social discourses, thus, regulate the

purpose of education, professionals' roles, values, assumptions, genres, and ways of believing, acting, interacting, participating, and ways of using tools in particular contexts (Fairclough, 2003; Gee, 2001). Social discourses, thus, provide linguistic resources to teachers as they participate in school and professional development activities, enable, or constrain certain actions, and they mediate how they achieve specific purposes (Gee, 2001; Scollon, 2008), such as participating in school activities and enacting certain identities.

Bakhtin (1981) argued that individuals and groups are always in the process of being addressed and answering. In answering, teachers appropriate the social discourses of their cultural practices, which entails a dialogical relationship in which teachers draw from and reconstruct the social practices in which they participate. According to Bakhtin (1981), furthermore, all dialogic relationships are conflicts across and about differences. That is, teachers are by no means freewheeling self-authoring agents, but draw from the collective discourses and practices to differentiate themselves from others. Discourses and practices are the means (or artifacts) that teachers use to build or tear down walls between others and them. These practices and discourses are associated to specific groups of individuals situated in a social space and historical time, becoming markers of those groups.

I particularly use the term social discourses as defined by Gee (2001), who used the term Discourse with capital "D" "to refer to the "ways of combining and integrating language, actions, interactions, ways of thinking, believing, valuing, and using various symbols, tools, and objects to enact a particular sort of socially recognizable identity" (p. 45). From this point of view, social discourses with capital "D" are composed of various artifacts – including language – that together represent

a set of regulated social practices (Gee, Hull, & Lankshear, 1996). As Gee (2001) wrote “discourses are always language plus other stuff” (p. 53). The discourse of being a teacher, for instance, involves knowing terms such as *AYP* (i.e., Academic Yearly Progress) or *DIBELS* (i.e., Dynamic Indicators of Basic Early Literacy Skills), engaging with students in certain interactional turns, knowing how to use particular tools (e.g., scripted curriculums, lesson plan templates), or using certain knowledge systems (e.g., how to teach literacy, how to manage behavior in the classroom, broader cognitive or constructionist pedagogy knowledge systems).

Social recognition is key to understand social discourses (Gee, 2001). A set of social practices is a discourse when one puts them together and others recognize one as a particular kind of individual doing a particular activity in a particular place and time. From this vantage point, two questions emerge for teacher learning for inclusive education: What kinds of discourses are available to teachers as they participate of professional development and school activities? What kinds of identity and participation are these social discourses being used to enact and in what contexts?

The importance of discourses is that they exercise power by producing or reproducing social practices so that they are taken as common sense. That is, they seek hegemony by universalizing particular social practices and silencing others (Fairclough, 2003). Discourse do ideological work by taking certain views of the world as unavoidable and shaping the common ground, making dominant ideologies invisible (Fairclough, 2003) – that is, what cannot be seen or heard cannot be examined and contested. Research on teacher learning in inclusive education, for instance, suggests that teachers draw from deficit discourses to participate in

professional development and other school activities (Davies, et al., 2008). These discourses position teachers as benevolent actors who help deficient students from non-dominant backgrounds while positioning these students at a disadvantage.

Schools are sites in which various social discourses co-exist. Fairclough (1995) referred to this as interdiscursivity. *Interdiscursivity* is a concept that stemmed from the concept of *intertextuality* advanced by Bakhtin (1981), which refers to the phenomenon of how texts or portions of texts are incorporated into other texts (Bakhtin, 1981). Text, in this case, is defined in a broad sense as “any actual instance of language in use” (e.g., interview transcript, a book chapter, a film, a podcast; Fairclough, 2003, p. 3). Fairclough (1995) advanced the term interdiscursivity to argue that is not just texts that are brought into other texts but social discourses (i.e., larger social practices that go beyond the text) that get incorporated into each other. Various contemporary social discourses, thus, are blended by and drawn from teachers as they participate in professional development and school activities. In this regard, the case of partnerships between schools and university programs presents an interesting discursive landscape as teachers are at the intersection of the discourses of both institutions. In this context, teachers appropriate these discourses, sometimes reconfiguring them. I now turn to theorizing the work of professional development partnerships.

Professional Development Partnerships and Boundary Practices

The concept of interdiscursivity has particular applicability to teachers who participate in professional development efforts based on a partnership between schools and other training institutions, such as a university Master’s program or a professional development school. These teachers may find themselves working on

what Wenger (1998) called a boundary practice. A *boundary practice* is an encounter between two communities (e.g., a university program and an elementary school) that has “become established and provides an ongoing forum for mutual engagement” (Wenger, 1998, p. 114). Teachers participating in a professional development programs, for instance, may receive routinely visits of teacher-trainers or professors of their development programs to receive feedback and in-classroom support. These encounters could be understood as a boundary practice as the communities of the university and the school and their respective social discourses overlap in the classroom. This overlap results on interdiscursivity as the social discourses of different institutions merge, blend, or even collapse in the same practice.

In particular, this overlap can be seen as the opening of periphery, in which teacher-trainers or professors are offered a legitimate access to the practice (e.g., classroom teaching) without subjecting them to the demands of full membership (e.g., being responsive for teaching or complying with school and district policies). Peripheries, no matter how narrow, reflect continuity, an overlap in connection, and a meeting place offered to outsiders and insiders. As Wenger (1998) pointed out, this can extend observation and involve actual forms of engagement, as it may be the case for teacher-trainers or professors who not only observe but also provide feedback to teachers. From this perspective, “the periphery is a very fertile area for change because it is partially outside and in contact with other views and also partially inside so disruptions are likely to occurred” (Wenger, 1998, p. 118).

In a peripheral practice, as it may be the visit of teacher-trainers or site professors to teachers classrooms, these subjects become *brokers* of the social discourses and their artifacts provided by the professional development program to

the teachers. The key role of the broker is to create connections between the practices of the overlapping communities and to facilitate the transactions between them by introducing elements of one practice to another (Wenger, 1998). As Wenger pointed out,

The work of brokers is complex and it involves translation, coordination, and alignment between perspectives. It also requires the ability to link practices by facilitating transactions between them, and to cause learning by introducing into a practice an element of another. (Wenger, 1998, p. 109)

Professors or teacher-trainers who visit teachers in their classroom to provide professional development, for instance, aim to link what teachers learn in their classes or workshops with teachers' actual practices. They may introduce concepts or practices to the teachers' classroom and help them to translate that concept or practice to the particular context of the teachers' classroom.

As Bowker and Star (1999) commented, drawing from Dewey's work, a stranger is a source of learning as it causes interruptions to the normal experience of the community. Peripheries, indeed, are about the resolution of tensions between the new or strange and the taken-for-granted (Bowker & Star, 1999). For instance, teachers may struggle with constructivist notions about teaching taught at universities when in their schools are required to teach in a traditional approach (e.g., instruntonism; (Smagorinsky, Cook, et al., 2004). The resolution of this tension has implications for teachers' professional identities (Smagorinsky, Cook, et al., 2004). Boundary practices, indeed, are places of identity work (Wenger, 1998). From this perspective, a key question is how do teachers appropriate the social discourses when

working on a boundary practice and what are the implications for teacher identity development?

The appropriation of social discourses.

Appropriation is the process through which teachers make meditational tools (i.e., artifacts) their own as they participate in goal-oriented activities (Newman, Jenkins, & Cole, 1989). Leont'ev (1981) replaced Piaget's concept of assimilation for appropriation, moving from a biologically based process to a socio-historical one. Appropriation occurs in a historical and institutional context (Wertsch & Rupert, 1993). Teachers' appropriation of social discourses and their combination of artifacts, thus, occur through the involvement in the practices and activities in which those discourses and artifacts are used (Newman et al., 1989).

The appropriation process is a two-way process: Teachers appropriate the social discourses of the institutions in which they participate and, in the process of doing so, they reconstructed and transform these social discourses and their combinations of artifacts (Newman et al., 1989). Teachers, for instance, appropriate the concept of student-centered teaching according to their experiences in both their university programs and their full time teaching jobs at their schools. Through this appropriation the concept of student-centered learning gets redefined (Smagorinsky, Gibson et al., 2004).

With regard to appropriation and identity development, Holland et al. (1998) advanced the concept of heuristic development. *Heuristic development* is the process in which individuals (e.g., teacher residents) reform themselves through the appropriation and reformulation of cultural materials (e.g., artifacts combined by social discourses) that have been created by past generations (Holland, et al., 1998).

It is through heuristic development that “culture and subject position are joined in the production of cultural resources that are then subjectively taken up” (Holland et al., 1998, p. 18). The process of heuristic development does not mean that teachers, for instance, are free to transform the cultural resources as they please. Teachers’ identity “is the sediment from past experiences upon which improvises, using the cultural resources available, in response to the subject positions afforded one in the present. The constraints are overpowering yet not hermetically sealed” (Holland et al., 1998, p. 18). Appropriation of social discourses and their combination of artifacts becomes for teachers the basis of becoming certain kinds of teachers – the basis for their identity development – as these cultural resources (e.g., social discourses) are taken up by teachers to position themselves and signal that they are certain kinds of teachers. Teachers’ identity, thus, develop through and around cultural tools, which are identified and associated with certain communities (e.g., an elementary school), places (e.g., classroom) and activities (e.g., a lesson in the classroom). There is a “codevelopment of people cultural forms and social positions in particular historical worlds” (Holland et al., 1998, p. 33).

So far, I explained the role of social discourses as mediating artifacts that are appropriated by teachers to achieve certain purposes, and the implications for power associated to the work of social discourses. I described, in addition, that complex context of boundary practices in which various communities came together with their own discourses and artifacts. The terms of appropriation and heuristic development aimed to understand how teachers may appropriate social discourses and their artifacts to become certain kinds of teachers. I turn now to theorize the

participation of teachers in their communities and how this is connected to their learning and identity development.

Learning as Participation in Situated Practice

I stated in a previous section that teachers appropriate and use social discourses as semiotic artifacts to achieve certain purposes (Gee, 2001; Scollon, 2008). One of these purposes is to participate in teacher communities of practice, such as schools and university Master's programs. Key to participation is to identify, understand, and appropriate the particular discourses afforded to them in those particular communities. Participation is understood in historical terms, as teachers appropriate over time the discourses of the community of practice and draw from them to change their participation to become full participants, changing also the practices and discourses of their community (Lave & Wenger, 1991). Drawing from their studies on apprenticeship, Lave and Wenger (1991) argued that learning involves changing participation in communities of practice. As Lave (1996) later wrote, "Wherever people engage for substantial periods of time, day by day, in doing things in which their ongoing activities are interdependent, learning is part of their changing participation in changing practices" (p. 150). This view of learning frames teacher participation as ways of doing and belonging in situated practice (Lave & Wegner, 1991).

Importantly, teachers may not always conform to the practices of the communities in which they work. Hodges's (1998) work may shed light on some of these questions with an examination of how teachers sometimes resist to the identities afforded to them by institutions such as teacher preparation programs. Drawing from her own experience as a teacher in early childhood, Hodges (1998)

pointed out that an individual may resist accepting an identity that is afforded to her or him in a social practice. This individual is negotiating and constructing another identity in the midst of this conflictive situation (Hodges, 1998). She contextualized her dis-identification within the normative discourse of early childhood education. This discourse regulates the participation afforded to women and children in early childhood education and the specific practices and interpretations of children's behaviors through certain development theories that define normality. Hodges (1998) described her dis-identification this way:

I became self-conscious about my difference: I was not very girlie. I was not feminine. I was not subdued. I was not obedient. At that point, a few weeks into the first year of this program, I found myself "closeting" my queerness, fearful that "girliness" and feminine heterosexuality were the unofficial prerequisites for teaching young children. (p. 280)

Hodges (1998) described how she struggled through her teacher preparation program – for moments enacting the identity afforded to her by the normative early childhood discourse and for moments subverting to it or choosing to not participate in it. Her conclusion provided some insights for research on professional development for inclusive education:

It is futile, however, to deny the ways legitimate participation entails the loss of certain identities even as it enables the construction of others. Critical at this junction is an emphasis on participation as political activity, framed as an ongoing negotiation for position. (p. 289)

This view of teacher learning changes the unit of analysis from what is being learned (e.g., knowledge about universal designs for learning) to who is an individual becoming (Hodge, 1998). Indeed, learning is about constructing identities in socially situated practice. Lave (1996) wrote that, “learning, taken here to be first and principally the identity-making life projects of participants in communities of practice” (p. 157). The concept of participation, thus, inevitably takes us to the concept of situated identities. That is, as teachers participate in their communities they use the available social discourses to develop and enact situated identities.

Situated Identities in Historical and Contentious Struggles

By *situated identities*, in this study, I referred to act like and be recognized by others as certain *kinds of individual* in certain *kinds of contexts* (Gee, 2000). The term *situated*, in this study, means that social discourses and identities cannot be stripped out of the social practice and activity in which they are observed. Both the social discourses that individuals draw from to enact certain identities and the negotiations involved in the recognition of those identities are grounded in social practices anchored in a socio and historical context. In other words, in a given social practice in a community, teachers engage in a combination of ways of acting, interacting, participating, believing, and using tools (Gee, 2001). As Gee (2000) pointed out, this can be seen as bids to be recognized as a certain kind of individual, which becomes negotiated in a particular social practice with the rest of the community. Teachers do not enact *an* identity, but they engage in *multiple* identity-making life projects that are mediated by social discourses. A teacher, for instance, may be becoming a certain kind of teacher as she engages in school and professional development activities, while she may be becoming a certain kind of mother when she goes back home and

interacts with her family. In both cases she draws from her discourse models – informed by larger social discourses – about what it means to be a teacher and a mother to enact a situated identity in a particular social practice (e.g., teaching a lesson or interacting with her child). The concept of situated identity, thus, foregrounds a fluid, dynamic, and socially constructed view of teacher identity.

Note also that this definition of teacher identity is not based solely on self-authorship but also on others' recognition of the enacted identity. Indeed, identity is an ongoing process accomplished through social interaction in communities of practice (Lave, 1996; Mead, 1934). Teachers use social discourses (as mediating artifacts) that have been produced and reproduced over time by social processes, and that exercise power by affording certain kinds of identities to certain kinds of individuals (Gee, 2001), while they negotiate their identities as they participate with other members of the community in social practices (e.g., an in-service training, a lesson in the classroom; (Mead, 1934).

Teachers' situated identities and the social practices and activities in which these identities are enacted are connected to broader struggles that involve many social practices across time. Teachers personify historical struggles in local contentious practice. Indeed, the definition of teacher learning for inclusive education advanced in this study is based on the tenet that “the political-economy, social and cultural structuring of social existence is constituted in the daily practices and lived activities of subjects who both participate in and produce cultural forms that mediates it” (Holland & Lave, 2001, p. 4). Historical struggles, such as the struggle for inclusive education, are impersonated in daily social practices (e.g., a

lesson in the classroom, the use of high stake state assessments) and shape the authoring of individuals' identities.

This view allowed me to account for the historical structures of power that distribute social benefits based on the construction and enactment of differences (e.g., dis/able, race, class, language, gender, ability) in local and situated practice (Holland & Lave, 2001) and that animate the circumstances that give rise to and mediate teachers' learning and situated identities as they participate in professional development activities for inclusive education. That is, how teachers' learning occurs as they engage in local struggles (i.e., improving the education of *all* students through an inclusive education agenda) is regulated by translocal, historical, and enduring social struggles that have distributed power and privilege in favor of certain racial, gender, linguistic, and ability differences. From this vantage point, teacher learning for inclusive education is conceptualized as a *political act* in which teachers utilize social discourses to position themselves within the affordances of these historical struggles over power and benefit, claiming their recognition as certain kinds of teacher.

The relation between historical and enduring struggles over inclusive education and teacher learning in local practices such as professional development activities is reciprocal (Holland & Lave, 2001). That is, teachers appropriate the social discourses that have informed historical struggles for inclusive education (e.g., deficit discourses, clinical discourses) to enact situated identities and participate in professional development and school activities. In doing so, they shape social practices and the historical struggles for inclusive education. There is, thus, an active

and ongoing engagement between teachers, social practices, social discourses, and historical and enduring struggles, which makes these struggles an ongoing process.

This conceptualization of learning is of particular importance in the case of teacher learning for inclusive education. Inclusive education is a historical struggle to dismantle exclusion for many students that are considered different from the dominant culture. It is a “critical education project committed to the identification and dismantling of exclusion” (Slee, 2009, p. 178). Through this historical struggle teachers have appropriated various social discourses (e.g., deficit discourse, medical discourse, individualistic discourses) to address questions such as, Should I segregate students in ability groups to better serve my “slow learners” or “low achievers”? Is it appropriate to bus students from other communities to my school? How can I recognize and value students’ differences without segregating them in specialized settings?

While they engage with this historical struggle for inclusive education, teachers enter in a dialogue with the past, present, and future struggles becoming history in individual (Holland, & Lave, 2001). They appropriate social discourses that were produced and reproduced to address some of the aforementioned questions through the enactment of the struggle for inclusion and, in doing so, they enter a dialogue with the past and shape the future of this struggle by creating and shaping cultural forms.

In this proposal, I defined *teacher learning* as a shift in the appropriation of social discourses to enact situated identities and participation in professional development and school activities contextualized in contentious, historical, and enduring struggles (Gee, 2001; Holland & Lave, 2001; Lave 1996). This definition of

learning provided a conceptual lens to examine some of the understandings yet unexplored by previous research on teacher learning for inclusive education.

Chapter 3

Methods

Background: Broader Research Initiative and University Program

This study branched off from a larger study that aimed to examine the impact of the Urban Professional Initiative for Inclusive Education (UPIE) on practicing teachers' professional learning, principals' practices in participating schools, and learning outcomes for P-12 students in classrooms with teacher residents. The UPIE comprised a partnership between a state university and three elementary schools located in an urban district located in a southwestern city called The Rio Grande school district (pseudonym). The three schools were Green Valley, Desert Pride, and Sunny Hill. The UPIE merged two approaches to teacher education— professional development schools and professional learning communities (PLCs) (see Kozleski & Waitoller, 2010 for a full description of the program).

The aim of this partnership was to transform schools for inclusive education and prepare teachers through professional development programs as the schools engaged in this enterprise. The idea of the partnership was to create a community with various levels of expertise that come together with the common goal of providing access, participation, and positive academic and social outcomes for *all* students in the school. Each school was assigned a university faculty member working as a *site professor*. Once a week this university faculty member worked alongside the schools' staff in classrooms, working with students, discussing with teachers their practices, and building an understanding of inclusive education. Part of this partnership also involved a full-time language coach who was the language coach

in the school and who supported the work of the teachers and coordinated the UPIE activities in each school.

Initiated by the university, the grant application for the UPIE was jointly designed by university and district personnel, who subsequently left prior to the grant being funded. Once funding was received, thus, the intended partnership was renegotiated with the new district personnel. Yet, the kind of learning and shared commitment towards building inclusive school communities of the original partnership was never achieved (Kozleski, personal communication, January 15, 2011). When the grant was implemented, leadership for the project came from the university with periodic interest of the district and school personnel. Describing this relationship as a partnership, thus, was probably a stretch; it was a relationship with periodic moments of collaboration and with parallel efforts and interpretations about the partnership. As a result, people who were asked to carry out the grant had different levels of commitment and understanding of the intellectual task that was intended, and the schools and the university kept separate agendas. This is crucial for the reader to have in mind while reading the results chapter as these disjointed efforts created certain tensions in the practices of a group of teachers who participated in the masters' program that was part of the UPIE.

Nine teachers from the three schools participating in the UPIE had a larger involvement in the program, as they were *teacher residents* registered in master programs to prepare teachers and leaders for inclusive education. The coursework in the program was designed to engage residents in critical learning and analysis of both theory and instructional methodologies. The coursework lasted four semesters (i.e., spring, early summer, late summer, and fall) that were organized respectively around

four themes— *identity*, *culture*, *learning* and *assessment*. As teachers moved through these semesters, they developed a portfolio of performance based assessments (PBAs) that reflected their learning related to these four themes. The accumulation of the PBAs composed their thesis-applied project that teacher residents build and defended in front of a committee in order to graduate. The contents and emphases of each theme carried through to the following semester as teachers implemented their cumulative knowledge in classroom practices and in the thesis seminar activities.

During the *identity* semester, the teacher residents examined their own histories, traditions and the beliefs they bring with them to the classroom, that filter their school experiences, and shape their teaching practices. At the end of this semester, teachers wrote an *identity* autobiography, in which they defined and explored the concept of identity, incorporated readings and their own experiences to examine ways their identities shaped their teaching practices, described three vignettes in which their identities shaped their interactions with staff and students, and reflected on how these interactions and the urban context shaped their identities as teachers.

In the semester that focused on *culture*, teacher residents moved from examining their identity to examine the culture of the school as a dynamic site of interactions of the school community (teachers, administrators, students, and families) and the policies that regulated their work and their practices. During this semester teachers described the various aspects of the school's culture as represented through quantitative means (e.g., percentages of racial groups in the school) and through qualitative descriptions of each cultural group's history and practices. During this semester, teacher residents wrote three case studies about three different

students, developed a community asset map, and wrote a cumulative analysis of both assignments—the case studies and the community asset map.

During the semester that stressed learning theories, teacher residents learned how to design and managed learning environments that are conducive to positive social interactions, active engagement in learning, self-motivation, and responsive to students' cultures and abilities. Teacher residents created an instructional unit and a behavior intervention plan and learned how to integrate various forms of assessment (e.g., standard-based, summative, formative, etc.) to design the appropriate and responsive instruction for their students. As a result of this semester, teacher residents developed case studies that include the students' histories, their current performance, the educational supports the students received and the response of the students to these educational supports, and a final reflection about the case studies.

The weekly schedule of teacher residents participating in the UPIE masters' program encompassed a combination of practice and theory. During the week, teacher residents worked in their respective classrooms. On Wednesdays, the site professor observed teacher residents while they taught or co-taught a lesson plan. After this observation, the site professor gave feedback and engaged in a discussion with teachers about the lesson. The purpose of these encounters was to help teacher residents translate into practice what they were learning in their seminars. In addition, on Monday evenings teacher residents attended an in-person thesis seminar in which they engaged with and read about issues of identity, culture, learning, and assessment according to the semester. These seminars were a combination of lectures, group work, and class discussions. Teacher residents also took two additional online classes about inclusive education and related content, such as co-

teaching, research and inquiry, instructional methods for diverse students, among others. In the following sections I describe the district and state context in which the three schools of this partnership were located.

The Rio Grande School District. The Rio Grande school district was located in a southwestern state and was composed of 23 schools ranging from pre-kindergarten to mid-elementary schools. In 2010, the district had a total enrollment of 11,970 students. Fifty-one percent of these students were Hispanic/Latino, 24% were White, 12 % were African American, 8% Native American, and 3 % were Asian. The district employed 825 teachers, including specialists and librarians and specialized teachers.

In 2010, student receiving special education services composed 11% of the Rio Grande district's' total enrollment. The district offered different programs for these students according to what the district considered these students' needs. It had a resource program which was cross categorical and served students a specific learning disability, emotional disability, mild mental retardation, other health impairment or handicapping conditions. This program was conducted through an inclusion model in which the special education teacher or a teacher assistant provided support and accommodations to the students participating in this program in the general education classroom. The district had also another eight programs that were delivered through self-contained classrooms. These included among others a program for students who had Emotional Disabilities and/or those students who may have had another disability in conjunction with significant behavioral and/or emotional needs, and a program called Buddies that served "students who function considerably below their peers in intellectual ability and adaptive behaviors that

adversely affects a child's performance in a regular classroom setting" (Rio Grande school district's website).

The academic performance of The Rio Grande School District is worth mentioning as it had implications for the teaching experiences of the participants of this study. This district was a Title 1 district that has not met the state AYP requirements for five years in a row (i.e., 2004-2005, 2005-2006, 2007-2008, 2008-2009, and 2009-2010 school years). The district was identified for Title 1 District improvement, which is an identification given to a Title I school district that "fail to make AYP for two consecutive years in the *same* indicator *and* across all grade spans" (District's FAQ for parents about NCLB accountability measures, 2010). One of the major problems identified in the district was that not all state standards were covered throughout the year. As a response the district developed curriculum maps. Curriculum maps were created at the district level with the participation of some of the teachers, language coaches, and curriculum developers from across the district. These school professionals had broken each state standard down into smaller components that were mapped throughout the year, indicating what needed to be taught each day in order to ensure that all standards were sufficiently covered. In each school, teachers were given the responsibility to work in grade level teams to develop lesson plans, according to these maps and using the approved district curriculum (i.e., Harcourt). These lesson plans were supposed to be implemented across grade levels. This accountability context, as I demonstrated in the result chapters, put high pressure on teachers so that they would follow particular practices that were expected to yield high student achievement.

The district, in addition, required schools to conduct walkthroughs in teachers' classrooms to ensure that teachers were following the districts required teaching practices. These practices included the use of direct instruction and Harcourt curriculum, different strategies to keep students engaged such as the use of individual whiteboards and continuous call for students' responses, and keeping a good pace through transitions between activities. These walkthroughs were conducted by the language coaches who visited and observed in teachers' classrooms every day, using the districts' walkthrough and teacher reflection instrument. As I demonstrate in the results sections, this evaluation caused tensions and stress in teacher residents.

The Rio Grande school district, furthermore, was facing a decline in student enrollment which in turn was decreasing the funding received from the state. The student enrollment decreased from 13,800 in the 2008-2009 school year to almost 12,000 in the 2010-2011 school year. This enrollment was not expected to rise again (Rio Grande School District Public Forum, August, 2009). As a result the district was changing school attendance boundaries to make the most efficient and economic use of transportation. In addition, the district was "repurposing schools," which actually meant merging and closing some of their schools with low enrollment and high expenditure.

As part of the plan to attract students from other districts, the Rio Grande school district had required school to come up with a theme or mission that would set them apart from the rest of the schools and they could use to market themselves. One of the schools for instance, decided to become a "21st century school" and focused on teaching students to use technology, collaborate with other students in

other nations through internet, and aimed to focus on high order skills (e.g., critical thinking). Schools were giving flexibility to develop these missions. According to a district public forum, schools were “to find their own theme/vision, based on the talent and energy within each school” (Rio Grande School District Public Forum, August, 2009).

At the end of 2009, in addition, the Rio Grande school district began to provide training to schools to begin forming PLCs based on Richard DuFour’s model (2004). This model emphasizes the use of professional collaboration, common formative assessments, quantifiable data, and benchmarking to plan for improvement on student achievement. In this model, it is crucial that all teachers use the same measurement devices so that comparisons could be made. DuFour wrote (2004):

Even a teacher who works in isolation can easily establish the mean, mode, median, standard deviation, and percentage of students who demonstrated proficiency every time he or she administers a test. However, data will become a catalyst for improved teacher practice only if the teacher has a basis of comparison. (p. 9)

Following this model, the schools in the Rio Grande school district received training in creating common formative assessments, in working in teams to analyze data such as these assessments and DIBELS scores, and in creating graphic displays of data so that teachers, organized in grade level teams, could evaluate their own performances and plan for improvement.

Rio Salado School District’s state context. The diversity of the student body and the highly conservative political climate of the state in which the Rio

Grande School district was located are worth noting as they made this district and the schools studied in this dissertation an interesting place to study teacher learning for inclusive education. This Southwestern state served approximately 1.1 million students. ELLs composed 16% of this enrollment with Latinos encompassing the largest minority group (39%). Forty-four percent of the enrollment qualified for free and reduced lunch and almost 12% of the student enrollment consisted of special education students. Out of the total special education enrollment, 46% was White, 39% were Latino, 7% were Native American, and 1% Asian/Pacific islander.

Less than 48% of the state's students with disabilities were served in general education environments more than 80% of the time, ranking this state at 36 of 51 states in terms of serving students with disabilities in the general education classrooms. Students identified as ELLs, in addition, were increasingly overrepresented in special education services in the high incidences categories and were the least likely to be served in the least restrictive environment relative to their White peers (Sullivan, 2011).

The state in which the Rio Salado school district was located, furthermore, had one of the lowest per pupil spending in the country and one of the of tightest accountability control systems in the nation, which puts high-pressure on teachers in urban districts (e.g., Rio Salado school district) with the lowest resources and the largest enrollment of ELLs. This state, furthermore, has passed a voter initiative in 2000 requiring that all ELLs are taught in English and that ELLs be given a standardized written test of academic subject matter in English. The state also adopted standards for qualification for teachers of ELLs, mandating that all certified teachers and administrators had a provisional endorsement (a 15 hour training or one

university credit hour) by 2006 and full endorsement (45 clock hours or 3 university credits) by 2009.

ELLs, thus, were segregated according to their levels of English proficiency as determined by the state English proficiency test. ELLs with the lowest English Language Skills were placed in a self-contained classroom and receive a four-hour block of English instruction (readings and writing), called Structure English Immersion (SEI), and did not attend the traditional general education classroom until they reached proficiency in the State's English language standardized test. Once an ELL student had achieved proficiency in English (according to the state test) the student was placed in a monitor classroom for another year, and it was not until then that an ELL student had access to the general education classroom.

These requirements were controversial as many advocates and researchers consider English-only instruction another form of segregation that is unsupported by research and the state's requirement for teacher certification insufficient to meet ELLs' needs (Mahoney, MacSwan, & Thompson, 2005). Furthermore, the test used to qualify and segregate ELLs was found to be lacking theoretical bases, understanding of Spanish, and strong psychometric properties (MacSwan & Rolstad, 2006).

In the case of students who were ELLs and also were receiving special education services, the state left the decision up to the IEP team. This team could decide, according to their assessment of the student, whether the best of option for him/her was the SEI program or a special education setting (e.g., resource room, Buddies, etc.)

The Schools: Green Valley and Desert Pride

Out of the three aforementioned schools that compromised the UPIE, Sunny Hill did not have any teacher residents in the first cohort of masters' student (i.e., teacher residents) that begin their program at the beginning of 2010. Therefore, in the following section, I described Green Valley and Desert Pride Elementary Schools.

Green Valley Elementary School. Green Valley was located in a low-income neighborhood with a large history of Mexican and Yaqui settlement. These demographics were represented in the school in 2010. Hispanic students comprised 60% of the 750 students in Green Valley Elementary, while students with Yaqui background comprised 22% of the total enrollment. African American students comprised 9% while students from Asian background comprised less than one percent, and White students compromised 8% of Green Valley' student enrollment. ELLs accounted for 34% of the school population compared to the state average of 16%, and 94% of ELLs report Spanish as their home language. Furthermore, 84% of the families whose students attended Green Valley qualified for free/reduced lunch programs. There were 45 teachers at Green Valley Elementary and two percent of these teachers had emergency certification. Green Valley has met the state's Adequately Yearly Progress requirements in the last three years. In 2008, for instance, 63% of the students passed the state test in math, while 58% passed it in reading and 71% of the students passed the state writing test.

In Green Valley Elementary, special education students who were identified with mild disabilities (i.e., learning disabilities, mild behavioral disorders, speech and language disabilities; intellectual disabilities) were pulled out for part of the day to

receive specialized instruction according to their individualized education plan (IEP) in a resource room, and they spent the rest of the day with their general education peers. Green Valley, furthermore, had four classrooms designated to host one of the self-contained special education program called Buddies (pseudonym). There were approximately 40 students served in these self-contained classrooms. The district defined this program in the following way:

The Buddies Program is designed for students who function considerably below their peers in intellectual ability and adaptive behaviors that adversely affect the children's performance in a regular classroom setting. Instruction is significantly modified and based on the needs identified in the student's IEP. The purpose of the program is to provide appropriate instruction to enable students to function as independently as possible throughout their school years and transition to adult life. (Rio Grande school district special education programs' website)

Students attending to the Buddies program were taught in self-contained classrooms led by a special education teacher and two teaching assistants. These students join their general education peers during physical education, art, and some of them during science and social studies. However, at the time of this study Green Valley Elementary had begun a process to become more inclusive. In partnership with the UPIE, this school had provided time and resources for the special education teacher working in the resource room to co-teach with a 5th grade classroom teacher, including special education students with mild disabilities in the general education classroom. Furthermore, six of Green Valley' teachers participated in the UPIE

masters' program in which they learn to become teacher leaders for inclusive education.

In 2010, Green Valley implemented several initiatives to provide opportunities to learn for all students. Following a district initiative, for instance, Green Valleys' staff has begun to work in communities of practice in which teachers come together to analyze students' achievement data and make plans for improvement. Teachers came together every Friday organized in grade-level teams to look at quantitative data such as DIBELS' and state assessments' scores and to plan instruction accordingly. Furthermore, the school utilized curriculum maps that guided the academic content that needed to be covered each day. Staff from Green Valley, in addition, has participated in the UPIE summer institute in which they attended training on *Response to Intervention* and co-teaching. Regarding response to intervention, the schooled had begun to implement this reform grouping students according to their DIBELS scores. Every day there was one hour dedicated in the afternoon to distribute students into groups and classrooms to receive interventions tailored to their scores in particular assessments such as DIBELS.

Desert Pride Elementary School. Desert Pride was located in a working class neighborhood and it has long history of being a neighborhood school. That is, all students attending to Desert Pride Elementary were not bussed to the school, but lived in the school's neighborhood. There were 823 students in Desert Pride elementary from which 74% came from a Hispanic background and 16% came from an African-American background. Only 5% of the population of the school came from a White background, 3% from a Native American background, and 2% were Asian/Pacific Islander. English language learners compose 42% of the school

population, and Student's eligible for the free or reduced-price lunch program made up 84% of Desert Pride's school enrollment. There were 36 teachers at Desert Pride in 2010 and the teaching body was predominately female and White (92%, n = 33).

The Rio Grande School District had required Desert Pride to develop an Improvement Plan as a result of failing to meet AYP two years in a row. For instance, only 57% of students had passed the reading and writing portion of the state assessment and 68% of students had passed the math portion. As a response, at the time this study was conducted, the district had replaced Desert Pride Elementary principal with who was Green Valley's principal in 2009 (Carmen). This principal was relocated because of her strong leadership skills and her commitment to the district's standard and accountability policies. Her strong leadership style brought many tensions with teachers. For instance, she utilized the metaphor of the school being a bus to communicate the school's vision to the teachers. As one of the teachers mentioned during an interview:

We were told that if we didn't like it then we could go somewhere else, so. We could get off the bus, so. A lot of people got off the bus last year because she uses the bus as we're on this ride. This is what she expects. If we want we can get off at the end of the ride.

(Interview with Tina, September 17th of 2010)

Following the bus metaphor, thus, the school was a bus that was heading toward a predetermined goal; Carmen told teachers repeatedly that they could jump on the bus and be part of the community or they could leave the bus if they did not like where the school was heading.

What Carmen had in mind for Desert Pride was to strengthen the alignment between Desert Pride's practices and many of the teaching practices required by the district that I described previously. Desert Pride, for instance, was implementing curriculum maps, SEI programs for ELLs, response to intervention groups organized around students' DIBELS scores, and walkthroughs in teachers' classrooms, and increasing the use of data by teachers to improve instruction and student achievement. According to Carmen, one of the goals for the school for the year was to tighten fidelity of implementation of practices required by the district, add a grammar component to their curriculum maps, and improve inclusive practices (field notes from summer institute, July 22nd of 2010). Furthermore, Carmen banned the use of crayons and arts and crafts from classrooms, asking teachers to focus only on academic instruction.

Regarding inclusive education practices, Desert Pride began to pilot an inclusive classroom in 2010. Interestingly this inclusive classroom consisted of all the second grade special education students and second graders that had the lowest scores in district assessments such as DIBELS. This classroom was led by one of the teacher residents, Tina, who had looped with her class from the previous year. The remaining resource room students were served using a pull out model in which they spent most of the time in general education classroom but they were pulled out according to their IEP objectives. Desert Pride did not have any special education self-contained classrooms.

Participants

The participants were selected by using a convenience sampling because I was limited to the nine teachers of Green Valley Elementary and Desert Pride that

were enrolled in the UPIE master' program that began on January 2010 and ended in December 2010. I call these participants teacher residents throughout this dissertation. From these nine teacher residents, three of them decided that they did not want to be filmed in their classroom during the fall of 2010, for which I decided not to use their data at all as it was incomplete. Furthermore, another of those nine teacher residents was a physical educator. Though this may have provided an interesting context to study teacher learning, I excluded the data collected from this participant because this would have not provided information about how teacher residents learn to provide access to the academic general education curriculum to special education students. Thus, from the initial sample of nine teacher residents, I ended analyzing the data collected from five teacher residents. Their names were Debbie, Tina, Nazareth, Kevin, and Kasey. In table 1, I describe the characteristics of these teacher residents and also list and describe other participants that played a key role in this study (particularly for the first question of this dissertation) such as the language coaches, the principals, and the site professors.

Table 1

List and Characteristics of the Participants of the Study

Name	School	Role	Grade	Gender
Carmen	Desert Pride	Principal	n/a	Female
Beth	Green Valley	Principal	n/a	Female
Kim	Desert Pride	Language Coach	n/a	Female
Patricia	Green Valley	Language Coach,	n/a	Female
Karina	Green Valley	Language Coach	n/a	Female

Liz	Desert Pride	Site Professor.	n/a	Female
Margot	Green Valley	Site Professor.	n/a	Female
Marlene	Desert Pride	Site Professor	n/a	Female
Urma	Green Valley	Site Professor	n/a	Female
Debbie	Desert Pride	General Education/ ELL	2	Female
Tina	Desert Pride	General Education	2	Female
Kevin	Green Valley	ELL teacher	5	Male
Kelly	Green Valley/Desert Pride	ELL /General education teacher	1	Female
Nazareth	Green Valley	Special educator Recourse/self-contained	3-5	Female

I contextualized some information from Table 1 as some of these participants were not working through the entire year and others moved to a different school or classroom. First, note that in Table 1 there were two language coaches in Green Valley: Patricia and Karina. The former worked through the spring semester and the latter assumed this role in the fall. Similarly, there was a change in site professors from spring to fall in both schools. Liz, who began as the site professor at Desert Pride left the project at the end of the spring. She was briefly covered by Margot until the summer and then Urma took over that role during the fall semester. Margot also left the project during the summer to accept a faculty

position at a university, and she was replaced with Marlene who became the site professor in Green Valley during the fall semester.

Teacher residents, in addition, did not stay in the same teaching role from spring to fall. Debbie, during the spring semester, worked as general education teacher in a second grade classroom. After the summer break, she was reassigned to a 2nd grade ELL self-contained classroom. Tina looped with her students and went from being a 1st grade teacher to a second grade teacher. Kelly, who worked during the spring as a 1st grade teacher in self-contained classroom for ELLs at Green Valley, moved to Desert Pride to work as general education teacher for 2nd graders. Finally, Nazareth, who was a resource room special education teacher during the spring, became one of the special education teachers for the self-contained program hosted at Green Valley called Buddies.

Though I analyzed the data collected for all of the teachers listed in Table 1, I provide more detailed information about two of them (i.e., Debbie and Nazareth) who I used as an example to answer the second question of this dissertation in Chapter 5 (i.e., How teacher residents appropriate the social discourses of the UPIE?).

Debbie. Debbie was in her mid-20s and had been a teacher for 3 years. She was originally born in Hawaii and identified herself as multiracial: her mother was White and her father was African American. Her mother worked as accountant and her father had worked in the private security industry. Debbie described her family as Christian, though she admitted to not be a regular church-goer anymore. Debbie had spent most of her school years in Hawaii and then moved to a Midwestern state university where she began to study to become an interior designer. Yet, in her junior

year, she changed majors to a B.A in teaching. She commented about this event during an interview:

Until the second semester of my junior year, I remember having this big conversation with my mom and going back and forth. I'm like I really, really, I've always wanted to be a teacher but she's like no you'll never make any money. My grandmother was a teacher and so Finally, I just decided I'm like, "I've always wanted to be this...Ultimately my junior year, I changed majors. My mom—my parents weren't too happy because it took me five and a half years to finish. (Interview with Debbie conducted on March 1st, 2010)

After student teaching in the Midwest she moved to her current school. The year that this study took place was Debbie's 4th year as a full time teacher and also her 4th year teaching at Desert Pride. She had taught first grade for three years and in the 2009-2010 school year she was moved to teach second grade general education classroom. Debbie's teaching position continued changing as in the 2010-2011 school year (i.e., fall semester) she was moved to a self-contained classroom for ELLs in which she taught according to the SEI program of the state.

Debbie was committed to her profession and the population that her school served. She came before and stayed after the school day to tutor some of her students who were falling behind in their achievement measures. She considered herself not only a teacher but also almost her students' mother:

I am not only their teacher for some of them I am mom. I am, as far as academic, I mean I'm here every Saturday. It takes—I mean if you're going to work in a school like this you have to—I think you

have to work ten times harder than you would at almost any other school, because you have to—I mean I was tutoring before school. I was tutoring after school. (Interview with Debbie conducted on March 1st, 2010)

Debbie had chosen to enroll in the master's program of the UPIE to learn more about serving students with special needs. This meant to her not only special education students whom she worked with in her classroom, but also many of her other students that, according to Debbie “have those same needs as resource students.” She felt that, “the strategies that I can learn that special ed. teachers use in their room can actually be implemented in my classroom” (Interview with Debbie, March 1st 2010)

Nazareth. Nazareth was in her late 30s and lived most of her life in a Southern state. She was a special educator teacher who had 10 years of experience and came from a White middle class background. She was the youngest of three siblings, and her father was an accountant while her mother had been a teacher all her life. She described them in her thesis applied project as always stressing her “to do the right thing” and as ethical people who had worked hard all their lives for everything they had. Nazareth described her family as a Christian family in which lessons of morality and perseverance were common throughout her childhood

Education was highly valued in her family. As she mentioned in her identity PBA, going to college was not an option for her or her siblings, but “it was mandatory” (Nazareth's thesis applied project). Nazareth wrote in her thesis applied project:

My family history is filled with hard working, family oriented people. A lot of value was put on education, diligence, strength of character and devotion to family. This history has helped to shape who I am as a teacher by instilling in me a sense of urgency in providing the best I can for my students.

According to Nazareth, she has had positive experiences through her school days. She described these days as having lots of success and great loving teachers. These positive experiences, she mentioned in her thesis applied project, had played a role later in her life in becoming a teacher.

Nazareth did not think of being a teacher when she finished high school, and she enrolled in and earned a Bachelor degree in Psychology in Southern state university. Yet, once out of college she was not successful in getting a job. So, considering the lifestyle and experiences that her mother and sister had as a teacher, she decided to get certified to teach special education students. She had chosen special education as she considered it a combination of her background in psychology and her interest in teaching.

She commented to me that during the first five years, she was not passionate about teaching and treated it just as a “regular job”. Yet, in the last years something had change for her:

I think I’m finally not feeling like a new teacher anymore because even after I had my first couple of years that I had been teaching I always felt like a new teacher every year... I’m starting to feel like teaching is more part of my identity. Even last year when I would leave here, I would leave here. I wouldn’t think about school. Once

I'm here I put my all into it. Outside of school I never really thought about it. Now I find myself thinking about it more and thinking about like different things I can do with my kids and even working on stuff when I'm watching television. I feel like it's more a part of me now than it used to be. (Interview with Nazareth, March 4th, 2010)

During the spring semester of 2010, Nazareth taught in a pull out resource room model for students with mild disabilities (e.g., learning disabilities, emotional and behavioral disabilities). During this time Nazareth has co-taught with Nancy, who was a 5th grade general educator. Interestingly, Nazareth was the only teacher resident that during this semester co-taught more than once a week. She and Nancy had arranged with the principal to co-teach writing throughout the week. This allowed Nazareth to include her resource room students in Nancy classroom, and to co-design instruction and co-teach with Nancy in order to modify and differentiate instruction for her students.

After the summer of break of 2010, however, she was moved from being a resource room teacher to the Buddies program— a self-contained classroom. Nazareth was actually excited for this new challenge. During this semester, in addition, Nazareth, welcomed into her classroom a teacher resident from the second cohort of the masters' program, whose name was Tamara. This afforded Nazareth and Tamara the opportunity to co-teach three days a week and to collaborate with and receive feedback from the site professor at Green Valley.

Protecting participants. Because this study drew from a larger research project, I had approval from the Arizona State University Institutional Review Board (IRB) (See appendix B). In addition, I had several email and face to face conversations with IRB personnel confirming that my study falls under the umbrella of the larger UPIE research project, and that as long as I did not collect data that may change the exempt status of the research project (e.g., use obtained film for communicating findings), I did not need to file for a new IRB approval.

At the beginning of the 2010 academic year, the UPIE research team obtained informed consent from all participants prior to collecting data. The purpose of the study and the rights and risks associated with their participation as well as other key aspects of the consent forms were described to all participants. The research team used pseudonyms to identify the participants (i.e., teacher residents, principals, language coach, and site professors), the schools, the district, and any program that could serve to identify any of them (e.g., Buddies program). All data collected from this project were kept in a password-protected folder in the Equity Alliance's server. All audio and video files were deleted from the video camera and voice recorder after being transferred to the server.

Data Collection and Analysis

In this research study, I drew from data collected as part of UPIE research project. The UPIE research team collected data from all three participating schools and 9 teacher residents participating in the Masters' Program from January to December of 2010. In the following sections, I describe the data sources and the data analysis procedures I used to answer each of my study's research questions. I must note that my first research question had to be answered before moving to the

second research question because I needed to build upon the codes created for the first question in order to answer research question two.

What social discourses are present in a professional learning school for inclusive education?

Data Sources.

Documents and Artifacts. I gathered school policy documents, district policy documents, and the Handbook for the UPIE to examine the social discourses embedded in these institutions. I collected, in addition, handouts and presentations from the thesis seminar that teacher residents attended once a week and from the summer institute that all three schools attended in July 23rd and 24th of 2010. With permission of school personnel, I also took photos of some of the school walls in which some important artifacts were posted such as school district benchmark goals and classrooms performances in state's test.

Interviews. I used interview data obtained from the principals of Green Valley and Desert Pride conducted in February, May, and December (total of 3 interviews with each principal), two interviews with site professors and language coaches conducted at the beginning and at the end of the year (total of 2 interviews each). These comprised a total of 15 interviews. These interviews were in-depth and open-ended, and they lasted approximately 45 minutes each. The questions were easy to understand, short and stripped of academic language in order to promote positive interactions. The interview protocols had three different types of questions—introduction questions- follow up questions, and clarification questions (Kvale, 1996). Interviews were semi-structured. Though the interviewers had a set of guiding questions, the questionnaire was flexible, allowing new questions to be

brought up according to the specific characteristics of the ongoing interview (See appendix C for the interview protocol used in these interviews). In addition, the third round of interviews conducted with principals and the second round of interviews with site professors and language coaches included questions that aimed to cover some initial inquiries that emerged from the first and second rounds of interviews.

These interviews provided information about principals, site professors' and language coaches' understanding of the UPIE partnership and its impact on the schools and on teacher residents. These interviews, in addition, provided information about the description of Green Valley's and Desert Pride's practices, initiatives, and policies that teacher residents were required to engage with as part of their work as teacher residents on those schools. These interviews also provided information about the tensions that merge as the practices, initiatives, and policies of the university Masters' program and the schools were implemented simultaneously.

I conducted all these interviews with the exception of except the first round of language coaches and professors interviews. The first round of interviews with site professors (total of 2 interviews) was conducted by a female colleague who had a Masters' degree in education and extensive experience interviewing school professionals.

Observations and audio recordings of thesis seminars. I observed and audio recorded thesis seminars. The thesis seminars occurred every Wednesday afternoon from 4:30 to 7 pm. I chose to observe these seminars because they were the only face to face class that the teacher residents attended and because they were the seminars in which teacher residents learned about the four critical themes of the masters' programs (i.e., identity, culture, learning, and assessment).

During the 2010 spring semester, I observed eight thesis seminars, which I audio recorded, taking observational notes in my research notebook and writing down the time in the recording that matched my observations. Five of these thesis seminar sessions corresponded to the semester focusing on identity, while three of them corresponded to the session focusing on culture. I stopped observing the thesis seminar during the summer because they became online seminars.

When the thesis seminars started back on August, I was able to observe and audio record the first three seminars that occurred during the “assessment” themed semester. After this seminar a group of teacher residents told the site professor that some of them did not feel free to participate in class when the conversations were being recorded. The real reason I was asked to stop recording the sessions was not clear to me since all but two of the teacher residents expressed that the decision did not represent their perception of the situation. The remaining two teacher residents also asked that they not be filmed in their classrooms. Considering these events, I did not include these two teacher residents in any part of the analysis conducted in this study.

The observations and audio recordings of the thesis seminar provided information about the discourses embedded in the site professor’s presentations and seminar activities and also about tensions and concerns that teachers brought to the seminars as they were trying to implement what they were learning in the seminars in their daily instruction.

Observations and field notes from summer institute. I used observational notes that I took during the summer institute in which all three UPIE Schools participated in July 23 and 24 of 2010. During this summer institute, school staff attended presentations

about the characteristics of professional development schools, Response to Intervention, Co-Teaching, and also worked in school teams to develop and further the school goals and vision for the upcoming years. From these observation notes, I created field notes. Field notes are “original texts with raw field notes written (for most part) more or less contemporaneously with the events depicted” (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 1995, p. 353). These field notes provide descriptive accounts of people, interactions, places, and personal experiences, minimizing interpretation and theorization (Emerson, et al., 1995). The field notes did not only include what I observed and learned from observing the summer institute, but also my own reflections, thoughts, and questions that guided observations and interviews during the fall semester. The field notes also provided information about the social discourses embedded in the practices, initiatives, and school visions of the participating schools and the University program.

Site professors' field observations. I gathered the field observations from the site professor at Green Valley and Desert Pride. These field observations were taken once a week and provided a way for site professors to document their work in the schools. These field observation were recorded from February to December, 2010. There were a total of 49 field observations from site professors. This included their observations and discussions about teachers' practices, school wide practices, and conversations with principals and language coaches (see appendix D for the site professor's field notes template). These field observations provided information about the social discourses embedded in the practices of the schools and the university masters' program, as well as the tensions that emerged when the practices and artifacts of both institutions overlapped.

Data Analysis. To identify the discourses embedded in the UPIE and Green Valley, I used, first, analytical tools from critical discourse analysis (CDA). CDA is based on the assumption that language is an irreducible part of social life and research and, thus, the analysis of discourse needs to connect language with social practices (Fairclough, 1995). A particular discursive event –any instance of language use (Fairclough, 1995)— according to CDA scholars, is in a dialectical relationship with the situations, institutions, and the social structures that frame it (Fairclough & Wodack, 1997). For instance, when teacher residents teach a lesson or attend a thesis seminar they draw from and shape the social discourses embedded in the institution and in the historical struggles for inclusive education. Another major concern of CDA is the ideological effects of texts— how they inculcate and sustain particular representations of the world that contribute to establishing and maintaining social relations of power and domination (Fairclough, 2003). CDA, thus, provides a framework to account for the production and interpretation of text, the internal structure of the text, and the relationship between textual and discursive practices with the wider socio-political structures of power, hegemony, and domination. This analytical lens afforded me the opportunity to tap the social discourses embedded in Green Valley and Desert Pride Elementary and the UPIE initiative. To tease out the multiple discursive threads and identify particular discourses, I examined first the following textual features that signal individual discourses (Fairclough, 2003; Scollon, 2008).

- *Speech functions.* The analysis of speech functions examined what a text was trying to achieve (e.g., demand, ask, offer, claim, etc.), what were the different move exchanges in these functions (e.g., activity

exchange, knowledge exchange) and what were the types of statements used (e.g., fact, prediction, evaluative, etc).

- *Key word analysis.* During the analysis of key words, I used NVIVO 8 to identify the most frequently used words in interviews and documents. Then, I looked at the textual context of that word to understand the meaning of it. This gave insight about the social discourses that regulate the meaning of a specific word or phrase.
- *Ideology and Phraseology.* During the analysis of ideologies, phraseology of social discourses, I examined all data retrieved to tease out the ideas, vocabulary, and phrases that were characteristic of particular social discourses. For instance, the words *efficiency, flexibility, quality* are related to discourses of new forms of capitalism such as total quality control (Gee, et al., 1996).
- *Assumptions.* I searched for three types of assumptions, namely existential assumptions (assumptions about what exists), propositional assumptions (assumptions about what is or will be), and value assumptions (assumptions about what is good or desirable). To find each type of assumption, I searched for their respective textual markers. Existential assumptions, for instance, are marked by definite articles and demonstratives (e.g., those, that, this, etc); propositional assumptions are marked by factive verbs (e.g., realize, forgot, remember, etc); value assumptions are marked by verbs that connote a desirable or undesirable action (i.e., help, benefit, etc) (Fairclough, 2003). The analysis of assumptions is important because

they signal how discourses seek power by bringing coherence to the text and shape the common ground in which all forms of communication depend (Fairclough, 2003).

- *Analysis of images.* I examined how images and fonts from the handbook, PowerPoint presentations from the seminars and summer institute address the viewer through the use of different angles, zooms and the way people in images face the viewer (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 1996). I also examined the fonts and arrangements of images according to Scollon (2008).
- *Representation of social actors and actions.* I examined whether actors are foregrounded, backgrounded or completely excluded. I also examined how they were related to events and actions. Are they either represented as beneficiaries or affected by certain actions or as active participants? Are social actors represented by name or by impersonal pronouns? Or are they classified into categories? Who or what does what to whom or what in what circumstances? This analysis provided an understanding of how teachers and teaching were represented in texts and practices of the UPIE.
- *Examination of pronoun usage.* I looked for the use of pronouns such as “us,” “we,” and “they” to analyze how UPIE and school documents identify participants’, drawing boundaries between them and others, and including or excluding them and others from certain identity groups.

This initial analysis provided the basis to begin to form open codes (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). For instance, various views about teaching (e.g., what a teacher does, how to go about instruction, how to think about students, etc.) yielded by the analysis of key words, representations of actors, assumptions, and phraseology and ideology, were used to open code the data sources previously described. This initial coding provided a first understanding of the multiple artifacts (e.g., tools for doing and thinking about teaching) that were available to teacher residents in the UPIE.

Let me remind the reader that this dissertation defined social discourses as a combination of artifacts that are provided or used to signal certain social identities (Gee, 2000, 2001). Following this definition, thus, I used axial coding (Strauss & Corbin, 1990), writing memos about codes and their relationship and reducing the amount of codes by comparing them with one another. This served to group the artifacts identified during open coding into social discourses according to the identities that they signaled. These memos, in addition, were written by connecting codes and their relationships with previous discourse analysis literature that identified social discourses regulating educational practices (e.g., Gee, et al., 1996 ; Rogers, 2004; Smyth, Dow, Hattam, Reid, & Shacklock, 2000 among others).

This was an iterative process in which I went back and forth between the codes and the memos, resulting in sequential and deeper analysis of the data in which overarching conceptual categories emerged. This provided an intermediate step between coding and the first draft of a manuscript (Charmaz & Mitchell, 2001). I periodically reviewed the research questions to keep the analyses on track. After developing the final code patterns (see Figure 2), I reviewed the whole data set to re-

examine codes and relationships, generating theoretical assertions that answered my first research question.

Through this analysis, for instance, it became evident that the social discourses that inhabit the UPIE aimed to universalize certain *professional visions* (Goodwin, 1994b)— tools for doing and thinking (i.e., artifacts) about teaching that signaled what it meant to be a professional teacher in Desert Pride and Green Valley elementary, and the Masters' program. I called them, thus, *discourses of professionalism* as they aimed to forge certain professional identities. I identified two discourses of professionalism: Total Quality Management-like (TQM-like) discourse and the inclusive education-like discourse.

Through this analysis, furthermore, I noticed that some of these artifacts (e.g., tools for doing and thinking about teaching) were afforded to teachers through particular institutional strategies. Through an iterative process of writing memos about these practices and comparing and contrasting codes, it emerged another conceptual category that I called identity technologies (see Figure 2 for a complete list of final codes). This pointed out the disjuncture between the university Masters' program and the schools as each of them had different identity technologies that aimed to universalize different discourses and their respective embedded teaching identities.

How Do Teachers Appropriate the Social Discourses Present in a Professional Learning School for Inclusive Education?

Data sources.

Videos of teacher practice. Each resident teacher was filmed twice every semester— once at the beginning and once at the end of each semester (i.e., spring

and fall). This provided a total of 4 videos of approximately 45 minutes for each teacher resident, and a total of 20 videos for the five teacher residents who comprised the final list of participants.

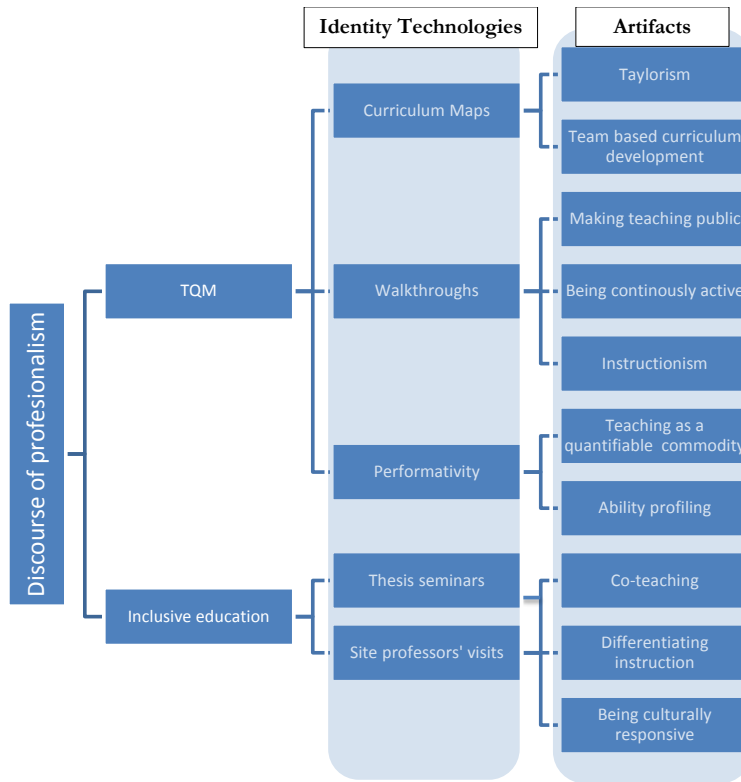


Figure 2. Final lists of codes

The 10 videos recorded in the spring were recorded on Wednesdays, the day in which teacher residents were co-teaching and visited by site professors. The videos of teacher practices from the fall semester were recorded also during site professors visits but not all teacher residents were co-teaching at this point. Only the teacher residents who receive a teacher resident from the second cohort of the program were able to co-teach. These teachers were Nazareth and Kelly. The remaining of the teacher residents (i.e., Kevin, Tina, and Debbie) were receiving feedback from site professors on other concepts and practices that they were

learning in their seminars and they were trying to implement in their classroom. These 20 videos served to examine how the social discourses identified when answering the first question of this dissertation were appropriated in situated practice.

Stimulated recall interviews. The UPIE research team conducted stimulated recall interviews after each videotaped lesson. This generated a total of 20 video stimulated interviews. Previous to the interview, the research team member (that in the case of these participants was myself) identified three sections of the video to show to the participant- one was an introductory section to ask general questions about the lesson, the second section that focused in a participant-student interaction, and a section that focused on teacher collaboration practices (e.g., co-teaching). Finally, the researcher played the video and asked the participants to pause it when they found an interesting event that they wanted to talk about (see appendix D for the stimulated recall interview protocol). These interviews complemented the videos, providing information about teacher residents' interpretations of what was occurring in situated practice and about the instructional decisions regarding the design and implementation of the videotaped lesson.

Teacher residents' entry and exit interviews. As part of the UPIE research team, I conducted an entry interview with the five teacher residents in March of 2010 (see appendix C for interview protocol) and an exit interview in December of 2010. These provided a total of 20 interviews. These interviews were also semi-structured and provided biographical information, information about teachers' views of learning and education, information about teacher residents' view of students' differences and

their families, and teacher residents' experiences in and views of their school and the UPIE activities.

Teacher residents' PBAs. I gathered the performance-based assessment addressing the four themes (Identity, culture, learning, and assessment) that teachers prepared while participating in the Masters program's courses, and their final thesis portfolio that was an accumulation of these PBAs. This data provided biographical information about the teachers as well as information that were complementary to the videos and video stimulated interviews to examine how social discourses were appropriated by teacher residents.

Data analysis. To examine teacher residents' appropriation of the social discourses in situated practice, I followed the steps advanced by Erickson and Schultz (1997). First, I watched all tapes thoroughly taking broad notes about the structures of the lesson. Second, I watched the tapes again and located junctures, describing the changes on topics, ways of doing, turn taking, floor control, rules, and ways of acting of different actors that occurred before and after the junctures. This served to identify *speech events*. By a speech event, I refer to activities or aspects of activities that are directly governed by rules or norms of the use of speech and that are recurring and bounded with a clear beginning and end, and a consistent pattern of participation (Hymes, 1972).

Through this initial analysis, I identified four different speech events in the videos: Teacher-centered activities, independent work, one-one conference, and transitions. I focused the analysis on teacher-centered activities because these speech events comprised the largest portion of all speech events (see Table 2). This evidence indicated that most of the speech events (57%) were teacher-centered activities.

Table 2

Number of Occurrences and Percentages of Speech Events

Speech event	Number of occurrences	Percentage
Independent work	14	9.5%
One-one conference	1	.5%
Teacher-centered activities	84	57%
Transitions	48	33%
Total	147	100%

By teacher-centered activities, I refer to activities in which the teacher was leading and controlling the learning activity. There was a marked sequence of interactions in these activities- a four part speech act. First, teachers provided information to students (e.g., introduce concept, explains task). Second, teacher asked students to engage in some kind of performance, inviting students to reply (e.g., explicitly asked to answer a question, repeat a word or phrase, read a particular section of a text, etc.). This teacher act also included information about who should perform and how. The teacher, for instance, sometimes opened the floor for students to bid for a response, pointed to specific student to perform, asked for choral performance, or asked students to perform independently. Third, according to the required performance, students performed as a choir, individually, or bid for the floor to provide a performance. Finally, the teacher evaluated the students' performance, sometimes explicitly or directly (e.g., good job!) and sometimes indirectly (e.g., teacher repeated the question). If the students' performance did not meet the teachers' expectations, the teacher employed a number of interactional

strategies such as prompting, correcting, body gestures, or asking students to repeat the performance. If students' performance met teachers' expectations, either new information was introduced or a new performance was required by the teacher. The positive evaluation of the performance signals the end of the speech act. During teacher centered activities, the speech acts repeat creating a rosary until the teacher presented new information or the goal of the activity changed.

Third, once all teacher-centered activities were identified across videos, I identified instances of interdiscursivity within these speech events. That is, instances when teacher residents used simultaneously tools from both discourses of professionalism (i.e., TQM-like and inclusive education-like discourse). I theorized that instances of interdiscursivity would create epistemological conflicts for teachers that would demand the orchestration of otherwise stable discourses, creating spaces for self-authoring (Fairclough, 1992; Holland, et al., 1998). To identify instances of interdiscursivity, I used the definitions of the artifacts (e.g., instructionism, Taylorism, co-teaching, etc.) combined by each social discourse that I present in chapter 4 and that appear in Figure 2 to code all teacher-centered activities and sections of video stimulated interviews that provided information about the use of those artifacts. I also coded all instances in video stimulated interviews in which teacher residents mentioned using a particular artifact. For instance, while watching her videotaped lesson, a teacher resident mentioned that she was differentiating instruction by intentionally calling some students to respond over others. I identified, thus, the speech events in which artifacts of one discourse were used in the presence of artifacts from the other discourse. This analysis pointed out to 47 speech events in which I found interdiscursivity.

As a result of this analysis, I found that there were certain patterns of combinations of artifacts from both discourses in teacher residents' lessons. That is, certain tools from both discourses of professionalism were combined and appropriated in particular ways in certain contexts. This analysis began to build the concept of *curating* that I explain in chapter 5. This yielded 5 different combinations of tools, which I called curating patterns. Table 3 identifies these patterns and table 4 describes their number of occurrences and percentages.

To gain a deeper understanding on the composition of these patterns, furthermore, I watched thoroughly these instances of interdiscursivity and coded them according to the elements of the activity system (Cole, 1996; Engeström, 1987). These codes included the subjects (e.g., teacher residents), the rules of the activity (e.g., reading and curriculum development policies), the community (e.g., the school in which the lesson took place, the students participating of the lesson), the division of labor (e.g., one co-teacher manages the speaking floor while the other one redirects students), the object of the activity (e.g., learning suffixes), and the tools (i.e., the tools combined by the TQM-like and inclusive education-like discourses). I also coded in the same manner the video stimulated interviews, searching for information that provided further insight about the elements of the activity system including the artifacts combined by social discourses.

Table 3

Description of Curating Patterns

Curating	Curating	Curating	Curating	Curating
Pattern 1	Pattern 2	Pattern 3	Pattern 4	Pattern 5

Instruct.	D.I.	Instruct.	Instruct.	Instruct.
Being visually engaged	Co- Teaching C.R.	Being visually engage	Being visually engaged	Being visually engaged
Ability profiling	Instruct.	Taylorism	Taylorism	Taylorism
Taylorism		Group based	Group based	Group based
Group based		control	control	control
control		Co- Teaching	D.I.	D.I.
DI				C.R.
Co- Teaching				

Note: Instruct. = instructionism; D.I. = differentiated instruction; C.R = cultural responsiveness.

Table 4

Number of Occurrences and Percentages of Curating Patterns

Curating Patterns	Number of occurrences	Percentages
Curating Pattern 1	27	57%
Curating Pattern 2	2	5%
Curating Pattern 3	10	21%
Curating Patterns 4	5	11%
Curating Patterns 5	3	6%
Total	47	100%

I decided to focus the analysis on curating pattern 1 as it represented the predominant curating pattern (57%) and on curating pattern 2 as it was the only pattern in which all the mediational tools of the inclusive education-like discourse

were used. Then, I examined the codes and their juxtaposition to develop and write memos that advanced theoretical assertions about how the tools were appropriated in situated activity on those curating patterns. Memos were organized by speech events and then by assertions. I tested these assertions against all teacher-centered speech events. At this point, I looked for information in teacher residents' entry and exit interviews and PBAs for information that would either disconfirm or contribute to these assertions. This was an iterative process that involved going back and forward between the assertions, the data, and the literature on sociocultural views on learning (e.g., Cole, 1996; Engeström, 1987; Engeström, 1999; Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998; Wertsch, 1991; Wertsch & Rupert, 1993). This resulted in sequential and deeper analysis an intermediate step between coding and the first draft of a manuscript (Charmaz & Mitchell, 2001). This analysis yielded assertions that applied across instances of interdiscursivity and assertions that described the local flavor of some them. This analysis, in addition, allowed me to analyze how teacher residents appropriated the social discourses in situated activity. That is, how particular curating patterns responded to particular socio-cultural and institutional contexts.

Trustworthiness

The following strategies were used to warrant the trustworthiness of the findings.

Data triangulation. Data triangulation is essential to establish trustworthiness in qualitative research. Lather (2003) wrote, "It is essential that the research design seek counter patterns as well as convergences if data were to be credible" (p. 191). Thus, this study included multiple data sources such as interviews with multiple social actors (i.e., site professors, language coaches, principals, and

teacher residents), various documents from the UPIE and the school district, observation of thesis seminars, videos of lessons, and video stimulated interviews. Furthermore, I looked for evidence across different data sources to support claims about teacher residents' learning.

Member checking. This is when data, conceptual categories, and interpretations are tested with some of the participants (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Member checking was addressed informally by confirming information and interpretations with participants during exit interviews. In addition, I had a phone conversation with one of the site professors to check about the development over time of the tensions that emerged as the practices of the schools overlapped with the practices of the Masters' program.

Peer debriefing. Peer debriefing involves "exposing oneself to a disinterested peer in a manner paralleling an analytical sessions and for the purpose of exploring aspects of the inquiry that might otherwise remain only implicit within the inquirer's mind" (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 308). In this regard, I debriefed with my advisor (Alfredo J. Artiles) regarding my emerging results at least 11 times, three times with the principal investigator of the UPIE (Elizabeth Kozleski) who is also one of my dissertation committee members, and two times with James Gee (another dissertation committee member). These conversations were audio recorded which allowed me to go back to their comments and questions, addressing them in detail.

Orderliness and documentation. Refers to the clarity and orderliness of the way research is conducted, recorded and reported (Wood & Kroger, 2000). It involves a clear description of all aspects of research- how data was collected and how the researcher went about doing the analysis. Regarding this criteria, I provided

documentation to support my claims and subsequent clear explanations of my interpretations to make my analysis transparent, demonstrating the sequence and logic of my interpretations to let the reader make their own evaluations.

Convergence. A discourse analysis is more valid the more the data converge to support the claims of the analysis (Gee, 2001). In this regard, I examined various textual features (key words, representation of actors and actions, assumptions, etc) providing warrant for my claims from various type of analysis.

Linguistic Details. Discourse analysis is more valid the more they are closely tight to details of linguistic structure (Gee, 2001). In this regard, I provided detailed and extensive linguistic analysis to support my claims about how social discourses were appropriated by teacher residents.

Juxtaposition. Any discourse analysis need to be juxtaposed with earlier work, what makes validity a social enterprise rather than individual one (Gee, 2001). I connected, thus, my analysis with previous work done on discourse analysis, teacher learning, and inclusive education, which provided further convergence to support my claims.

Researcher Roles

As Lincoln and Guba (1985) pointed out, the researcher is the primary instrument for gathering and analyzing data. Only a human instrument is capable and flexible enough to capture the complexity of social settings and human experiences (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). This dissertation, thus, demanded that I was responsive to social and environmental cues, collect information at multiple levels, interact with the situation and different school actors, process data, require verification from peers and explore participants' responses (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). I had to be responsive

and sensitive to interpret interpersonal and environmental cues, generating new questions and hypotheses on the spot. This resulted in new understandings about the nature of partnership work for inclusive education.

My roles as a researcher and my relationship with the participants presented some unexpected issues that demanded me to be flexible in order to move forward with the study. My participation was peripheral in relation to the schools, but more central in relation to the Masters' program and research project that were embedded in the partnership. That is, I did not spend as much time in the schools as the site professors who visited schools weekly to teach seminars and visit teacher residents in their classrooms. Yet, I was the research coordinator of the UPIE and I taught an on-line action research seminar for teacher residents during the summer. Thus teacher residents knew me as a team member of the UPIE who was leading the research and inquiry aspect of this project. I was the person that filmed them in the classroom and interviewed them afterwards, the person who observed thesis seminars, and the person who always carried either a video camera or a digital recorder.

This role presented some unexpected events. At the end of May of 2010, three of the nine teacher residents expressed discomfort about being audiorecorded during these seminars and filmed during lessons; they felt constrained when participating in the discussions. The remaining six teacher residents mentioned to me that they were very comfortable with my presence and welcomed me in their classrooms. By the fall semester of 2010, some teacher residents asked the site professors to cancel the audio recordings of thesis seminars as they felt that they could not talk freely and express their experiences when being audio recorded. As a

result, I stopped attending these seminars, and I did not use any of the data from the teacher residents' who asked to cancel the audiorecordings. This unexpected event directed my attention to teacher residents' constant feeling of being surveyed and evaluated by the administration of the school. As a result, I began to generate hypotheses about the role of surveillance in schools, its connection to broader social discourses, and its effects on teachers. I was able to apply what Strauss and Corbin (1990) called theoretical sensitivity- the capacity and readiness of the researcher to conduct qualitative inquiry- generating theoretical interpretations about this phenomena. This resulted in the conceptual category called "making teaching public".

On the other hand, teacher residents knew me as an instructor. During the summer of 2010, I taught a class to the teacher residents on action research and inquiry in their own classrooms. Because of these relationships, I was able to build a good rapport with the teacher residents. I was invited on a couple of occasions to go for a drink after class, and I had various informal conversations with them. This class helped to ease their concerns with the audio and videorecording as they got to know me better and as they also got to understand better the role of data collection on research projects. This also gave me further insight on how teacher residents were thinking about their students and their practice, which I was able to keep in the background when analyzing the videos and video stimulated interviews.

Interestingly, as a researcher coordinator, I also had to face unexpected tensions with the site professors. At the beginning of the project, the site professors interpreted my presence in the thesis seminars as evaluative. They expressed their discomfort about me audiorecording their seminars as they felt under scrutiny. In

addition, our respective roles in the project contributed to some of my frustrations with the site professors. I was the research coordinator of the UPIE, and our research team had agreed that the site professors conduct some of the interviews and collect students' work samples. These tasks were not always done, which frustrated me. This frustration was sometimes evident in the discussions in our team meetings. We had several meetings in which the principal investigator of the UPIE mediated our discussions and we were able to resolve our differences. The principal investigator and I, furthermore, had private conversations after the UPIE team meetings to reflect on how meetings went and what could I be doing differently to resolve tensions with the site professors. These conversations helped me to be more reflective about my own practices as a researcher, and how my interactions with other UPIE staff shaped the development of the research project. From this experience, I learned that team members come to collaborate with different understandings and level of commitments to the task at hand (e.g., conducting research in the UPIE) and also with different levels of expertise about research and theory, which in turn mediates their participation in the project.

All these unexpected events not only demanded flexibility, adaptation and interpretation, but also enriched the ways that I see partnerships for inclusive education. Inclusive education is a contested global movement and people come to engage with this movement with different understandings about it, different levels of commitment, and under different political, institutional, and cultural contexts. Through my role in this project, I learned that partnership work on politically charged issues such as inclusion are highly complex and demand sustained work and commitment over large periods of time. It demands a negotiation between all sides

of the partnership, which should also include the ones who are excluded (e.g., students with disabilities). It demands also to be concerned with all students and families. In the schools of the UPIE, there were efforts to include students with disabilities or who struggled to learn. Yet, the issue that ELLs were segregated in self-contained classrooms and that they remained there most of the school day was rarely questioned. Being a research instrument afforded me to capture a complexity that no static instrument (e.g., a behavior rating scale, an IQ test) could have captured, to glean and grasp as many dimensions of phenomena to understand the complexities of engaging with partnership work for inclusive education.

Chapter 4

Findings

Institutions work across time and space to make sure that certain discourses occur often enough and in similar ways to sustain certain identities (Gee, 2000). This was the story of the convergence of two institutions that engaged in this kind of work, aiming to sustain their simultaneous yet disjointed discourses and the kinds of teacher identities that these discourses afforded to teacher residents. One of these institutions was a university master's program that was working on the conceptualization of professional learning schools and the development of partnerships for inclusive education. The other institution was composed of two urban schools –Desert Pride and Green Valley – that belong to the Rio Salado school district. These schools were engaged and fraught with their own issues of accountability and standard policies.

This was the story of administrators trying to implement and comply with certain policies, of language coaches trying sometimes to help and sometimes to push teachers to comply with such policies, of site professors trying to translate and marry the discourses of both institutions, and of teacher residents developing their teaching identities amidst the struggles for inclusive education and the meanings attached to professional identities. In this chapter, I focused on one part of the story: the discourses that were indexed and that regulated the work of both institutions, and the mechanisms that they used to get teacher residents to be certain kinds of teachers. While, in the next chapter, I told the other side of this story: the story of how teachers appropriated these discourses to become certain kinds of teachers.

What Social Discourses Are Present in an Urban Professional Learning School for Inclusive Education?

As the story goes, the social discourses that inhabited the institutions participating in the UPIE aimed to universalize certain *visions of professionalism*: “socially organized ways of seeing and understanding events that are answerable to the distinctive interests of a particular” profession (Goodwin, 1994, p. 606). A profession is “an autonomous community of members who, through strong socialization and common exposure to a body of knowledge and skills, share a perspective on the world, their work and their clients, and themselves” (Skrtic, 1995, p. 11). A vision of professionalism provides a cognitive framework to understand the knowledge and skills rooted in the trajectory of a professional community (e.g., special education). Professionalism, thus, involves a specialized body of knowledge and skills, theories, dispositions, and principles that need to be adopted during long periods of time by people who want to claim membership on that professional community (Skrtic, 1995). To become a professional, then, involves developing an identity recognizable by a professional community. Because the social discourses that inhabited the institutions in the UPIE aim to forge certain professional identities, I called them *discourses of professionalism*.

Let me pause here and add that a vision of professionalism is among the strongest influences that shape teachers' interpretations of their own work (Smyth, et al., 2000). It is a contested term that has been associated with attempts to promote, regulate, and control the work of teachers (Apple, 1986; Apple, 2009; Hargreaves, 1994; Smyth, et al., 2000). A vision of professionalism legitimates practices and policies that control the daily work of teachers, setting boundaries to the possibilities

of being certain kinds of teachers. Discourses of professionalism, thus, aim to exercise power by disciplining the teachers' self (Foucault, 1978), *de-professionalizing* and *re-professionalizing* them (Ball, 2003), making these visions of professionalism hegemonic so that teachers could become their own self-regulators.

The discourses of professionalism that inhabited the institutions participating of the UPIE were not the exception. To de- and re- professionalize teacher residents, the discourses of professionalism at the UPIE combined certain *identity technologies*-- methods and techniques which were used by the institutions to privilege, universalize, and provide teachers certain combination of tools— *a tool kit of mediational means* (e.g., tools for thinking and doing) (Wertsch, 1991) that signaled professionalism— so that they could become certain kinds of professional teachers (see Figure 3).

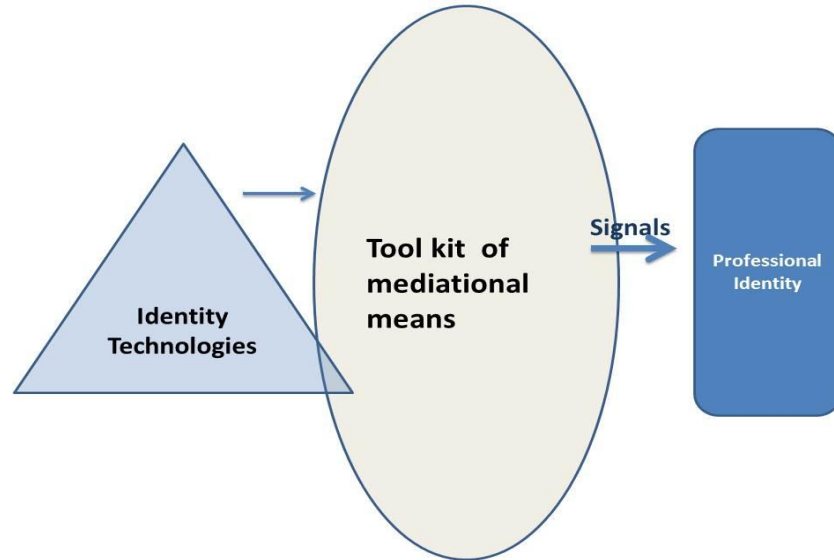


Figure 3. The bid of discourses of professionalism

The work of these identity technologies can be seen as a bid (a very powerful one) to get teachers to be certain kind of teachers through the appropriation of certain tool kits. As I mentioned in the conceptual framework of this study, teachers

use various tools afforded to them in their institutional contexts to enact certain identities. This can be seen as a bid to be recognized as a certain kind of teacher. The bid of the institution, on the other hand, is to use certain strategies (i.e., identity technologies) to get teachers to adopt particular combination of tools so that certain identities are sustained over time (Gee, 2000). Identity technologies, thus, were political investments that would yield results according to what was valued in each discourse. Agency and authority, thus, were neither situated in the institutions nor in the discourses themselves, but were mediated agencies: institutions-operating-with-discourses of professionalism to achieve their respective purposes (Wertsch & Rupert, 1993). In the next sections, I demonstrated the work of discourses of professionalism by examining two of these discourses: one that was salient in the schools, namely the Total Quality Management-like (TQM-l), and one that was salient in the University Master's program, namely the Inclusive Education-like discourse.

TQM-like Discourse: Teachers as Executors and Controllers of Quality

Well, I think it gives us consistency. I think it helps us to, and it has helped us to evaluate our teaching practices. It has really, I think, opened the eyes of our staff members to the quality of teaching in the classroom next door... We're going to see each other teach. We are going to critique. It's become okay to not necessarily evaluate but help —*it's like quality management*... They put that pressure on each other. The question is to me, it's always directed to me, and I'm like, have you talked to your team? If you're planning together why isn't there similar things? Why isn't there a certain level amongst

everyone? (Interview with Carmen, principal at Desert Pride, June 9th, 2010)

In this quote, Carmen was explaining the outcomes she saw and also the outcomes she was expecting to see as a result of collaborating with the university program and implementing professional learning communities in her school. Carmen's words signal a discourse of professionalism that was prominent on both schools: the TQM-like discourse. By TQM-like, in this study, I refer to the historical and well-established management system that has permeated many organizations and institutions in capitalist societies, including schools (Ball, 1998; Gee, et al., 1996). It is a systematic approach for integrating the quality-development, quality-maintenance, and quality-improvement efforts of the various groups in the organization so that quality can be maximized in an efficient manner (Demings, 1982).

TQM is part of the *new capitalism* (Gee, et al., 1996) that emerged in the late 1970s. Old forms of capitalism, also called Fordism, were more concerned with mass production, close control of workers exercised by management, and standardization of commodities (Jessop, 2001a). The new capitalism differs from the old one in several aspects. First, the main concern of the new capitalism is to control quality and focus on customization. The control of quality is achieved by the constant inspection of quantitative indicators that provide information about the efficiency of the production and the quality of the product. Achieving quality becomes an endless process which is continuously revised and improved through the examination of quantitative data (Demings, 1982).

In the new capitalism, products are developed for certain kinds of people. Rather than engaging in mass production, the aim is to customize products to satisfy

certain identities. Commodities are personalized to specific groups of people and their identities; it is about customizing desire (Gee et al., 1996). This demands knowledgeable workers who are flexible, innovative, and committed to their work.

The new capitalism, in addition, promotes the dismantling of middle level management and pushes responsibility down to low-level workers (Ball, 1998). Control is exercised at a distance, delegating responsibilities to workers, providing them flexibility in exchange for commitment to quality. The new capitalism demands knowledgeable workers that can assess themselves and work with their colleagues to appraise quality, take corrective action, and plan for improvement (Feigenbaum, 1991; Gee et al., 1996). Workers interact with new informational technologies to make quality decisions.

As Carmen pointed out, new practices in her school aimed to move the responsibility from the administration down to the teachers, providing flexibility in exchange for commitment to quality. The TQM-like discourse aimed to change the culture of the partner schools at the UPIE involving all teachers in the enterprise of continuous improvement by flattening hierarchal structures so that responsibility was delegated to teachers. Note how Carmen expects quality from these teachers as she expressed, “Why isn’t there a certain level amongst everyone?” This discourse promoted mutual surveillance as she stated, “I think, opened the eyes of our staff members to the quality of teaching in the classroom next door,” and then, “They put that pressure on each other.” In this organizational structure, thus, teachers were giving more responsibilities so that they can be efficient, and effective, survey each other, and produce the highest quality in the least amount of time.

Note that I called this discourse of professionalism TQM-like. This is because though this discourse included many features of total quality management (Demings, 1982) it also included features of old form of capitalism or *Fordism* (Jessop, 2001a). That is, the TQM-like discourse also incorporated the management forms that preexist in organizations such as hierarchical management structures, closer surveillance of workers, and scripted and rigid working procedures that were far from providing flexibility. The combination of flexible and tight forms of control, thus, created cross-disciplinary technologies for organizing professional work (Ball, 1998), providing a professional identity for teachers: *the executor and controller of quality*.

Before I demonstrate this combination of forms of control as I examine the work of the identity technologies of the TQM-like discourse, let me bring to surface the assumption about quality embedded in this discourse. Take, for instance, the vision of quality teaching of the Rio Grande school district:

Quality Teaching:

Staff development that improves the learning of all students deepens educators' content knowledge, provides them with research-based instructional strategies to assist students in meeting rigorous academic standards, and prepares them to use various types of classroom assessments appropriately. (Rio Grande District's website)

Three ideas can be drawn from this quote. First, quality teaching meant to transmit state standards to students'. Second, this could be achieved by using strategies considered research-based or it could also be said strategies that are effective - what works; and third, this type of quality can be measured by using assessments. A professional teacher, thus, was the one capable of executing quality by transmitting

state standards using what was considered research-based practices, and ensuring quality by assessing student performance. Following this vision of quality, the identity technologies of the TQM-like discourse were a *political investment* that as a return would yield more alignment between teacher practices, standards, and research-based practices, and higher quality as measured by students' scores in various state and district assessments. In the following section, I examined these technologies and the tools for thinking and doing (i.e., mediational means) that they provided to teacher residents.

TQM-like discourse Identity technologies. The TQM-like discourse combined three identity technologies: (a) *controlling curriculum development* (b) *micro-disciplinary practices*, and (c) *performativity*. These identity technologies were an effort to provide teacher residents a tool kit of mediational means (e.g., tools for thinking and doing) to become *an executor and controller of quality* (see Figure 4). I describe in the following sections these three identity technologies and their respective mediational tools that composed the tool kit of the TQM-like discourse.

Controlling curriculum development: Curriculum maps. Controlling curriculum development meant to use methods and mechanisms which directed teachers to implement a defined curriculum including content and the ways to design the instruction. The Rio Grande school district is located in a state that required a close alignment between schools' and teachers' practices and the state's standards. This was reflected throughout the state standard for professional development and teacher quality that stated, for instance, that "teacher designs and plans instruction that develops students' abilities to meet [the state's] academic standards and the district's assessment plan" and that "The teacher implements and manages

instruction that develops students’ abilities to meet [the state’s] academic standards” (District’s Professional Teacher Standards). The state, thus, provided teachers a vision of professionalism that was tied closely to transmitting predetermined and standardized content to students. Through high-stake assessments, the state monitored districts and schools to evaluate whether the standardized and selected content was transmitted to students. Ensuring that all standards were taught was a proxy for ensuring quality.

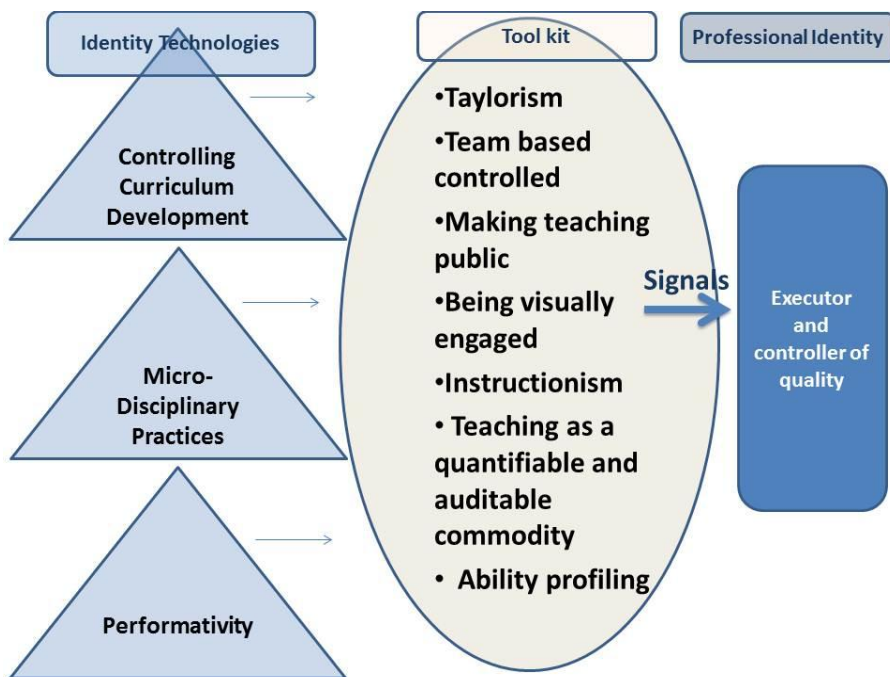


Figure 4. The bid of the TQM-like discourse

The Rio Grande school district was in corrective action for not meeting accountability benchmarks and was required to develop an improvement plan. As a response, the district implemented curriculum maps (see Figure 5 for an example of a curriculum map) to ensure that all state standards were taught, as Beth, the principal at Green Valley, explained:

The district adopted curriculum maps, because we're in corrective action. That was their way to meet standards, because we were really textbook fidelity to the core. We weren't getting all the standards taught. We were, just not probably to the extent we needed too. They went to the curriculum maps. (Interview with Beth, February 24th 2010)

Beth pointed out here that teachers were following the textbook and that was not getting all the standards taught. There was a need to revise the quality of education provided to students as reflected in the alignment between school practices and state mandates. Therefore, the district implemented curriculum maps. Fidelity to the packaged curriculum itself did not guarantee quality because it did not guarantee alignment with the state standards; fidelity of implementation in regards to curriculum maps was the strategy the district used to ensure quality education.

The control of the curriculum in the Rio Grande district, thus, was achieved through the use of curriculum maps. Controlling the curriculum through curriculum maps was an identity technology in which the district as institutional actor required teachers to engage with two tools for thinking: one that was aligned with old forms of capitalism or Fordism such as *Taylorism*, and another one that was an effort to provide flexibility and delegate responsibility to teachers which I call *team based control*. Requiring teachers to engage with these tools for thinking was an institutional investment so that teachers could become quality executors.

Taylorism. Taylorism stems from the ideas of scientific management and it was translated to education by Bobbitt, who stated that all cooperative endeavors, whether they were business or education, were subject to the same fundamentals of

management, direction, and supervision (Callahan, 1962). Consequently, Taylorism's goal is to teach the maximum amount to students, in the least amount of time, with the least amount of resources possible, in the best way possible. It values efficiency and effectiveness to achieve quality. This educational approach, thus, relies on a systematic process of developing curriculum, with an emphasis in particularized and predetermined content, an emphasis in defining learning as behavior, and an emphasis in control and alignment (Callahan, 1962; Tyler, 1949). In order to control curriculum development, Taylorism systematically integrates testing, behavioral goals, academic standards, and prepackaged curricula (Apple, 1986).

Curriculum maps were based on Taylorism. They were created at the district level with the participation of some of the teachers, language coaches, and curriculum developers from the district. These school professionals had broken down each state standard into smaller components that were mapped throughout the year, indicating what needed to be taught each day:

This year we've been really focusing on curriculum design and unit planning...looking at how you look at the—with the end in mind—how you break it down into pieces as units. And then further, how you break it down even more into more details for a daily lesson plan, and then even more how it really works in the classroom. Then as a teacher, how you have to monitor and adjust. (Interview with Carmen, March 15th, 2010)

Teachers were given curriculum maps that provided a year plan with detailed instructions indicating what should be taught, when, for how long, and on which day(s) of the year. The main focus of these maps was the strict aligning of state

standards (or standards for quality) to daily instruction, and in this way, ensuring that all teachers were teaching them, and that students were exposed to these standards.

Trina, the language coach at Green Valley, explained, “The curriculum maps are kind of like in your face type things. Oh, I’m working with this, I need to do this, and I need to do that. So, everyone’s on the same page” (Interview, December 16th, 2010).

Curriculum maps, thus, were ubiquitous at the time of designing instruction.

Date: 11/25/10		ELP Level:	
Grammar (DSI) focus: Grammar _____ minutes			
EDL Lesson Title: Math WK16 Lesson 10.4 Day 4.			Grade: 2
Level 2			
Key Vocabulary: Regroup		Higher Order Thinking (HOT) Questions: Why will knowing how to regroup help you to subtract 2-digit numbers?	
Connections to Prior Knowledge/Building Background: Yesterday, we practiced using regrouping strategies to solve subtraction problems. Today we are going to continue to use our knowledge of regrouping to continue to subtract one and two digit numbers.			
Content Objectives: Students will write subtraction problems by showing how to take them from horizontal to their vertical form	Meaningful Activities Math Review: Order from least to greatest: 54, 36, 63, 45. Count back/What rule 67, 63, 59, __, __, __. Teacher model how to solve subtraction problems by regrouping. Teacher model how to rewrite a subtraction problem from its horizontal to its vertical form. Teacher model this with several problems	Review and Assessment	

Figure 5. Curriculum map for ELLs, front page.

A closer look at the actual curriculum map provided further insight about how this way to go about curriculum was informed by Taylorism. Curriculum

mapping provided teachers not just the material artifact of the actual curriculum map (see Figure 5), but also tools for thinking about curriculum and quality. Curriculum maps were divided into various sections that signal important components of the lesson. It contributed to providing a professional vision for teachers by *highlighting* (Goodwin, 1994b) certain aspects of a lesson. The entire context of a lesson is a perceptual field. Goodwin (1994a, 1994b) pointed out professionals use certain methods “to divide a domain of scrutiny into figure and a ground, so that events relevant to the activity of that moment stand out” (Goodwin, 1994a, p. 610). In this way, “the structures of relevance in the material environment can be made prominent, thus becoming ways of shaping not only one's perception but also that of others” (p. 610).

The highlighted structures of relevance in the curriculum maps were represented in the above figure with bold headings in each box, such as the level of English proficiency (ELP), the lesson title of the standard, the grade level, the content objective, and the meaningful activities, and the assessment among others. When thinking about the lesson, thus, teachers were supposed to attend to the aspects highlighted in the curriculum maps. So, instead of control being from management to teachers it was built into the impersonal technology of curriculum maps, which highlighted important aspects to which a professional teacher needed to pay attention when planning and conducting a lesson.

For instance, the heading of “ELD lesson title” did not have a content title (e.g., multiplication facts) but a set code that indicated the week, the day, and the lesson code: “WK16 Lesson 10.4 Day 4.” This highlighted and defined for the

teacher a category of relevance: specific content that was divided in smaller manageable chunks so that they could be assigned to specific days.

Curriculum maps highlighted a vision of professionalism to school staff in which predetermined content such as state standards were broken down into smaller units so that they can be distributed through daily lesson plans. These chunks of content were transformed into behavioral objectives as one of the fields of the curriculum map (see Figure 5). In this case, the objective was: “students will rewrite subtraction problems by showing how to take them from a horizontal to their vertical format.” This provided the teacher a preselected knowledge that needed to be transmitted to in the form of a specific behavioral objective, which in turned was transformed into a set of activities, assessments and prior knowledge needed to perform the behavioral objectives. Interestingly, the area titled "connections to prior knowledge/building background” highlighted to the teacher what needed to be recalled as prior knowledge. This prior knowledge was not any experience of students, but only the knowledge acquired on the previous lesson, which highlighted to the teacher that school knowledge has a higher status than students’ experiences.

All these structures of relevance, thus, highlighted a process that transformed standards into practice. Curriculum maps, thus, aimed to make natural a rather “magical” change. Popkewitz (2002; 2003) called this the *alchemy of curriculum*. He explained, “the alchemy provides a particular translation vehicle that stabilizes academic knowledge in order to make the child as the site of administration” (Popkewitz, 2003, p. 40). Curriculum maps highlighted certain structures of relevance to provide teachers the means to transform content into pedagogy. Obscured in this transformation, is the fact that this kind of curriculum development is more

concerned with regulating the conduct of teachers and students than on creating learning activities. Note that the structures of relevance of curriculum maps are mostly concerned with behaviors that teachers and students need to produce. This is, thus, an effort to steer students' and teachers' professional identities.

In this regard, Apple (2009) reminds us that this form of curriculum development –Taylorism- is dominated by a technological perspective that aims to find the best means to transmit pre-chosen content. The alchemy of curriculum maps is more concerned with the inculcation of certain knowledge than with student learning. This form of curriculum design that elicits a predetermined content is a form of social and cultural control, and a means of distribution of economic and political stratification (Apple, 2009). It treats knowledge as things – as commodities. In this vision, the schools are in the business of maximizing the production of technical and cultural commodities. The selection of this knowledge, however, is a value-charged decision that selects some knowledge from a larger universe of possible knowledge (Apple, 2009). This brings the critical questions of what is legitimate knowledge? And whose knowledge is that and who have access to this knowledge and make it available to others?

Early curriculum developers such as Bobbit were concerned with social control (Callahan, 1969) and as I explained earlier they were highly influenced by scientific management. Education was seen as an essential element in the preservation of existent structures of social privilege maintained at the expense of less powerful groups (Apple, 2009). The hegemonic purpose of making the knowledge of the few based on certain cultural and economic values into a knowledge consciousness that is shared by all was achieved by the work of schools as

they distributed particular knowledge commodities to their students. The main goal, thus, was the creation of the homogeneous community and to foster social integration, which aimed to assimilate and homogenize students with diverse ethnic and linguistic background and abilities.

It is not a surprise that this form of curriculum development that acts as a form of social control to homogenize diverse communities was implemented in the Rio Grande District which is in a region that has been flooded with anti-immigrant sentiments. It reflects a neoconservative movement towards a romantic past of high standards and real knowledge that is based on the cultural values of the dominant culture (Apple, 2001).

Team-based curriculum development. The control of the curriculum also incorporated elements of PLCs. In Desert Pride and Green Valley, teachers worked in grade level teams to decide when and how the content (i.e., state standards) would be taught. Liz, the site professor at Desert Pride, noted: “Team meetings are occurring with administration and coaches regarding the next steps in curricular planning. Teacher teams are expected to put their maps together now for science and social studies” (Liz’s field note, March 24th, 2010).

This was an effort to establish a collaborative and flat management structure intended to distribute responsibility and accountability across teachers. Teachers worked with their grade level team to complement and rearrange the order of the scripted curriculum in order to match the specific standard that was supposed to be taught that day:

Whereas some [grade team] will decide, "We're gonna do Harcourt for four weeks, take a week off, and do this text, and then we're

gonna do Harcourt for another, and take a week off, and then –" or like Thanksgiving week, parent-teacher conference, we're just not gonna teach Harcourt those weeks cuz it's crazy. It doesn't make sense to teach it for two days, and so we're gonna bring – so it's just how they decide to use it [...] The other thing the maps did, before it was Harcourt page one, and you taught page one, page two. Now you can just pick any story you want at random, if it meets the skills that are in the map. (Interview with Beth, June 4th, 2010)

Once the teachers of a grade level team had designed their units according to the curriculum maps and the scripted curriculum, they were supposed to be teaching the same lesson on the same day and in the same way. As Carmen put it, "I want to walk from one classroom to the other and hear that teachers are finishing each other's sentences," or as Beth expressed:

I'm not gonna be the curriculum map police, but you have to have fidelity to your map. If it's outside of the map, everything in that map better have been taught for the day it needed to be taught, and then you can do whatever else in addition to that. (Interview, December 13th, 2010)

Team based structures were an effort to provide a mechanism for achieving consensus on the standardization of the curriculum. Once consensus was achieved among the team, it was used to homogenize the grade level team's instruction. Interestingly, some elements of PLCs such as peer collaboration for developing curriculum were incorporated but restrained by the curriculum maps and by the requirement to comply with the grade level team decisions. The goal, thus, was to

create a consensus among the grade level team so that quality could be standardized according to district and state mandates. Peer collaboration was used on this identity technology to enforce standardization and homogenization of practice. Trina, a language coach at Desert Pride, stated that this made better teachers:

We have, and I think that our practices are getting tighter, and we're honing our skills a little bit more, so that we are becoming better practitioners. We're not as—we're narrowing exactly, and we're being very specific about what needs to be taught, whereas, before I think that generally we would say, okay, well, I'm gonna teach math, for example, and I'm gonna do it this way. Now, we're getting everyone in the pod doing the same thing. So, everyone's planning together. So, everyone is on the same page. (Interview, December 16th, 2010)

Trina expressed the importance of having all teachers being on the same page. Curriculum maps were on *their face*- something that they could not escape from. It controlled and standardized quality and homogenized teachers practice telling them what needed to be taught in the classroom to ensure quality. The definition of the curriculum through the use of curriculum maps, thus, bridged otherwise disjointed forms of participation. Teachers did not participate in the making of these curriculum maps, but they were able to use them in grade level teams to achieve homogeneous instruction across the grade level and a standard quality that could be compared across classrooms. It was an assurance that all students have equal access to quality education.

In addition, the team based instruction aimed to create accountability within the grade level team:

Carmen: It's like quality management.

Interviewer: In quality management?

Carmen: I teach and I'm doing this and I'm doing all this work in teaching but my partner or my peer in the same grade level isn't doing all of those things, how come?

Interviewer: What happened?

Carmen: They put that pressure on each other. The question is to me, it's always directed to me, and I'm like, have you talked to your team? If you're planning together why isn't there similar things? Why isn't there a certain level amongst everyone? (Interview, March 15th, 2010)

The implementation of PLCs during the use of curriculum maps brought a new form of control that was not only enforced by the administration, but by peer control. The organization of grade level teams aimed to get teachers to keep each other accountable for implementing the curriculum as planned in the grade level team meeting. It aimed to get teachers to survey each other so that they may become executors of quality; so that everyone was making sure that their teammates were complying with accountability, standard and PLCs reforms.

The use of grade level team structures was an effort to bring organizational structures related to the new capitalism (Gee et al., 1996). These organizational structures require devolution of responsibilities to teachers and implementation of

team structures. This included not only the use of grade level teams to translate curriculum maps into practice but also the use of these teams to evaluate quality displays and plans for improvement, as I showed when examining quality displays as an identity technology. The main point, however, was that the development of teams that was supposed to give more flexibility to teachers was used to advance an institutional agenda. Rather than *de-regulation* it was *re-regulation*. Not the abandonment of the control of the curriculum by the administration, but the formation of a new form of control that relied on grade level teams to execute institutional agendas. That is, they acted as a form of governmentality (Foucault, 1988), to get teachers to be more efficient and effective in meeting accountability and standard based policies while attempting to implement PLCs. In this regard, the effort to flatten hierarchal structures, provide flexibility, and empower teachers was just a medium to achieve, paradoxically, the opposite: to strengthen the alignment of teachers' practices to district and state mandates.

Curriculum maps, thus, were key material artifacts that served to coordinate the common vision of professionalism across classrooms and the schools of the district, affording teachers to adopt professional identities that were aligned with state's and district's policies (i.e., Standard policies and PLCs). In this sense, curriculum maps translated and connected the education ideologies of the state to the district and sequentially to the school and teachers' practices. Curriculum maps, thus, provided teachers with tools to execute quality in their work. That is, it was an artifact that mediated the alignment between the teachers' practice and the state's standards, ensuring that all students have access to quality education as defined by the district and state.

Controlling the curriculum through the use of curriculum mapping, however, was not the only identity technology that provided mediational tools to teachers to become quality controllers and executors. The supervision and evaluation of teacher through micro-disciplinary practices such as “walk-throughs” contributed to build the TQM-like vision of professionalism using a more direct form of control.

Micro-disciplinary practices. Micro-disciplinary practices involved procedures of close surveillance that enabled the administration to identify and correct gaps between teachers’ practices and district mandates. It coordinated the actions of teachers across classrooms and time, providing a list of performances that were thought by the district to increase the alignment of teachers’ practices with standard and accountability reforms. This identity technology involved the language coach – impersonating the district and the school- using the Walk Through and Teacher Reflection Instrument (WITRI) (see Figure 6) to evaluate and supervise teachers.

This form consisted of a list of valued performances that were considered to be effective by the administration. A list is an interesting genre. They “are descriptive structures that center on categories and category members” (Schiffrin, 1994, p. 291). In the case of the walk-through form, these categories were students’ engagement, direct instruction, pacing, and so forth. Interestingly, evaluations are part of the construction process of a list (Schiffrin, 1994). Though evaluative statements are not characteristic of the internal structures of lists, an evaluation process based on a particular value system was used to select some tools for teacher and learning over others. The walk-through form, thus, was a statement of value about teaching and learning- about what it means to be a professional teacher.

Walk Through and Teacher Reflection Instrument		
<p>Student Engagement</p> <input type="checkbox"/> Whole group, small group, individual <input type="checkbox"/> _____ of _____ students engaged _____ % <input type="checkbox"/> Students engagement mandatory by ensuring that 85% or more of students are engaged throughout academic learning	<p>Vocabulary/Comprehension</p> <input type="checkbox"/> Essential vocabulary taught during the lesson. <input type="checkbox"/> Students ask/answer questions about words, talk about meanings, use new words. <input type="checkbox"/> Students write new words and process meanings. <input type="checkbox"/> Teachers share word meanings in multiple ways.	<p>Strengths</p>
<p>Direct Instruction</p> <input type="checkbox"/> Instruction is appropriate to grade level standards and objectives <input type="checkbox"/> Instructional materials are districted adopted curriculum. <input type="checkbox"/> Standards and/or daily objectives are communicated to all students. <input type="checkbox"/> Connects previous learning to new learning. <input type="checkbox"/> Provides explicit teaching and modeling. <input type="checkbox"/> Provides meaningful practice after instruction. <input type="checkbox"/> Checks for understanding individually for all students.	<p>Critical Thinking</p> <input type="checkbox"/> Enhance thinking- teach, re-teach, based on students responses. <input type="checkbox"/> Bloom taxonomy- higher level divergent. <input type="checkbox"/> Bloom taxonomy- lower level convergent	<p>Refinements</p>
<p>Pacing</p> <input type="checkbox"/> Pacing throughout transitions, explanations, direct instruction, question and practices. <input type="checkbox"/> Keeps lesson moving to avoid slowdown, stay on track with the lesson by avoiding digressions.	<p>Differentiated Instruction</p> <input type="checkbox"/> Monitors and adjust instruction. <input type="checkbox"/> Specific immediate feedback to students <input type="checkbox"/> Students interactions and discussions are related to learning. <input type="checkbox"/> Small group instruction based on students learning.	<p>Notes</p>
<p>Environment</p> <input type="checkbox"/> Literacy rich environment <input type="checkbox"/> Acknowledge effort <input type="checkbox"/> Climate of fairness, caring and respect. <input type="checkbox"/> Teachers maintains standards and control. <input type="checkbox"/> Safe and orderly- standards for behavior <input type="checkbox"/> Organized environment <input type="checkbox"/> High quality work display.	<p>Date</p>	

Figure 6. Walk Through and Teacher Reflection Instrument

Micro-disciplinary practices, thus, were not only constituted by the materiality of the WITRI artifact, but also by a combination of certain tools for thinking about being a professional selected in the list, such as *making teaching public to the evaluation gaze*, *being continuously active*, and *instructionism*. Requiring teachers to engage with these tools for thinking and doing was an institutional investment so that teachers could become quality executors.

Making teaching public to the evaluation gaze. To ensure quality performances, teachers needed to be closely managed using micro-disciplinary practices— systems of monitoring and surveillance that produced certain measures of teacher quality (Ball, 2003). In the schools, micro-disciplinary practices took the form of walkthroughs in which teachers were evaluated in their capacity to follow and be aligned with school district guidance about effective practice, including following the

curriculum maps sanctioned by grade level teams. Walk-throughs were conducted daily in the schools by either the language coach or the principal who walked into the classroom and evaluated the teacher using the district's WTTTRI form (see Figure 6). After the principal or coordinator observed the lesson, they engaged in a conversation with the teacher about what practices indicated in the WTTTRI were followed and which ones needed adjustment. It was by engaging with these valued practices that teachers were expected to become effective quality executors. These performances were based on the alignment between teachers' practices and educational reforms such as standards, accountability, PLCs.

To ensure the production of quality performances, classroom doors needed to be open as Beth, the principal at Green Valley, said:

I think it changes the game a little bit from that standpoint, whereas probably before, "If I taught it this way, it worked, so I'll teach it again this way next year," because again, they're in isolation. You see a lot more when someone's watching you. You pick up on all kinds of things. (Interview, June 4th, 2010)

The walk-throughs served to open classroom doors for examination, portraying teaching as a public act that was subject to the evaluation gaze. It was an act of discipline in which the administration of the school aimed to produce teachers who are docile and capable (Foucault, 1978) of engaging with what the district considered effective practices. Take for instance the following quote from Carmen, the principal at Desert Pride, when talking about teachers who were not meeting the expectations of the school.

They are not people who want to do it because it's the right thing to do, they're here to do a job and its minimalist's ideal. Those are the people that it's not enough to say this is a kid in your classroom, this is about their life, and this is about their future. Those people are not motivated by that. They do the minimum to stay off of the radar, if you will, but you can see in academic achievement they're minimalists, because the kids are not achieving where they can. Those are the people that you do—you spend your time in and out of their room three, four, five times a day because if you don't they're not performing. (Interview, March 15th, 2010)

Management procedures in the form of evaluation, as indicated in the above quote, ensured that teachers were performing and increasing the academic achievement of their students. It is worth noting, in addition, the metaphor of the radar. Systems of evaluation were seen as a radar that teachers were trying to avoid so that their performances stayed out of the evaluation gaze. The radar, however, needed to be monitoring teachers and sometimes at increasing rates to ensure quality performances. Carmen, in addition, connected these performances with students' achievements: "the kids are not achieving where they can." The assumption, thus, was that the performance of certain teachers increased the academic achievement of students. The evaluation of teachers, in part, aimed to align teachers' practices with standard and accountability based reforms.

Embedded in Carmen's quote there is also an assumption that some teachers are *minimalists* while others are not. The job of the principal and the language coach was to survey particularly those minimalist teachers and enforce certain

organizational and administrative practices so that quality was ensured and with it equitable outcomes as yielded by state assessments scores. The walk-throughs, thus, had a corrective function that aimed to reduce the gaps between teacher performances and district mandates. Teachers were observed, evaluated, and corrected daily. As Kim, the language coach, declared:

I do this every day.

Interviewer: Every day in each classroom?

Kim: I do this in—I really focus in on the kindergarten teachers, but with my teachers, I do this every day. They get a form every single day. What I try to do is if I see a refinement that I can model immediately, I do it. I don't stick this in their boxes. It's something I hand—I hand this to them. Really, I stop instruction. If they're in a small group, I'll say, "Wow, I really noticed today you did blah-blah-blah-blah great," so I'm very specific—I describe the behavior that I'm seeing—"however, next time, when you do this piece of it, you might wanna try this."

Interviewer: You say you stop—you think the teachers in a small group would—

Kim: I'll stop and I'll just kind of—you know what, it depends. If it's something that needs immediate correction and feedback, I tell them. Right there, I'll

stop it. I'll go in and I'll do it for them so they can see.

Walkthroughs were conducted every day. Their corrective function was achieved, in part, by repetition and insistence. Note also that they involved more than just an evaluation. Kim expressed that she would stop instruction to correct the teacher.

This was also confirmed by Carmen:

This is what I'm seeing, so let's do this because it's really about kids and this is not helping them, and this is not being effective, so let's try this. I'll get up and do it myself or say, let's do this. I think they're more receptive now to that happening. It's just on-the-spot coaching. We don't have time to talk about what you should have done later. (Interview, June 9th, 2010)

As stated by Kim and Carmen, the examination created a hierarchical relationship between the administration and the teachers in which the latter ones were positioned as objects of evaluation and normalization. There was no time to wait, as Carmen said— correction needed to be immediate and repetitive. The goal of this correction was to homogenize teachers' work by transmitting a vision of professionalism indexed in the WTTRI form. This form specified performances according to a number of general categories (e.g., engagement, direct instruction, pacing, etc) that all teachers needed to enact. These categories served as a field of comparison: teachers' current performance vs. an ideal goal toward which all teachers needed to move. Differences were a threat to the alignment between teachers' performances and educational reforms. In other words, the walk-throughs normalized teachers.

The walk-throughs, thus, were highly ritualized examinations in which the language coaches or the principals aimed to normalize the evaluation gaze (Foucault, 1978). The repetitiveness of this evaluation imposed on teachers a “principle of compulsory visibility” (Foucault, 1978, p. 187). Teaching was supposed to be a public act in which teachers needed to be constantly seen, disciplining teachers so that they would engage with the practices that the district considered effective. Teachers were provided through walk-through evaluations a way of thinking about their profession: a fragment of a vision of professionalism.

Thinking of teaching as a public act subject to the evaluation gaze was not the only tool for thinking afforded to teacher residents through micro-disciplinary practices such as walk-throughs. I turn now to describe two other mediational tools afforded through micro-disciplinary practices: *being visually engaged* and *instructionism*.

Being visually engaged as quality teaching and learning. Another way of thinking about being a professional teacher provided to teachers through walk-throughs was that quality teaching and learning involved being constantly active and busy. To unpack this way of thinking that was indexed in the WTTTRI – and also instructionism in the following section-, I drew from the concept of *coding schemes* (Goodwin, 1994a, 1994b, 2002). Coding schemes are a “systematic practice used to transform the world into the categories and events that are relevant to the work of the profession” (Goodwin, 1994, p. 608).

In the case of the dialogues between the language coaches and the teacher residents after a walkthrough, a coding scheme served to transform the classroom and events into objects of knowledge (Goodwin, 1994a) that became the insignia of

the professional vision that teachers needed to adopt. Let me use Kim's description of how the WTTRI form became alive in their dialogue with teachers to illustrate how a coding scheme served to contribute to a vision of professionalism in which quality teaching and learning involved being constantly active and visually engaged:

Interviewer: I would like, if you can, to walk me through it, and the things that you look in each of these boxes and the kind of conversations that you have with teachers when you go with this.

Kim: Okay. Well, the ones that we really focus on is right here. We focus really on this part [she points to the first three boxes on the right side of the form]. Student engagement, we're looking for students to be—at least 85 percent of their class to be engaged in learning, so that means if they're doing whole group instruction, they're on the carpet, they have whiteboards, or they're partner sharing or, you know, thumbs up/thumbs down. They're constantly engaged. If they're at their tables, working at their desk, everybody is on task doing what's expected. If they're working at a station or a center activity, everybody's focusing—they're on task on the activity that they're doing and they're having academic conversation about what's going on. This is just 100 percent engagement, of learning engagement.

Interviewer: You actually count it?

Kim: Mm-hmm, I count it. I calculate it and I give this feedback to teachers. (Interview with Kim, language coach at Desert Pride, conducted on December 13th 2010)

In this quote, Kim referred to the first box of the form titled “student engagement.” Kim used a coding scheme to examine student engagement in classrooms in order to evaluate teachers’ professional performance. In doing so, she reduced the events that signal student engagement to observable and concrete behaviors such as having white boards, being seated on the carpet, working at their desk, and so forth. She narrowed the concept of engagement to a set of parameters that could be quantified.

Though Kim engaged in an active cognitive work, the parameters of that work had been already established by the WTTTRI. As Goodwin (1994) pointed out:

the coding scheme establishes an orientation toward the world, it constitutes a structure of intentionality whose proper locus is not an isolated, Cartesian mind but a much larger organizational system, one that is characteristically mediated through mundane bureaucratic documents such as forms. (p. 609)

The coding scheme, thus, facilitated the quantification of student engagement and therefore the evaluation of teachers. It facilitated the symbolic transformation from certain observable student behaviors into engagement percentages, and from engagement percentages to an evaluation of teachers. It reduced a complex perceptual field such as the social ecology of a classroom so that Kim, an evaluator, could make meaning out of that situation. Yet, in doing so it ignores the breadth of

engagements through which students participate overtime- the trajectory of their participation as they work within the community of the classroom (Lave & Wenger, 1991).

It must be noted also that engagement is a performance described in the WTTRI form as “mandatory.” In this regard, Trina, the site professor at Green Valley, stated: “that’s about the student engagement. We’re looking when we’re going through our walk-through forms—we’re looking to see if they’re making it mandatory for all of them” (Interview, December 13th, 2010). Increasing student engagement was a district wide goal and the WTTRI was used to ensure that teachers followed this mandate. Using this coding scheme transformed students’ behaviors into percentages, allowing school and district officials to evaluate whether students’ engagement benchmarks were met. This mundane bureaucratic form, thus, advanced a vision of professionalism that was needed to comply with district mandates. Teachers needed to be constantly engaging students as this reflected effective professional practice according to the WTTRI.

Let me highlight the last sentence of the last quote in which the language coach positioned herself as someone that keeps teachers from being “off.” It is interesting that the coding scheme embedded in the WTTRI oriented the language coaches’ scrutiny, in this case Kim, to identify effective teaching as ongoing teacher and student engagement which needed to be observable to the evaluation gaze. The vision of professionalism advanced by the coding schemes in this form required teachers to be busy and actively engaged, always performing, always controlling, and monitoring students. This was also reflected when Kim continued to describe the third box of the WTTRI form titled “pacing”:

Pacing, we look at. How is the pacing? This is really big for transitions. We don't want a three-minute transition between subjects so we look at that a lot too because if you go too fast, oftentimes, children aren't learning; if you go too slow, they're not engaged. (Interview, December 13th, 2010)

Pacing was another area the district wanted to focus on. It is related to being efficient with teaching time. As the language coach stated, three-minute transitions were too slow and lost students' attention. There was a principle of non-idleness, as wasting time was forbidden. Teachers were required to exhaust every minute, every second of the school day. This meant that teachers needed to intensify their teaching time as "if time, in its very fragmentation, were inexhaustible or as if, at least by an ever more detailed internal arrangement, one could tend towards an ideal point in which one maintained maximum efficiency" (Foucault, 1978, p. 154).

Let me add here that the first break that the students and teachers had since school began in the morning was lunchtime. Teachers and students were required to work from morning to noon with little stop. They all needed to be actively performing with no pauses. That meant that students and teachers were required to perform with minimal stops for over a three-hour period. In this regard, it was evident an *intensification* of teachers' work (Apple, 1986; Hargreaves, 1994)(Apple, 1986; 2009; Hargreaves, 1994). There was no time during the day for doing other than the sequence of academic tasks that were chained like a long rosary and that, as the district mandated, should be practiced at perfect pacing – not too slow and not too fast.

The coding scheme embedded in the WTTTRI systematically transformed and classified teachers' continuous active performances into effective teaching. This preference for certain performances indicated what was valued in the TQM-like discourse: the continued performance of teachers and students that resulted in a close alignment to the knowledge and practices valued by capitalism: effectiveness, efficiency, and intensive work and production. The coding scheme guided the evaluators' gaze to manage teachers into becoming the executors of quality performances. I turn now to another mediational tool that was provided to teachers during walk-throughs, namely instructionism.

Instructionism. Another tool for thinking about teaching and learning that was transmitted through micro-disciplinary practices was instructionism. Borrowing from Sawyer (2006), I referred to instructionism as the traditional vision of schooling in which knowledge is a collection of facts about the world and procedures about how to go about certain problems; schools should aim to get this knowledge and these procedures inside the students' head while teachers are the processors and transmitters of these facts and procedures. This transmission is sequential and progressive, starting from simple facts of procedures to more complex ones. The success of teachers and schools is determined by whether the students can repeat back those facts and procedures when being tested (Sawyer, 2006).

Instructionism was reflected in the coding scheme provided by the WTTTRI. That is, the great majority of items listed in the WTTTRI that guided the evaluator gaze to identify quality professional performance were based on assumptions guided by instructionism. Direct instruction, for instance, was the preferred way of teaching and it was one of the performances that the teachers were evaluated on during walk-

throughs. It was another district mandate that needed to be monitored. Kim described how she evaluated direct instruction using the WTTTRI form:

The next area is direct instruction. Direct instruction is when the teacher is in front of the class teaching, it could be a whole group or it could also be a small group. The different components we look for: Is the instruction appropriate to the grade level standard? Are they using district-adopted materials? Are they stating their objectives? Are they focusing on grade level standards? Are they connecting previous learning to new learning? Are they providing explicit teaching and modeling? This is would be the “I do, we do, you do,” kinda process of that. The teacher actually does the teaching, and then they have a practice together and then it’s individual—and then provides meaningful practice after instruction, also just checking for understanding. Oftentimes, teachers forget that part. They think, “Oh, I’ve taught it. I’ve delivered the information. Now, I’m off.”
(Interview, December 13th, 2010)

The WTTTRI, again, provided also the coding scheme to identify quality teaching. It oriented the way Kim saw teachers’ performances, placing these performances under the scrutiny of an expert frame of reference and making them objects of knowledge (Goodwin, 1994b). It oriented Kim’s gaze in a complex event towards certain teachers’ concrete behaviors such as using district adopted materials and/or scripted curriculum, stating their objectives to the students, and modeling for the students, among others. These behaviors signaled the use of direct instruction, and therefore, professional conduct. Note that these behaviors privileged teacher led instruction

such as being in front of the class delivering content, using district adopted materials (i.e., Harcourt scripted curriculum), and providing explicit modeling about certain procedures.

Note, in addition, that direct instruction served to align teachers' practices with curriculum maps, and therefore state standards. Part of engaging with direct instruction, as Kim stated, was to state the objectives of the lesson, which as I observed in many of the lessons, students were also required to state. This pointed out that teachers were required to be in high control of the delivery of content that came from curriculum maps. Instructionism, as a tool for thinking, served to control teachers and students so that they were delivering and getting the "right stuff." The "right stuff", as I mentioned in the discussion of curriculum maps, was based on a narrow view of knowledge that represented the dominant culture.

The Brazilian educator and scholar Paulo Freire (1993) gives some insight on this matter by referring to the *banking concept of education*. Freire expressed that *the banking concept of education* qualifies the student as a mere consumer of the teacher's performance; the educator deposits knowledge in the students, and therefore education becomes an investment for the dominant group and their knowledge. The students receive, memorize, and repeat the knowledge delivered by the teacher. The better teachers are, the better they fill the students. The more students permit themselves to be filled, the better students they are. Freire (1993) expressed, "In the banking concept of education, knowledge is a gift bestowed by those who consider themselves knowledgeable upon those whom they consider to know nothing" (p. 72).

It is interesting that though the TQM-like discourse has been historically concerned with quality, making students competitive in the labor market, and developing knowledgeable workers (Ball, 1998), it ended regulating practices in a way that diminish creativity and innovation. Regarding the limitations of instructionism, Sawyer (2006) pointed out:

in the knowledge economy, memorization of facts and procedures it is not enough for success. Educated graduates needed deep conceptual understanding of complex concepts, and ability to work with them creatively to generate new ideas, new theories, new products, and new knowledge. (p. 2)

The TQM-like discourse's fetishism with a concrete, controllable, and quantifiable view of quality ended up narrowing the possibilities of deep and innovative learning.

Performativity. Performativity is the third identity technology of the TQM-like discourse (see Figure 4) and it refers to a technology that includes judgments, displays of data (or we could also say displays of quality), and comparisons as vehicles for controlling quality performances, correcting errors, and changing practice (Ball, 2003). I used this term in regards to their identity work, focusing on the tools for thinking that this technology conveyed to teachers so that they could become quality controllers.

Performativity represented teaching and learning through the production of quality indicators that on the one hand had an exchange value, i.e., they were self-referential and were produced to be exchanged and inspected. On the other hand, they had a use value, that is, they were produced so that teachers can come together as grade level teams to sort students and assign different kinds of instruction

according to students' ability so that errors in performances could be corrected. Respectively, performativity, as an identity technology, conveyed two mediational tools for thinking about teaching: as a *quantifiable and auditable commodity* and as an act of *ability profiling*. Requiring teachers to engage with these thinking tools, thus, was an institutional investment so that teachers could become quality executors. I turn now to discuss these ways for thinking and how they were conveyed through the use of quality displays in their institutions.

Teaching and learning as a quantifiable and auditable commodity. The use of graphic displays of quality to judge performance conveyed to teachers that teaching was a quantifiable and auditable commodity that could be objectively inspected and corrected. By a commodity, I refer to a product produced by teachers and administrators, which is outside them and that satisfies the wants of, in this case, the administration of the school and the district (Marx & Engels, 1906). As I showed in this section, the production and use of quality displays reduced teaching to a self-referential commodity that was produced in order to be exchange and inspected. The audits and inspections were exercised by both administrators and teachers themselves. In this tool for thinking about teaching, data were neutral and objective and served to point out gaps, justified the discipline of teachers, and set up benchmarks for quality appraisal.

Graphic displays of quality were ubiquitous on both schools. "It's posted in their classrooms, and then it's posted in the data room, so it's pretty hard to ignore it anymore," Beth said. Indeed, there was the requirement in both schools for the production and display of information and monitoring systems:

In a wall located right after the entry hall of Desert Pride there was a bulletin board containing separate sheets of paper that had bar graphs of each teacher's classroom performance as indicated by DIBELS and two other computer-based state-wide tests that evaluated students' reading comprehension and math skills. (Researcher field note, March 15th, 2010)

District year benchmarks were also posted in every classroom, the staff room, and hallways (see Figure 7). In addition, teachers were required to graph their own data and posted in the classroom. As Beth stated: "Cuz the kids graph the results, and the teachers graph the results...I made them all sign a silly little 'I will be timely with my data.' 'I will have it turned this year.'" (Interview, December 13th, 2010)

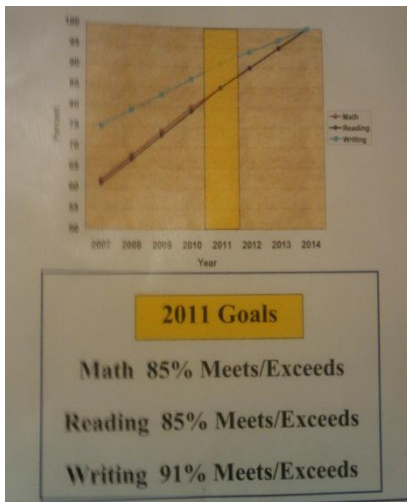


Figure 7. District goals displayed in each classroom, staff rooms, and hallways.

Though there were many graphic displays of quality, I focus my analysis on the use of the larger and more comprehensive display: a room located adjacent to Green Valley's staff lunch room with walls covered from floor to ceiling with displays of each teacher and grade level performances in DIBELS and other state

accountability related assessments (see Figure 8). School staff referred to this room as the *data room* and each wall was called a *data wall*.

These data walls used their distinctive characteristics of material world to organize symbolic displays of quality (Goodwin, 1994a; 1994b). Figure eight shows how these walls were divided into columns and rows. Each column represented a classroom, while each row represented the classification schemata of the DIBELS, i.e., intensive, strategic and at benchmark. Each piece of paper on the wall represented a student and his/her history of DIBELS scores. Each piece of paper that represented a student's score were move up down the rows of the data wall according to changes in their DIBELS scores. The arrangement of these pieces of paper provided a visual representation of each teacher's quality as the viewer could get a quick idea of who the teacher was of students who were not meeting benchmarks.



Figure 8. Data wall at Green Valley Elementary

Goodwin (1994a) reminded us of the central importance of graphic representations in the making of a professional vision: “instead of mirroring spoken

language, these graphical representations complement it, using the distinctive characteristics of the material world to organize phenomena in ways spoken language cannot” (p. 611). Graphic displays such as the ones observed in the data room spoke more than words, and did a job that verbal language could not have done: they collected a wide range of students’ performances onto a relative small surface, transforming them into quality displays that indicated the performativity worth of teachers (Ball, 2003; Goodwin, 1994).

In order to transform teaching and learning performances into auditable quality displays, the work of teachers needed to become an exchange-value commodity. As Beth explained in an interview:

After a while data speaks for itself, and, you know, ‘Well you’re here and all the rest of your peers are here.’ Okay. You know, and you gave them all the same assessment so it wasn’t different questions, and it wasn’t different information. (June 4th, 2010)

The principal simulates talking to a teacher and telling her that the data indicated that she was below her peers. The data from students’ DIBELS scores, thus, were a common indicator that transformed teaching into an exchange-value commodity— As Marx (1906) stated, “as use value, commodities are, above all, of different qualities, but as exchange value is primarily different quantities” (p. 35) of equal measures. Giving the same question and the same information- to paraphrase Beth- transformed all students and teachers’ performances into a common indicator— DIBELS scores, while it took care of equity concerns—after all, equal treatment equates justice for all. This converted- or better said, reduced- a complex and heterogeneous social phenomenon, such as student learning, into simple numbers

that formed figures and graphics. It erased from the graphic display much of the clutter that the multiple factors that shape teachers and students performances, facilitating inspection and comparison of teachers' performances. In order to be inspected, they summarized teachers' performances into auditable commodities that were produced.

It is also important to highlight that the data wall was treated as an objective and neutral indicator of quality. Note how the principal eliminates other possible explanations for teacher's performance by stating that all the questions and information in the test was the same across those grade level classrooms; as she said, "data speaks for itself" and later "You know, and you gave them all the same assessment so it wasn't different questions, and it wasn't different information." They were an objective device to identify and make teachers aware of those irregularities and deficiencies. There is an underlying assumption that these assessments can be objective and trustable if these variables are controlled, ignoring the complex social and political contexts across classrooms.

This objectivity contributed to the use of comparisons and corrections. The words *here* and *there* in Beth's quote, furthermore, indicated a place on the data wall in relationship to peers. So, as soon a student's DIBELS score got produced, they never stood alone, but rather they always stood in relation to all the other scores. Scores were produced to be examined and compared; their value was relational to all the other student scores on the data wall. The value of these scores had little meaning until its place on the wall indicated its' standing with other students' scores and the performance of the corresponding teacher. Quality displays, thus, facilitated quality comparisons and appraisal among teachers.

In addition, quality displays served as moments of inspection and correction, as the Beth put it when talking about the use of the data wall, to *iron kinks*:

so trying to get rid of some of those obstacles. I think we've done a pretty good job of ironing out some of those kinks, so next year it's really just setting that precedence from day one that, "This is how we are doing business and it's expected that you do," and just dealing with those people that will make it difficult. (Interview, June 4th, 2010)

In the above quote, data serves as a rationalization for correcting teachers' practices. Note the metaphor of *ironing kinks* that was a repetitive linguistic device that this principal used when referring to managing teachers. Ironing kinks refers to getting rid of irregularities and deficiencies in teachers' practices. Yet, Beth also expressed that the administration's intention with the displays of data was to help teachers to become better teachers rather than evaluate them:

I keep trying to, you know, this is not evaluative. I don't walk into your classroom and look at your graph and go, "Oh, my gosh. What happened to your class?" I look at it and say, "How can I support you?" Or "Gosh, why do you think your kids missed those answers? Let's go talk to so-and-so because obviously something worked in that classroom, so let's go pull their materials and let's look at how we can teach it to your kids." (Interview, December 13th, 2010)

She admitted, however, that teachers took it differently:

But again, when I'm there talking about their math graph, sometimes it's this, "Beth is here evaluating me." I try to take that out so they

can be honest about those conversations, and sometimes I go because there are certain grade levels that I need to be there to keep them behaving. (Interview, December 13th, 2010)

Beth, in this quote, contradicted herself. First, she said that graphic displays served her to support and help teachers improve their practice. Yet, later she said that she needed to have that conversation to keep teachers behaving. Graphic displays, thus, had an ambiguous nature. On the one hand, they were supposed to not be evaluative and empowered teachers to improve their practice, and on the other hand, they had a punitive function that made teachers concerned about the graphic displays.

Transforming teaching into an auditable commodity, in addition, served the function of making teachers their own inspectors, correctors, and appraisers. Teachers were required to meet every Friday, organized in grade level teams, to look at their data in the data room and discuss how to intervene to increase their students' scores:

I made them sign a contract. We will meet. We will turn in minutes when we're not with the coaches or with our math consultant. [...]

They had to come up with team norms and turn those in.

Everything's been really structured, but because we did all that structure up front, again, those things are just, they're just doing what they're supposed to be doing. When they meet with coaches, they talk about DIBELS, and they talk about statewide assessments

(Interview with Beth, December 13th, 2010)

Trina, the language coach, elaborated on these meetings when I was interviewing her in the data room:

We all meet in here [data room] as a grade, and we have three coaches—myself and two other coaches. We take out data, and we kind of strategize what we can do to help these kids. That’s basically what we’ve been working on and stuff. This is the end product [pointing to the data wall](Interview, December 16th 2010)

These meetings represented school efforts to implement PLCs to connect standard, accountability, and PLC reforms. Beth stated: “we’re following the PLC which is the Professional Learning Community with the data that we’re doing; it’s really one and the same thing.” Performativity as an identity technology, thus, aimed to develop professional identities that could improve students’ scores in assessments through the use of the PLC.

Another key element of these meetings was teachers establishing their own benchmarks (see Figure 9). Trina told me pointing out to the columns in the data wall representing the 5th grade team:

If you can look down here, this is the fifth grade board here. At the very beginning of the year, they came in at 62 percent. What we did was, we met with the team and we asked them to have a goal in mind where they would want to be in the winter benchmark. So, they said that they wanted to be at 68 percent. They actually came in at 72 percent. So, they surpassed their goal and are doing extremely well. [...] So, that’s a huge percentage in growth there. Third grade—they surpassed their goal as well by seven percent. (Interview, December 16th 2010)

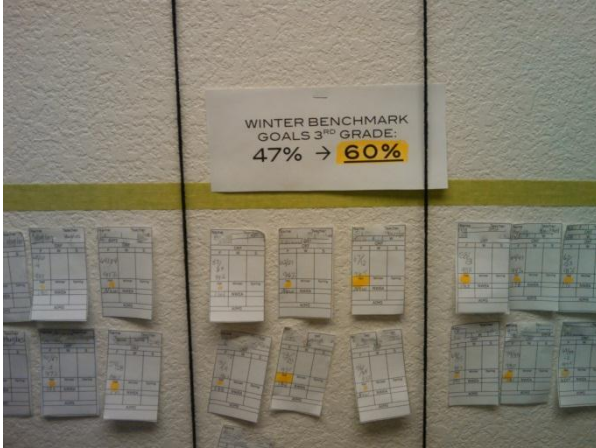


Figure 9. Grade level benchmarks and students information on data walls

The materiality and concreteness of these benchmarks provided the administration and teachers themselves the means to compare and evaluate the performances of teachers against a certain standard. There were tangible aids that marked a quantifiable horizon— an expectation about quality so that academic results could be improved and the school could deliver outcomes in a just-in-time fashion.

At first look, the Friday meetings in which teachers came together to evaluate and improve their performances may be seen as an empowering and self-actualizing process that enabled individuals and institutions to monitor and enhance their own effectiveness, performance and evaluate quality using targets and standards that they set for themselves. This may suggest that “auditing is open and participatory, enabling a process so non contentious and self-evidently positive that there is no logical reason for objection” (Shore & Wright, 1999, p. 557). Yet, it is also a form of coercion. It disguised the still hierarchical, paternalistic, and punitive relationship between the administration (including the district, and state) and teachers (Shore, 2008; Shore & Wright, 1999). Auditing is always based on a relationship of power

between the scrutinizer and the scrutinized. Even when teachers performed both roles, they were doing so using the assessment tools and broad benchmarks of their institutions (e.g., District accountability benchmarks). Furthermore, even teachers set their own benchmark plan for their own improvement; schools have severe sanctions if they don't make AYP, which created a sort of institutional schizophrenia. It may be said that the function of transforming teaching into auditable commodity based on an exchange value was not to empower teachers, but rather push the pressure and responsibility down to individual teachers (with no pay increase), so someone could be blamed or praised for the failures or victories of the school.

The view that data was objective also contributed to this form of coercion as it aimed these to “control learning through rationalization, as if to de-politicize education, and politically so” (McDermott & Hall, 2007, p. 10). Data displays were an effort to make school teaching and assessment practices objective and hyper-rational. Lying beneath the mask of objectivity, however, there is a political decision about what to learn, how, by whom, in which circumstances, and through one of the reliable ways of making learning explicit (Lyotard, 1984). Far from being objective, audits construct their own definitions of quality and performances that become the object of monitoring (Shore, 2008; Shore & Wright, 1999).

Transforming teaching into an auditable commodity, thus, did not only have its functions but also its consequences. First, it acted as an omnipresent surveillance, as a sort of *panopticism* (Foucault, 1978). Take the following quote from an interview with Beth.

Just NCLB and AYP. It's that constant looming, your proficiency labels. There's not a day where we don't think about that. We don't— We look at student data all the time, and we worry all the time. “Are we going to drop a label? Are we going to gain? Are we going to make AY—is our attendance high enough?” (February 24th, 2010)

In this quote, the principal described the district and state requirements that affected the schools the most. She focused on the impact of accountability policies on regulating school practices. She expressed the climate of self-doubt and insecurity that these policies contributed. Quality displays, thus, increased the visibility of control and created omnipresent surveillance that aimed to establish a sense of insecurity so that individuals are always unsure if they are doing enough or as much as others, constantly looking to become more efficient. Hence, control and discipline are exercised by self- and mutual surveillance, driven by constant doubts about whether one is being effective enough (Ball, 2003). This form of control makes teachers subjects of their own responsibility and autonomy, as seen by the fact that they acted as their own scrutinizers during Friday meetings.

This created, however, a fabrication and spectacle (Ball, 2003; Smith, 2004), whose motifs were to transform teachers work in an auditable commodity (Ball, 2003). However, this type of control and surveillance may produce a “spectacle, a game playing, an enactment of a fiction” (Ball, 2003, p. 221). In the case of Green Valley and Desert Pride, principals noticed that some of the teachers were making the tests easy so that their scores would look good. As one the principals stated,

because one of the things we struggled with is the teachers have to graph their data, and so sometimes they'll make their tests really easy so their graphs look good because there's this perception that when I walk into the classroom, if their math graph looks crappy that oh, my gosh. They must not be teaching, or that they're doing something wrong. (Interview with Beth, June 4th, 2010)

This quote illustrates an interesting contradiction created by management tools based on steering at distant strategies. That is, while these tools aimed to make teachers work more visible, they actually made teachers practice more opaque (Ball, 2003). They encouraged teachers to manipulate representations of their quality, creating an enactment of fiction and making displays of quality self-referential and disassociated from work they are actually supposed to account for. Treating teaching as an auditable commodity, thus, created a culture of compliance. That is, teachers did not just work to teach students but to pass certain measures of achievement. Teachers needed to transform themselves into an auditable commodity so that they could conform to the need to be monitored and audited (Shore & Wright, 1999).

The second consequence of transforming teaching into a quantifiable and auditable commodity was that it reduced students to a single score that symbolized the ability to perform in a narrow, though highly valuable skill (e.g., pronounce a compound word). This was also evident when Trina, the language coach at Green Valley, picked one of the students' slips that were pinned to the data (see Figure 7) wall and that had the DIBELS data for one student and said:

We can come in here—for example, if you want to know about this one little boy, I can show you this and tell you exactly where this little

boy has been. So, last year when he took his tests at the end of the school year, he ended up at a 190. He began again at a 190, and now he's at a 201 for his oral reading fluency. Here I can show you that he has 117, and he's made this growth up to 141. So, I mean we can tell you a lot about this child. (Interview, December 16th 2010)

In this quote the language coach described how they come to know about their students. She used the word *exactly*, which refers to the measuring precision and signifies quantification and objectiveness. Then she began to describe this student's academic progress, which represents students as subjects who make academic gains and are tested. Interestingly, though she only showed me DIBELS data and then data from a benchmark state assessment, she claimed that the data wall tells "a lot about this child." In this case, DIBELS scores served to quantify and summarize a student's ability. The TQM-like discourse, thus, reduced students' experiences to their abilities to perform particular academics outcomes, affording teachers the opportunity to think about students in terms of quality indicators.

The production and use of quality displays, thus, contributed to controlling diversity rather than ignore it. In an audit culture what cannot be standardized and quantified has little value (Power, 1997). Students' cultural, language, ethnic differences, thus, are redefined or converted into the neutral language of numbers. It becomes then a matter of *quantifiable ability differences*, narrowing the scope of students' experiences towards the realm of differences that does not threaten political and economic order. I turn now to a mediational tool provided to teacher residents to address quantifiable ability differences.

Ability profiling: Using quality displays to address differences. Graphic displays of quality served also in another capacity. They aimed teachers and administration to classify and sort students according to the coding schemes embedded in the displays. Graphic displays conveyed a particular way of thinking about students and about how to address their differences: students were reduced to their abilities to achieve in certain tests (e.g., DIBELS) and differences were addressed by profiling them according to these abilities so that they could be fixed to produce quality outcomes and performances and meet the expected benchmarks. Borrowing from Collins (2003), I refer to this mechanism as *ability profiling*—“an institutionally and socially sanctioned form of discrimination and segregation” (p. 192) that identifies deficits within each student. Thus, performativity, as an identity technology, and its production and use of graphic displays not only served to quantify quality and correct errors, but also as a coding scheme (Goodwin, 1994a; 1994b) to engage teachers in ability profiling.

The language coaches facilitated the Friday meetings in which teachers organized into grade level teams, evaluated the data from the wall, and also from teachers’ own graphs. To be a professional teacher in Green Valle and Desert Pride teachers needed to engage with this activity. Beth, the principal at Green Valley explained:

Then we sit down on Fridays and our data teams and all the teachers put their graphs out and they put the assessments out and they say, you know, we use an agenda of questions; okay, but which ones didn’t they get; They’re going to be responsible to look at all the data,

separate all the kids by what they need. (Interview, December 16th, 2010)

Trina, a language coach, also commented in an interview:

Then we sit down on Fridays and our data teams and all the teachers put their graphs out and they put the assessments out and they say, you know, we use an agenda of questions; okay, but which ones didn't they get; which error did they make; why did they make those errors; what are we going to do to re-teach them those errors?

(Interview with Trina, December 16th, 2010)

There is an emphasis in this quote on using quantifiable data to identify and fix errors. This was a crucial task to fix errors in time so benchmarks could be met. Ability profiling served as a tool to fix these errors and delivered outcomes just-in-time. Take, for instance, the following quote from the Trina in which she explained, pointing to the different sections of the data wall, the ways students were profiled using DIBELS and the services they received according to their ability profile:

Trina: Six hundred and some odd kids, and so we were just going through the data, and changing our data walls, and just doing all of that. This is what's most current now. So, the red down here represents the kids that we really have to look at seriously. They're in dire need. They need to be in the emergency room, more or less.

Interviewer: The emergency room?

Trina: The emergency room—like, if I was a doctor or something, these would need more of an emergency type of a situation. They’d need a lot more care. Of course, the ones on green—they’re doing really well, but we still need to watch what they’re doing. There’s not as much care needed for them. Then, of course, the ones in the middle—we still have to watch them. This is what we have been doing.

The language coach described the work that she did with the grade level teams on Fridays, creating quality displays to sort students into different profiles. She mentioned three ability profiles embedded in the coding scheme of the data wall. The students in the red were the intensive kids, the students in the green were also called at benchmark kids, and the students in the middle were also called strategic kids. This coding scheme that delineates ability profiles is drawn from the DIBELS data system, which uses the metaphor of a stoplight to refer to the three colors coded categories: red, yellow, and green. Following this metaphor from DIBELS, some students could continue going to the following stage of instruction (i.e., the students with the green light), some students needed to go with caution (i.e., the students with yellow light), and some students needed to be stopped from moving on in their learning until they master particular skills (e.g., pronouncing certain phonemes). Interestingly, Trina appropriated this metaphor, changing it to a medical metaphor rather than to a transit one. Note that she used the term “emergency room” to describe the situation of the students at the intensive level. The ability profile of these students demanded that they received more intensive services. An

emergency room, however, does not give long-term care nor heals patients in the long-term. Emergency rooms focus on intensive but provisory treatment to stabilize the situation and prevent the patient from dying. The long-term treatment and recovery may come afterwards. In the case of the school, if the students were assigned to be in a metaphorical instructional emergency room, it would mean that they would receive an intensive but short lasted treatment (e.g., a certain type of instruction such as word attack) so that they could achieve *just-in-time* (Feigenbaum, 1991) benchmarks to comply with accountability policies.

As the language coach mentioned, furthermore, all students were being watched, including the ones in the “middle” (i.e., students at benchmark) and the ones in the green (i.e., students above benchmark). There was a close control of quality in which they students were continuously monitored to see what needed to be improved. The data wall, thus, represented *a landscape of need* in which every single student was subject to the intervention gaze – all students were the objects of treatment.

The coding scheme embedded in the data wall served to structure school staff’s perception of students. It simplified the perceptual field so that certain kinds of instructions were assigned to certain kinds of students (Goodwin, 1994a; 2002). Trina continued describing the instructional implications of these ability profiles:

Trina: We have them in interventions [for the students in the emergency room]. We double dose them through our tier one and tier two, and then the coaches come in and do another tier. So, we are using all kinds of different strategies. For instance, in kindergarten we

just started a program with the 95 percent, which is really helping teachers take concepts down to the application level where the kids can see by color exactly what they're working with. So, for example if we're working with a word family, and we're trying to teach rhyming words, and a lot of our children in kindergarten don't have that—they can't distinguish sounds or word parts. So, if we show them different colors through this 95 percent group, they're able to grasp it a little bit better. So, we're doing all sorts of stuff like that. We're working with sounds, we're working with visual, and we're working with manipulating things, and taking everything down to the application level.

Interviewer: Application, meaning ...

Trina: Meaning you are actually building a word.

Interviewer: Okay.

Trina: Okay. You're actually moving letters to build a word, so that you can understand how words are formed, how sentences are formed, how paragraphs are formed. So, that's what we're doing. (Interview, December 16th, 2010)

Note the first words of the language coach, “we have them in interventions.” The word interventions pointed out that something is wrong with the students;

something that demanded an external intervention. Note also how the language coach continued with a medical metaphor by the use of the term “double dose” as interventions were a sort of medicine to remediate students’ illnesses or deficit and also assuming that learning occurred by being expose over and over again to the same treatment. These double doses of interventions consisted of *skill and drills* exercises about basic reading skills. The focus was on concrete skills. In contrast, the students on the green area of the data wall (at benchmark students) worked on more abstract and complex tasks:

Interviewer: The other kids, their instruction differs, you say?

Trina: The other kids—when we come up to the yellow level, we’re still working with them intensively just the same as we’re doing with the red ones. As you go up to the green, we do monitor them, but not as much as we do the intensive and strategic kids.

Interviewer: So, what do they do at the green level?

Trina: At the green level, most of them are working on reading novels and literature studies, and they’re doing literature studies as far as with—they’re doing author studies, and literature studies. They’re talking about the book, and they’re talking about all the literary elements of the book. What does the author mean by this? So, they’re talking all about that. So, what we’re trying to do with the benchmark kids is accelerate them even more. So, it’s really tough to

keep on track of every single child, but we're trying to do that, and this is the way that we've felt that it's helping us better. (Interview, December 16th, 2010)

The students on the green zone worked in more advanced reading comprehension skills. Note that the language coach stated that “As you go up to the green.” This created a hierarchical relationship between the three ability profiles, positioning the students on the green at the top of the ability hierarchy. It is also interesting how at the end of the quote the language coach talked about *accelerating* students, which signaled two things. First, the people accelerating the students were the school staff indicated by the pronoun “we.” Students were represented, thus, as receivers of services that can accelerate their learning. Second, the idea of acceleration indicated that learning was being controlled, i.e., school staff could regulate the speed at which students learn by labeling students with the right ability profile and providing interventions accordingly. “Acceleration” also referred to the need for schools to get the intensive students quick enough to meet *just-in-time* benchmarks according to district guidelines.

It must be noted that ability profiling was seen as a tool that helped the school to improve tests cores. Note the use of the pronoun *us* in the last sentences. Throughout her speech, in order to differentiate between students and staff, the language coach used the pronouns *we* and *they*. Interestingly, in the last sentence she mentioned that tracking and profiling students benefited *us* (i.e., the school staff). Note that she did not say “we’ve felt that it’s helping the students better”, but she said it is helping *us* better. Furthermore, ability profiling, thus, served the school to sort and control students learning so that the school could meet district benchmarks.

This is not to say that the staff of the school, in this case represented by the language coach, did not care about students. Indeed, I witnessed a deep care on the part of school staff for students as more than a test score. For instance, many teachers came quite earlier than the school day started to tutor some of the students who were struggling with some concepts. What I am pointing out in this section, however, is that the combination of quality graphic display such as the data wall and its ability schema mediated the institutional gaze in a way that only certain narrow views of abilities were privileged. It pointed school staff to see some aspects of students but not others. Therefore, when a grade level team came together with the language coach to work during their Friday meetings, the tool available to them through the data wall to improve students performances was ability profiling.

Summary of the TQM-like discourse of professionalism. The TQM-like discourse of professionalism referred to the historical and well established management system that integrates the efficient development, maintenance, improvement and control of quality (Demings, 1982). Quality in this discourse was represented as the transmission of state standards using what the district considered best practices, and it was evaluated by examining students' test scores in state and district assessments.

The TQM-like discourse, in addition, combined features of quality management with features of old forms of capitalism or *Fordism* (Jessop, 2001a). The result was a set of cross-disciplinary identity technologies for organizing professional work (Ball, 1998), which provided teachers a tool kit that signaled a professional teaching identity: *the executor and controller of quality*. The TQM-like discourse, thus, aimed to get teachers to be self-enterprisers enough to take responsibility for their

practice while simultaneously being docile and disciplined enough to be corrected and to follow instructions. These identity technologies were: (a) *controlling curriculum development* (b) *micro-disciplinary practices*, and (c) *performativity* (see figure 4). Controlling the curriculum was achieved through the use of curriculum maps, which ensured that teachers' instruction was aligned with state standards. This identity technology afforded teachers two tools for thinking: Taylorism and team-based control.

Micro-disciplinary practices involved procedures of close surveillance that enabled the administration to identify and correct gaps between teachers' practices and district mandates. Micro-disciplinary practices relied on walk-throughs in which language coaches or principals evaluated teacher residents in their classrooms using the WTTTRI form (see figure 6). This form consisted of a list of valued performances that were considered to be effective by the administration. This identity technology provided teachers a combination of mediational tools for thinking about teaching and learning, such as *making teaching public to the evaluation gaze*, *being continuously active*, and *instructionism*.

Performativity refers to a technology that includes judgments, displays of data (or we could also say displays of quality), and comparisons as vehicles for controlling quality performances, correcting errors, and changing practice (Ball, 2003). Using quality displays such as the data wall, this identity technology provided teachers two tools for thinking about teaching: as a *quantifiable and auditable commodity* and as an act of *ability profiling*.

The TQM-like discourse was not the only discourse of professionalism present at the UPIE that aim to get teachers to become certain kinds of teachers. I

described in the following section the other discourse: The inclusive education-like discourse.

The Inclusive Education-Like Discourse

The second discourse of professionalism that was present at the UPIE was inclusive education-like discourse. This discourse was present in the practices and texts of the Master's program that the teacher residents attended while working at their schools. The main goal of the Masters' program was to foster "elementary and SPED teacher candidates to meet the educational needs of children with disabilities. This includes a particular emphasis on the skills needed to work effectively to improve student outcomes in underachieving schools located in low income predominantly minority settings" and to develop "their leadership strategies for inclusive schools" (UPIE's grant narrative, p. 19).

It is important to point out that what follows is not the analysis of an idealistic inclusive education discourse. I named it the inclusive education-like discourse, because though it draws from some of the goals and tools that have been traditionally associated with inclusive education, it represents these goals and tools in ways that some scholars and inclusive education advocates would not identify as inclusive. The inclusive education-like discourse was the result of the ongoing negotiation between two main identity technologies of the university program (i.e., thesis seminars and site professors' visits), the brokering work of the site professors, and the practices of the school.

In the following sections, I described briefly the identity technologies embedded in the inclusive education-like discourse, and then examined how the negotiations between these technologies, the brokering work of the site professors,

and the practices of the school, provided a combination of three mediational tools for teachers to become inclusive educators: co-teaching, differentiated instruction, and cultural responsiveness. These tools, and therefore the inclusive education-like discourse, helped to keep the school and university communities together even when the goals and intentions of the partnership were implicitly and explicitly not agreed upon.

Inclusive education-like discourse’s identity technologies. The inclusive education-like discourse encompassed two identity technologies such as thesis seminars and their corresponding PBAs and site professors’ visits to teacher residents’ classrooms. These identity technologies were a bid of the University program to re-professionalize teachers as *inclusive teachers* by providing teacher residents a vision of professionalism that included certain mediational tools such as *Co-teaching, differentiating instruction, and cultural responsiveness* (see figure 10).

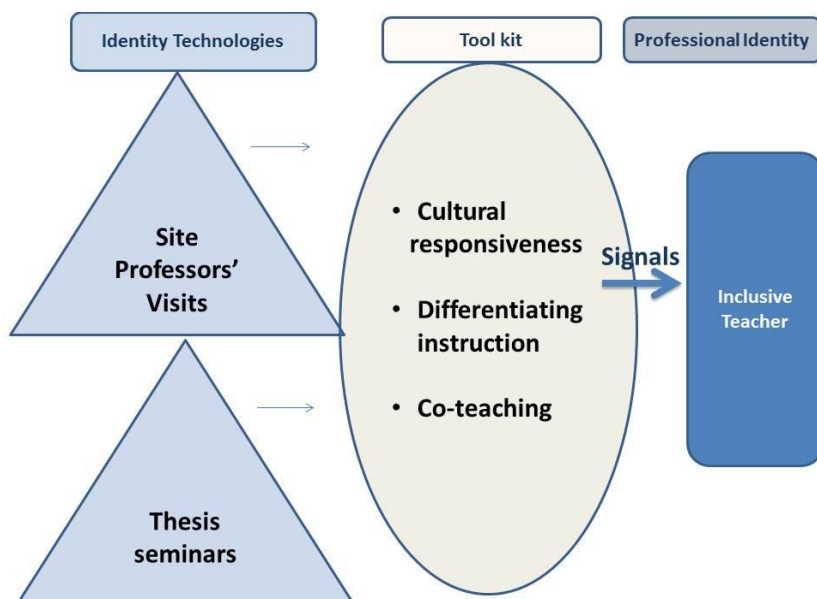


Figure 10. The bid of the Inclusive Education-like discourse

For the purpose of the analysis of this discourse of professionalism, I drew from the work on boundary objects (Bowker & Star, 1999; Star, 2010; Star & Griesemer, 1989) to examine the mediational tools offered by the inclusive education-like discourse. The tools of the inclusive education discourse were *boundary objects*. These are objects that “inhabit several intersecting worlds ... and satisfy the informational requirements of each of them ... [these objects] are both plastic enough to adapt to local needs and the constraints of the several parties employing them, yet robust enough to maintain a common identity across sites” (Star & Griesemer, 1989, p. 410). In particular, differentiating instruction, cultural responsiveness, and co-teaching were an *ideal type* of boundary objects. This type of boundary object “is abstracted for all domains, and may be fairly vague,” which makes it adaptable to different activities, and serves “as a means of communicating and cooperating symbolically” (Star & Griesemer, 1989, p. 410). According to the available data sources, the tools of the inclusive education-like discourse seemed more flexible than the tools of the TQM-like discourse. They were subject to negotiability (Wenger, 1998), which made the inclusive education discourse dialogic rather than authoritative (Bakhtin, 1981).

Thesis seminars. Thesis seminars were a significant identity technology as they lasted the entire duration of the program, including summer. Each weekly seminar lasted for approximately two and half hours and were dedicated to provide different supports to teachers to work on their PBAs (performance based assessments) and to engage teacher residents with the major themes of the program: identity, culture, learning and assessment. These seminars were taught by site professors and were the place where teacher residents asked questions and expressed

concerns about the program. The main assignments of these thesis seminars were the PBAs. Teacher residents, worked on PBAs throughout their entire program. These cumulative products were revised, reworked, and enhanced every semester and then used as their final thesis project. As the handbook of the masters' programs stated:

These PBAs constitute assessment system that evaluates your developing knowledge based on seminars, online learning, and ongoing discussions as well as your performance in the PLS schools. As you progress through the program, you will be introduced to Performance Based Assessments (PBAs) and will be guided and supported in accomplishing those assessments each semester. The PBAs are designed so that residents can demonstrate learning around four themes that ground the program: (1) Identity, (2) Culture; (3) Learning; (4) Assessment.

Four PBAs touched upon the four themes of the program- identity, culture, learning and assessment. Furthermore, the great portion of the time in the thesis seminar was dedicated to explain and answer questions from the students about these PBAs and to present preliminary results. PBA's aimed to engage teachers not only with practical tools (e.g., instructional strategies) but also entailed intense identity work as they required teachers to reflect on who they were as teachers and how this influenced their practice.

Site professors' visits. On the other hand, site professor's visits occurred once a week in the students' classrooms and lasted the entire enrollment of teacher residents in the Master's program. During these coaching sessions, site professors

observed teacher residents using a set of rubrics and then provided feedback to them. A main characteristic of these identity technologies that made it difficult was that they aimed to help teacher residents to translate what they were learning in classes into the daily practice in the classroom. As the program handbook stated: “the site professor provides support throughout the residencies to residents”, and residencies create a “direct connection between learning in courses, and performing in an internship, i.e., theory and practice”. The work of the site professors, thus, was key in that they were brokers that aimed to translate, coordinate, and align the tools of the inclusive education-like discourse to teachers and their practice (Wenger, 1998).

This encounter between site professor and teacher residents, therefore, was a boundary encounter in which the site professor as a broker of the inclusive education-like discourse’s tool kit, visited teacher residents in their classroom. It was a peripheral connection (Wenger, 1998). That is, the site professors were offered a legitimate access to the practice without subjecting them to the demands of full membership. Peripheries no matter how narrow reflect a sort of continuity, and overlap in connection; a meeting place offered to outsiders, in this case the site professors. As Wenger (1998) pointed out, this sometimes can go beyond observation and involve actual forms of engagement, as it was the case of the site professors who not only observed, but also provided feedback to teacher residents in regards to the use of the inclusive education-like discourse. From this perspective, the periphery is a fertile area for change or learning. As Bowker and Star (1999) stated, drawing from Dewey, a stranger is a source of learning as it causes interruptions to the normal experience of the community. This brokering job,

however, was a negotiation between site professors and their developing understandings about the tools of the inclusive education-like discourse, their teaching experiences, and the practices of the institution.

Because these two identity technologies work together providing and reinforcing the same tools to teacher residents, I did not describe them separately, as I did with the TQM discourse's identity technologies. Instead, I examined how, together in negotiation with site professors' brokering work and the practices established in the schools, they aimed to get teacher residents to appropriate the tools combined by the inclusive education discourse: differentiated instruction, cultural responsiveness, and co-teaching.

Co-teaching. The definition of co-teaching given to teachers through their seminars was the following: "Co-teaching occurs when two or more professionals jointly deliver substantive instruction to a diverse, or blended, group of students in a single physical space" (PowerPoint from seminar on week 2 of spring semester; summer institute presentation, July 2010). As part of the Masters' program, it was arranged for teacher residents to co-teach once a week during the spring semester. This was coupled with the class focusing on teaching and with support from the thesis seminars and site professor visits. Co-teaching occurred during the day of site professors visits and gave the master's program a stronger presence in the school. Teacher residents were paired and took turns every Wednesday teaching in each other's classrooms. The University program paid for substitute teachers to replace teacher residents when they were going to co-teach. Site professors, coordinators, and principals collaborated to make schedules work to free teachers to co-teach and co-plan:

Kim and I found a couple of little tweaks we need to make to schedule to help it run a little more smoothly and efficiently such as building in travel time for sub to get from one room to next in time for teacher to get to co-teaching classroom on time... Carmen's support with getting this sub and helping build in the extra time was invaluable to coordinating this time for the teachers. Having this every week will definitely enhance the learning and growth process for these students. (Liz, field notes on January 20 2010)

The implementation of co-teaching was, thus, an intensive and time demanding efforts for all parties involved that, as I describe later, not only brought collaboration but also tensions.

Teacher residents learned about co-teaching in their seminars and then they were observed and given support and feedback by the site professors and coordinators. Furthermore, teacher residents were taught and given the opportunity to practice different formats of co-teaching. This information was drawn from the teacher residents' textbook required for spring semester: *Interactions: Collaboration skills for school professionals* by Friend and Cook (2010) and the UPIE handbook (see table 5 for types of co-teaching formats).

Table 5.

Descriptions of Co-teaching formats Presented to Teachers

Co-teaching strategy	Description
One Person Teaches, One Gathers Data or Coaches	One person has instructional responsibility while the other gathers student assessment information,

	<p>research data, and/or coaches the instructor. Either person may take either role or switch roles at any time.</p>
Simultaneous teaching	<p>The content is divided and each person provides instruction to half the students at a time. Students then switch places and the instructor provides the same content to the second half of the class.</p>
One Person Teaches Group, One Person Teaches Individuals	<p>One person provides individual help and guidance to students while the other provides instruction to the group. The majority of students remain in a large group setting, but some students work in a small group for pre-teaching, enrichment, re-teaching, or other individualized instruction. Approach allows for highly individualized instruction to be offered. Teachers should be careful that the same students are not always pulled aside.</p>
Parallel teaching	<p>Both people teach the same content to portions of the larger group of students.</p>
Re-Teaching	<p>One person instructs students who have learned the material while the other one works with students who have not learned the material and either re-teaches or adapts the material in some way until those students learn it.</p>

Speak and Chart Teaching	This format extends “speak and add” in that the support role consists of recording ideas on an easel, overhead projector or chalkboard. Thus, the lesson has a neutral documenter.
Speak and Add Teaching	Both presenters are “on stage” at the same time. One leads, the other supports. The lead person is in charge of the content and makes process decisions. The support person adds examples, humor, or other perspectives.
Tag Team Teaching	Presenters take turns, one on, one off. The person who is not presenting at the moment may fill a variety of roles (from data collection to individual assistance, clarifying information to classroom management).
Duet Teaching	This format represents the epitome of co-teaching and is only possible with professionals who have done extensive collaborative planning and/or who teach together frequently. Both presenters talk. They alternate or finish sentences for one another. They use physical proximity as a tool. They choreograph the physical space. They avoid blocking the speaker and subtly cue each other with looks, proximity, hand gestures, voice tempo, and

intonation. They stay focused all the time, each attentive to the other and to the students.

Note: information obtained from PowerPoint presented to teacher residents in the 3rd week of class during spring semester and from UPIE handbook.

Yet, these definitions and conceptualizations of co-teaching were not fixed or internally homogeneous. Co-teaching was an ideal boundary object that had to be negotiated between the school administration and what they thought school practices should look like according to district guidelines, and site professors and their understanding of co-teaching. It was rigid enough to have some features that were maintained across communities. For instance, both parts coincided that it should involve two teacher residents teaching in the same classroom in some coordinated form, and that it needed to be co-planned. We saw evidence of this in the masters' program in the definition at the beginning of this section. This was also in agreement with the administration. Carmen, for instance, was critiquing two teachers that were co-teaching and stated:

I witnessed a train wreck. I went in to watch some co-teaching and it was obvious to me that the extent of planning was a negotiation thing because it wasn't really done where you could see that both knew what was happening. It was almost like that's going to be your part, and I'm not quite sure what you're doing, but you're just going to do it. So they couldn't help each other when they were out of control and so it was almost like looking to me like, oh that's her part. That's a train wreck. Don't know how to fix it. It wasn't really a team. They are both in the same room but you have your part and I have

my part. The lack of planning was evident because they couldn't help each other. (Interview with Carmen conducted on March 15th 2010)

On the other hand, site professors also incorporated to their gaze some of the tenets that were part of the district form. Take for instance this evaluative stance that Margot took in one of her field notes: "The teachers were doing an amazing job with the kids demonstrating 100% engagement" (April 9th, 2010). The phrase 100% engagement was borrowed out of the district mission for that year and from the district evaluation form. Margot was ventriloquizing part of the TQM-like discourse to evaluate teacher residents while they were co-teaching.

Yet, co-teaching, as an ideal boundary object was also flexible enough so that it could be appropriated in the schools with a direct instruction format and following the curriculum maps (as it was required by the district). As Margot, site professor at Green Valley, commented in a field note about her discussions with Patricia, the language coach at Green Valley in the spring semester:

Because it's not aligned exactly with –like one of the things that the language coach were extremely upset about was that some of the co-teaching strategies and assignments we would have them try, "Well, don't you know that they are adjusting their lesson plans from the curriculum maps that they have been given? The curricular map says to teach it this way, and because they're doing such and such a strategy, they are doing it that way. You need to be aware of this because you need to change what you are asking them to do, and their practicum courses to be aligned with the district curriculum mapping." (April 2, 2010)

The language coaches wanted to actually align the masters' program practices, in this case co-teaching, with the district guidelines. Kim, the site professor at Desert Pride, gave further insight about this issue:

Carmen [principal at Desert Pride] feels very strongly about this too, 'you're a teacher on our campus. It doesn't matter what program you're in or what part of the day we're going. We are doing this because this is a practice at our school'. (Interview, December 13th, 2010)

This contestation about the conceptualization and implementation of co-teaching brought a tension that started early in the spring semester when site professors and coordinators struggled to coordinate their observations and feedback to teachers regarding co-teaching. Liz, the site professor at Desert Pride during the spring semester documented in her field notes:

The whole group lessons themselves were quite weak...Kim [language coach] and I collaborated quite a bit on this and discussed how we can weave in feedback on all aspects of lessons for the residents. We decided to use the Walkthrough form that coaches use to stay consistent with what these teachers are used to seeing in order to give them more specific feedback on areas such as engagement, lesson elements, assessment pieces, etc. This will be used as well as the co-teaching model feedback This helps us develop a mutual understanding of school goals as well as goals of the master's program and how to better marry the two. I believe it is time to start giving the teachers feedback on the lesson and in a more timely

fashion than we have done these first 2 weeks. They are ready to be pushed a little more in their thinking during planning of lessons on how to best use the co-teaching strategy to differentiate their instruction on different levels in order to meet all students' needs.

(January 27, 2010)

In an effort to marry the goals of the Master's program and the schools, site professors and language coaches decided to use the same rubric that teachers were evaluated according to district guidelines for instruction to provide feedback to teachers about their co-teaching. At the same time, the teacher residents were nervous about the new practice that they needed to implement:

Conferred with teachers to make sure they understood co-teaching format. Duet teaching has them nervous as well but the suggestions that Irma gave during class have helped to calm their nerves and has given them some great ideas on how to format the lesson content to fit duet teaching more seamlessly. (Liz's filed notes February 2, 2010)

This began to create a tension as teacher residents began to complain about being evaluated by their administration when they were doing co-teaching.

Lisa let us know that some of the teacher residents brought up concerns in class regarding the observation forms we fill out for feedback. They were worried it would count toward their evaluation with principals since these are the same forms being used by coaches and administrators for that purpose. (Liz's filed notes, March 3, 2010)

Therefore, to respond to teacher residents' concerns, site professors began to give feedback using the teachers' lessons plans:

Took notes on lesson plan forms this week versus the district walk-thru forms. I told the teachers I would email them thoughtful feedback regarding the co-teaching aspects of the lesson as well as the instructional choices they planned for and made during the lesson that lent themselves to successful implementation of the co-teaching strategy and teaching relationship between them and with the students. (Liz's filed notes March 24, 2010)

Yet, though site professors began to use lesson plans to leave feedback, language coaches continued to use the district form to evaluate teachers while they were co-teaching. Teacher residents continued feeling discomfort. Debbie expressed concern during a thesis seminar on March 3rd: "I just want to be able to do it, and jump into it, and try it, and not be scared" and Tina stated: "is that I got hit first thing in the morning with the evaluation before I co-taught and then doing co-teaching. She's sitting right next to my small group, I am like [doing a face of frustration]." Site professors also struggled with the administration trying to negotiate what should involve the co-teaching piece and what therefore should be the focus of the observation:

You have school site people, administration coming through, and writing it up as an evaluation. They're like, "If we're trying something new for the class, that's not what we want to be evaluated on," but here come the evaluation forms. There was a real struggle between the site professors, you know on the university side and the school side going and trying to gently remind them, "You promised not to evaluate them." (Interview with Margot, May 24, 2010)

Engeström (1987) referred to this kind of tension a “secondary contradiction.” That is, when new elements or mediational tools enter the activity from outside creating contradictions between the elements of the activity system. In this case, a tool that was introduced as a part of the master’s program such as co-teaching was in conflict with the observation tools of the district and the district rules that governed the activities in the classroom such as the use of curriculum maps. This tension was not resolved with the temporary solution of site professors use of lesson plans to leave feedback to teacher residents.

By the end of March, site professors and the school administration reached a preliminary compromise: site professors would do their own observation and language coaches would do their own observation. The language coaches, furthermore, would continue to use the district form but on Wednesdays, the day that co-teaching occurred, the evaluation would not go to the principal or be used for evaluation purposes. Margot explained to the teacher residents during a thesis seminar: “I talked to them and the language coach is now given one copy, the other copy goes to the site professor, so there is not even a copy possibility to go to your administrator.” Therefore, of the two copies, one was going to the teacher and the other one to the site professor.

By the end of the semester, resident teachers felt more at ease about experimenting with co-teaching; they felt more confident about using the different co-teaching formats and did not mind the observations as much. This did not mean that the language coaches and site professors continued to disagree on the feedback given to teachers. Margot expressed her frustration on one of her filed notes at the

end of April. She had visited Kelly's' classroom in which she was co-teaching with Kasey.

It was a great lesson with using manipulatives to do addition. They started with the blocks then used a template folder and crackers, pretzels and sunflower seeds to represent hundreds, tens and ones. All students were engaged and learning. They checked each other's work at tables and worked independently, then as small groups, then as a class. It was noisy, but engaged noisy. Whenever a teacher played the bells, the students immediately stopped talking and looked at the teacher showing their level of attention. After several math problems, they worked in their workbooks. Their reward for finishing their assessment pages was that they would get to go outside and eat the sunflower seeds. After they had left, Patricia said that if this were still Carmen's school, the kids would never get to go out and eat seeds. I said I thought it was a great reward for them working hard during class. It was not every day and was an effective and healthy motivator. Then she complained that the teacher residents were just pulling out "fun" activities that were not direct instruction all the time. She wanted us to be more specific on what they were to be teaching during observations. She is upset that what they are doing for the program doesn't always align exactly with where their curriculum maps say they are supposed to be. (May 5, 2010)

The semester ended and with it the time for teacher residents to co-teach. It was decided that for the fall semester site professors would create rubrics to give feedback about differentiated instruction and culturally responsive instruction, and that language coaches would continue to do their forms but not the day of site professors' visits. Kim stated during her interview in the fall:

the team worked together and they put together the evaluation tools for coaching to make it more based around their program of study and the syllabus. What we kind do, Urma mainly does those ones and I'll do this. (December 13th, 2010)

The introduction of co-teaching served to both contribute to the collaboration between the university and the school and also created secondary contradictions as a result of the competing views of how co-teaching should be implemented. This secondary contradiction created by the introduction of co-teaching into the practice of the teachers was a reflection of how the multi-voiced and multilayered nature of the activity of teaching at the UPIE was a source of conflict (Engeström, 2008). Two different communities were trying to work together in a boundary practice but coming from different perspectives and having distinct tool kits (Star & Griesemer, 1989). From this kind of situation, a difficulty always appears (Engeström, 1999; Star & Griesemer, 1989).

The resolution of having separate observation systems can be seen as single loop learning (Argyris & Schön, 1978). That is, the effort to resolve the contradiction was based on adjusting organizational practice but still operating within the same norms of performance (Argyris & Schön, 1978). This type of resolution aimed to avoid conflict and perpetuated the status quo as the schools did not change their

practice: teachers continued to be evaluated with the WTTTRI. This resolution was evidenced by the two attempts to solve the contradiction: first by using the teacher residents' lesson plans to give feedback, and then by compartmentalizing the observations of the site professors and the language coaches. The broker, in this case the site professor, had a difficult job as she needed to maintain the parties engaged in order to continue the work. In this work, co-teaching was negotiated so that it could be more applicable to the district guidelines of instruction.

Differentiating Instruction. As part of their master's program, the teachers took classes on inclusive education in which they were taught how to differentiate instruction to students with diverse abilities. For instance, on the thesis seminar on April 7, teacher residents were given 40 minutes to work in teams to redesign lesson plans in order to differentiate instruction. Mary, the site professor, gave the instruction for the assignment:

Our last thing to do tonight is the lessons, to differentiate the lessons. This gives you an opportunity to actually work with your co-teacher... Okay so you are going to work with your co-partner or your team member for the lesson plan. You want to use the differentiated form we used last time, I think that's going to be helpful... so get with your partner and differentiate a lesson

Site professors visited teacher residents in their classrooms once a week. They used rubrics to engage in a conversation and promote reflection on the part of the teacher residents regarding ways in which instruction might be differentiated in the classroom. The rubrics addressing differentiated instruction stated:

To differentiate instruction is to recognize students' varying background knowledge, readiness, language, preferences in learning, and interests, and to react responsively. Differentiated instruction addresses the needs of students of differing abilities and learning styles in the same class. The intent of differentiating instruction is to provide multiple access points for diverse learners to maximize growth and individual success by meeting each student where he or she is and assisting in the learning process from that point.

Differentiated Instruction is a series of essential strategies for working in heterogeneous classrooms and eliminating tracking.

There were some key phrases in this excerpt worth noting. As differentiators of instruction, teachers were required to *recognize* students' differences and *react responsively* upon them. A key idea was *multiple access points*, which are framed in this text as the purpose of differentiating instruction, and allows students to participate in the same activity at different levels. Differentiated instruction also was related in this text to *heterogeneous classrooms* and the *elimination of tracking*. A teacher who differentiates instruction, according to this rubric, valued students' ability differences and capitalized on these ability differences to maximize students' growth and success. Furthermore, one of the descriptors in the rubric about differentiated instruction stated:

Students work in multiple groupings and move between them fluidly. Learners interact and work together as they develop knowledge of new content. Based on the content, project, and ongoing evaluations, grouping and regrouping is a dynamic process. Teachers use a variety

of diagnostic assessments to help them group students equitably.

Teachers monitor student group participation to prevent de facto tracking and to address inequities.

Teachers were asked as part of these observations to group students in a *dynamic* and *equitable* way to prevent *ability tracking*. Teachers, thus, were asked to design activities in which students were grouped not in static ability groups but rather in fluid groups that prevented ability profiling and inequities.

The differentiated instruction rubric was an effort of the Masters' program to standardize this concept, to make it into a standardized boundary object. Yet, the concept continued to have a degree of flexibility. It took on, in certain occasions with certain actors, different meanings. This conceptualization of differentiated instruction embedded in the rubric was mediated, and sometimes contradicted, by site professors during thesis seminars. In one of the thesis seminars about culture that occurred during the semester, Margot –a site professor- was lecturing about addressing language differences. She brought up the following story:

Kasey: What if they can go to resource room and have better support?

Margot: That is one of the arguments for actually having ELL as self-contained classes.

Kevin: which is what we do here.

Margot: is that part of the reasoning? Because they're still kind of socially involved- before and after school, in the lunchroom, at the playground, where they keep practicing their BICS. (That actually by having a

teacher that knows they are behind in their CAPS and can actually teach according to that actually helps to speed that up. Instead of sitting down in a fifth grade class, the fifth grade where the terminology is just dismal. When I had my ELD kids, they had a 90-min self-contained ELD class with a bilingual teacher and an additional 90 minutes of introductory literacy with me. I am so far from being bilingual that I can barely get through Taco Bell menu. However, we worked together and we did a lot of high interest low-level reading literature... So the nice thing about that was that because everybody was at the same level there weren't one or two kids who were far behind, they were all at the same grade level. I had to do that for them because that's what they needed... Then within that we could differentiate but it wasn't as hard as to differentiate for eight years of difference. So, I really appreciated having time to spend doing that because their BICS never suffered. Because the argument is that if, they are in a room and spend time with each other it is going to slow down their language acquisition. We never found that to be the case. Given direction at a level they can understand will improve their language acquisition.

In this excerpt from one of the thesis seminars, Margot – the site Professor – gave an example of differentiated instruction drawing from her own experience as a teacher, in which students were grouped into ability levels according to their language skills. She supported her claims by saying that “that's what they needed,” and then stated that this type of differentiated instruction actually improved their language acquisition. According to Margot, ability grouping made it easier to differentiate instruction. Margot, thus, drew from her own experience and from an efficient and “what works” rationale to mediate teacher residents’ understanding about differentiated instruction. This was compatible with the practices of the school as Kevin pointed out in the conversation by saying: “which is what we do here”.

Margot acted as a broker that translated the concept of differentiated instruction to the teachers according to her understanding and experiences. The key role of the broker is to create connections between the practices of the overlapping communities and to facilitate the transactions between them by introducing elements of one practice to another (Wenger, 1998) – in this case the tool of differentiating instruction – and by doing so promoting learning in the community. Margot, furthermore, drew from her own experience so that teachers could connect with the tool. She claimed membership in the Masters’ program by positioning herself as a professor who was introducing the tools to teacher residents but at the same time claiming membership as a teacher by using a story from when she was an English teacher to mediate teacher residents’ learning of differentiated instruction. This is a key characteristic of the broker, as they need to coexist and manage between memberships so that there are possibilities of negotiation between the communities (Wenger, 1998).

Differentiated instruction, thus, became an ideal boundary object that was flexible enough to be customized by site professors and the schools, and teacher residents (as I demonstrate in the second question of this dissertation) (Star, 2010; Star & Griesemer, 1989). Yet, it was also structured enough to allow both communities (i.e., the University and the schools) to collaborate without constantly trying to reach consensus about what entailed inclusive education. It served to communicate and cooperate symbolically (Star, 2010; Star & Griesemer, 1989). Though the university program aimed to standardize differentiated instruction through the use of rubrics to make the boundaries of this tool less flexible, differentiated instruction –as well as cultural responsiveness as I showed in the next section- remained an ideal boundary object.

The negotiation of meaning of differentiated instruction also took place as site professors struggled with and needed to work around the practices of the school during their visits to teacher residents and aimed to translate for them the tools of the inclusive education discourse. For instance, the way to include students with disabilities in the schools was by actually profiling them according to their abilities and including them in reading and math groups that were close to their reading or math level:

Depends on their IEP most of the time, or their verbal or nonverbal skills, and depends on what the teachers are doing in the classroom.

At some point or another, all of those kids get included in things, but when we get to some of the more academic areas, like reading groups and stuff like that, it depends on their, more of their, do we have a

place for them that matches up academically? (Interview with Beth, December 13, 2010)

This resulted in special education students receiving a pull-out or resource room placement with the students with the lowest DIBELS and math scores for instruction. The most interesting case of this happened at Desert Pride as this school was piloting an inclusive program that contained resource room students with the lowest performing students of the school according to DIBELS. In this context, site professors struggled when brokering differentiated instruction to provide access to students with disabilities to the general education classroom. Urma, a site professor who began working in the fall semester, told the following story when asked how she was helping teacher residents to differentiate instruction and give access to the general education classroom to special education students:

I just feel like not well enough...they said Tina has all of the low second graders and all of the kids with IEPs. I looked over at Kim, and I said "All of the kids with IEPs are in the same room?" I did for a second see this look of shame kind of cross over some faces. "Well we had to do that so that we could do inclusion. It's easier to do inclusion". I feel like part of that is a school issue, but I also feel that there has to be something else I could have been doing or some other conversations, even if nothing changes, just having those conversations, I think, are important....When we were in the room together with Kim, I was just surprised. I asked, "Do you have all of the kids in special education in one room?" They just kind of had this look on their face like "whoops", like a "whoops" look, and they

just said “Well, it’s so that we can do inclusion more easily.”

(Interview, December 22nd, 2010)

In this quote, Urma described her struggles in mediating teacher residents’ and Kim’s appropriation of the tool of differentiating instruction to include special education students in the general education curriculum. The school used a form of ability profiling to achieve this task. While trying to create an inclusive classroom, Desert Pride ended up grouping the special education resource students with the students who earned lower scores in assessments such as DIBELS. This was in contradiction with the rubric that Urma used in her observations, which stated that: “Differentiated Instruction is a series of essential strategies for working in heterogeneous classrooms and eliminating tracking”. Urma’s brokering work was made difficult by the complex and contradictory practices of the school but also by her own developing capabilities to do the job of a broker. She stated that she felt “like part of that is a school issue, but I also feel that there has to be something else I could have been doing or some other conversations, even if nothing changes, just having those conversations, I think, are important.” She identified her job as a broker as one of creating disruptions even though she did not feel very effective. This was a position that she negotiated from the periphery of being a site professor and that shaped how differentiated instruction was translated to practice. The school continued to differentiate instruction by profiling students according to their abilities to perform in assessments such as DIBELS and providing the instruction accordingly. Urma expressed that she had to move on and engage in other conversations as she was successful when helping teachers and the school to re-think differentiated instruction:

Honestly, I feel like in that aspect, I'm not. I guess I have had to choose what to address and what to base our conversations on. I feel like just one day a week divided up amongst the different teachers is just not enough to sit and have good conversations with them. Most of the conversations we have had have focused on just other areas of the program. (Interview, December 22nd, 2010)

Similarly, Marlene – the site professor at Green Valley – faced similar struggles as a broker of differentiated instruction. In the following exchange, she expressed her struggles to get some teacher residents to differentiate instruction.

Marlene: Again, when I see students in the gen ed classrooms who are not being included in the curriculum, I would go over to a student— this one class who is classic. I asked the teacher. The kids were supposed to be reading and I said to Justin, I said, “I’m noticing— I don’t know what the student’s name. I don’t remember right now. I said, “Why is he not participating?” “Well, we’re waiting for the special ed teacher to come in.” I said, “Well, in the meantime, he still needs to be engaged in what’s going on in your classroom.” I went over and I sat next to the student and I helped the student become engaged. It turns out the special teacher

didn't come in.. We talked about that and I said, "So really, he's your responsibility. It's not just the special ed teacher's responsibility. That's your responsibility. He's in your classroom. If the special teacher doesn't come in, he doesn't get what he needs?"

Interviewer: What did he say?

Marlene: He said, "Well, I would've gone over there to help him." It's kind of sad.

Interviewer: How did you help him to—

Marlene: I was really gentle. I was really gentle with that because what I don't want to do is criticize.

(Interview, November 30th, 2010)

In the previous quote, Marlene aimed to get the teacher resident to differentiate instruction to provide access for a special education student to the general education curriculum. The notion of differentiated instruction is mediated by Marlene's position in the classroom. Marlene was a relatively new site professor who did not want to be regarded as coming into classrooms to criticize. As an alternative, she raised the issue to the teacher and then she went and helped the student herself.

Marlene saw herself as someone who was trying to make teachers aware:

I like to think I am helping the teachers become aware or help talk to the teachers about, you know, "Are you making sure—how can I help you to make sure that everybody's accessing the curriculum?" I

hope. I hope those types of questions and concerns that I come with are really helping the teachers. (Interview, November 30th, 2010)

This idea of being someone who raised awareness was a resource that she used to negotiate her position from the periphery in the schools. She did not want to be seen as a critic, but as someone who raised awareness. By bringing awareness, she aimed to translate the tool of differentiating instruction into teacher residents' practice in the school without creating too much conflict. As she stated, "I was really gentle with that because what I don't want to do is criticize".

The work of Urma as a creator of disruption and Marlene as one who raises awareness were efforts to translate the ideal boundary object of differentiated instruction to teacher residents' practices—an effort to open a passage for the object into the other community (i.e., the school). Once there was a point of passage, the job of Urma and Marlene was to defend their translation of the tool against other translations that may replace it (e.g., ability profiling) (Wenger, 1998). Yet, they needed to be flexible so they could engage teacher residents in a negotiation for the meaning of the boundary tool. Too much discipline may make the ideal object lose flexibility, which endangers the collaboration between the communities (Star & Griesemer, 1989), and could also result in the loss of site professors' membership in the schools.

As I pointed out in this section, the tool of differentiating instruction was not a fixed concept. It was an ideal boundary object that was structured enough to facilitate communication and collaboration between the Masters' program and the school practices, but also vague enough to be negotiated through the rubric, the PBAs, the brokering job of the site professors, and the practices of the school. This

flexibility permitted site professors to apply it to new circumstances, and to assert their membership as part of the Masters' program, but also as a peripheral participant in the classroom. The characteristics of this mediational tool were also similar to the ones of cultural responsiveness.

Cultural Responsiveness. Thesis seminars and classroom visits from site professors were efforts to afford teachers opportunities to become culturally responsive. Similar to the case of differentiated instruction, this tool was an ideal boundary object that was structured enough to facilitate communication and coordination between the masters' program practices, and school practices but it was flexible enough so that site professors could translate and negotiate according to the school practices that teacher residents engaged with (Star, 2010; Star & Griesemer, 1989). This tool did not have a homogeneous consistency but rather took different shapes according to the negotiation that took place between the language coach, who were acting as a broker of this tool, the teacher residents, and the situated practices in which cultural responsiveness was translated.

Culturally responsive practices emerged through the identity technologies of the inclusive education-like discourse as having two main characteristics: understanding students' and families' backgrounds and using a responsive pedagogy. In an effort to get teachers to understand students' and families' backgrounds, PBAs required teacher residents to complete the following:

Using already accumulated data on your schools, you will describe the various aspects of the school's "culture" as represented through quantitative means. This data will be based on race/ethnicity. For each race/ethnicity represented, write a cultural summary including

the historical background, values and beliefs often shared by members of these cultural communities.

In addition, the PBAs required the following: “Through interviews with 3 separate students, you will discover these students’ personal culture including evidence of specific cultural frameworks such as religion, socio-economics, family structure, friendships, and community support.” Teachers, thus, were asked to engage in inquiry exercises that would help them to know and understand better the families of their classroom and schools.

The goal of this understanding was to value and capitalize on students’ and families’ strengths to develop relationships and connect students’ daily lives to instruction. The handbook of the masters’ program stated in this regard that the program aimed to nurture teacher residents who:

Seek to understand the funds of knowledge that children bring with them to school, and help their students’ bridge home and school cultures, so that students and teachers alike learn and develop because of these intersections. Graduates move beyond cultural transmission models into new frontiers of cultural modeling (Lee, 2008) in which what students know and bring to school becomes the anchor for specific subject matter learning. (UPIE’s student handbook)

Interestingly, when this characteristic of cultural responsiveness was translated during the thesis seminars it tended to focus on understanding families’ and students’ deficits. This tended to be framed within a narrative that was ubiquitous in the schools which was on the assumptions that low-income families

lived in detrimental and stressful situations that caused a lack of caring and support regarding school activities (e.g., homework, assessments, etc.). In a thesis seminar that occurred on March 3, 2010, teacher residents were asked to watch different sections of an IRIS module and then present a summary to the rest of the class.

Nancy, a teacher resident, had a section that touched upon how poverty influenced families and students engagement with schools. When presenting the information of the website to the class, she stated:

Nancy: The parents have little education. What again that one really plays into the homer situation. I'm sure everybody here has kids who don't do their homework. No matter how hard you try. Parents don't get why they need to do it and at home there is none there to support the students. Their parents didn't make it through high school.

Mary: Right, it is not valued as being important, yeah

Margot: Well, they are not able.

Nancy: That goes. They can't help them. They don't see the point of it.

Later on, the discussion continued:

Nancy: Our kids have the neglect issue here. Here's more so is about neglect because parents don't help the student do the things that they need to do.

Mary: Well, yeah mom and dad are working 14 hours a day. I mean how could you.

Nancy: Yeah. It also goes with it. They don't help them with their school work

Mary: Absolutely....Is not that they don't want to. They are doing the best they can.

Mary, the site professor, restated, and added to Nancy's comments. Mary tried to shift the conversation "from parents don't care" to "parent's worked too much so they can't help their children with school tasks". To reiterate these ideas Mary also drew from her own experience as a teacher:

I'm really glad you brought that point though. Because the poverty issue was really, I came from Texas teaching in the suburbs went to LA loved it. I realized that I was assigned to South Central and I didn't know what that was. I went to South Central and I went, oh my gosh! The poverty there was unbelievable. However, I still have families that were working and committed to the family and that were, what I learned, that it wasn't that, you know, intentionally neglecting their kids. They were doing what they could for their family the best they could, but to get two hours of sleep opposed to helping with homework. So really that was the best education I had so. I think that's very important to remember.

The previous quotes represented Mary's efforts to translate cultural responsiveness to teacher residents during the thesis seminars. The nature of the activity (a classroom seminar) limited the conversation as it needed to remain an abstract discussion rather than an actual implementation of the concept. Through a series of interactions, Mary aimed to move the teacher residents from blaming parents to

understanding them. To do so, she revoiced (Connor & Michael, 1996) and reframed their arguments and drew from stories of her past as a teacher. These two strategies (revoicing and drawing from her teacher identity) helped her to avoid confrontation and used cultural responsiveness as an ideal boundary object to connect the masters' program syllabus to teachers' daily life and practice. In addition, she claimed membership in the University Masters' program as a professor, but also as a participant in the school community by claiming her identity as a teacher. In this way, cultural responsiveness took a particular shape in the thesis seminar, according to a site professor's understanding and previous experiences with diverse families.

It is important to note that though Mary's efforts aimed to move teacher residents to think beyond blaming diverse families in poverty, they were still within a deficit view of these families. By stating that "they were doing what they could for their family the best they could, but to get two hours of sleep as opposed to helping with homework", Mary still implied that these families were deficient and needed help from the school to comply with school practices. She just moved the cause of the deficiency out of the family's agency and placed it in a structural cause such as poverty. This sort of justification still left unquestioned the assumption that students and families need to assimilate to the culture of the school to avoid being regarded as deficient. In other words, the narrative constructed in these interactions was based on the idea that families may be struggling and doing the best they can for their children amidst the detrimental effects of poverty, but they still need to be fixed to assimilate to the culture of the school. This was in contradiction with the statements of the handbook and the narrative of the funded grant and that declared that the aim of the program was to recognize and value families' funds of knowledge.

Spring ended, and the teacher residents continued to learn about cultural responsiveness through a summer seminar. In the fall semester of 2010, there was an increased effort of site professors to coach and support teacher residents to develop cultural responsive practices. This was evident in the fact that most of their field notes had in some points of their narratives a concern with helping teacher residents to become culturally responsive, which was not evident in the field notes of the previous spring semester which were more concerned with co-teaching. In addition, in the fall semester, a cultural responsive pedagogy rubric was developed by the site professors and the principal investigator of the grant to guide the observation and evaluation of site professors during their visits to the teacher residents' classrooms. Take, for instance, the following excerpt in the rubric based on the work of Ladson Billings (1994):

Culture is central to learning. It plays a role not only in communicating and receiving information but also in shaping the thinking process of groups and individuals. A pedagogy that acknowledges, responds to, and celebrates fundamental cultures offers full, equitable access to education for students from all cultures and prepares students to live in a pluralistic society. Culturally responsive teaching is a pedagogy that recognizes the importance of including students' cultural references in all aspects of learning

The quote foregrounded the importance of recognizing, celebrating, and using students' differences to enhance student learning. The rubric, furthermore, had several items for site professors to engage in discussion with teacher residents that aimed to define cultural responsiveness. The cultural responsive pedagogy rubric,

thus, was an effort to standardize the concept of cultural responsiveness so that it could maintain a homogeneous meaning as it traveled from the masters' program to the schools. Yet, cultural responsiveness continued to be an ideal boundary object. Site professors were brokers that translated this tool for teacher residents during their visits. In doing so, cultural responsiveness was shaped by the negotiation of what site professors brought to the negotiation of this tool (their biographies and developing understandings of concepts) and the practices of the schools (e.g., use of curriculum maps and scripted curriculums). Urma, for instance, expressed during an interview:

I think my understanding [of cultural responsiveness] has changed, almost every week. I feel like I have a new definition of what it is. Part of that comes from just the way I was trained as a coach in my district, coming into this program... because, I think, when I started, at the beginning of the semester, I was focusing on what is being done in the classroom, I guess those more technical aspects. I have really—I mean, this is been a learning process for me. Now I am really, really trying to shift that to an understanding that it is not necessarily all this stuff that is going on out here. Well, I guess it is all that stuff, but all that stuff where does it come from? It comes from a person's beliefs, their identity, because that is what is being played out in the classroom. So, it's a learning process for me. (Interview , December 22, 2010)

In this quote, Urma acknowledged that her understanding of cultural responsiveness was developing and changing. She stated that at the beginning she drew from her

experience as a coach in her school, which was of similar demographics of the schools at the UPIE, to focus more on the technical issues of this tool. As she engaged with the work at the UPIE, she noticed that being culturally responsive demanded teachers to go beyond technical aspects. Cultural responsiveness as a tool was not a fixed static tool. This is important as site professors were the brokers that translated this tool to the teacher residents. If their understanding changed, so did the translation of the tool, and therefore the tool itself that was offered to teacher residents.

Furthermore, Urma struggled with a particular section of the rubric. This section stated:

Culturally responsive teaching acknowledges the legitimacy of the cultural heritages (language, history, traditions) of different racial, ethnic, class, religious, and gender groups, both as legacies that affect students' dispositions, attitudes, and approaches to learning and as worthy content to be taught in the formal curriculum. (Culturally Responsive rubric)

Urma referred to this aspect of cultural responsiveness during an interview:

Well, one of the indicators on there was about—I wish I had it with me, like maintaining the heritage of the child. They were like saying, Kelly, and I didn't know what that means. What would we do in the classroom?" Honestly, I was sitting there thinking what does that look like? The language coach [language coach], was there, too. I said, well just as an example that comes to mind, because especially, another teacher, she switched classrooms, but I hear her struggling

with this. Sometimes, she will talk to a child, such as Ivan, sometimes she will say “Ivan (ahy-vuhn),” sometimes, she will say “Ivan (ee-vahn).” So, that was a good example. I was like, you know, I hear Beatrice talking to this child. I heard her calling him “ee-vahn”. Sometimes, I feel that she is pulled in two directions, because she hears other people calling him Ivan (ahy-vuhn). We had a great conversation about that, about why does that matter, why does the child’s name matter?

Then, when Urma was asked why this was important, she stated:

Because there’s a lot of power in a name ... Well, I think language in general, there’s power behind language and when someone gives you a name, I mean, your parents give you a name, that’s your name.

Then for people to have the power to change your name and for some kids to feel that they do not have enough power to say, “No, this is my name.” Or for some kids to—we talked about this too, why do some kids say, “Oh, no my name is Ivan (ahy-vuhn).”

(Interview, December 22, 2010)

Urma’s developing understanding shaped how cultural responsiveness was translated to school practices. In this case, she highlighted the importance of respecting students’ names that were in Spanish rather than transforming them to English versions. She tried to guide the teacher resident with a set of questions such as “why does that matter, why does the child’s name matter?” Yet, she could not translate the concept in a way that had implications for the actual curriculum as the rubric stated. Let us remember that the job of site professors was to coach teacher residents in the

actual classroom, translating into practice what teacher residents were learning in their university courses. Urma's, thus, used coaching questions to translate cultural responsiveness, signaling her identity as site professor.

Cultural responsiveness continued to be a flexible boundary object and to change according to Urma's understandings. In one of her field notes, for instance, Urma documented the following event:

Kelly said a goal she had was to become intentional with making sure her students understood their objectives each day. I asked her how she could tie that in to culturally responsive practices. She said she couldn't think of a way. I asked how they could bridge to the children's lives. Their reading objective for the day was about high frequency words. We talked about how we could link that knowledge base to the children's lives. We also talked through why this was valuable. It made it more relevant to the students, which in turn created an emotional connection (facilitates recall). It also turned something abstract into something concrete, and made sure kids know what they were supposed to learn. A teacher resident explained that the district walkthroughs involved the principal asking kids to explain what they were doing. I told her that I would support them in the classroom by asking children what they were working on, and as needed, model responses for them (September 16t, 2010).

In this excerpt from Urma's field note, she documented her efforts to translate cultural responsiveness to Kelly's practices. In this event, there is a development in Urma's understanding of cultural responsiveness. She asked questions that had

practical implications for Kelly's curriculum, trying to make Kelly think how she could bridge students' daily lives to the curriculum. Yet, this developing understanding of cultural responsiveness had to be negotiated with the practices of the school, particularly with the use of curriculum maps that constrained teachers from using cultural responsive instructional materials (e.g., books or stories representative of students' backgrounds). She found the resistance of the teacher resident in two ways. First, when Urma asked Kelly to develop a goal for the semester she states that she wants to "become more intentional with making sure her students understood their objectives each day," which was something that Kelly was required to do by the district and that was checked by the language coach during walkthroughs evaluations. Urma' tried to change Kelly's goal as part of her development as a culturally responsive teacher, which Kelly resisted by saying that, "she couldn't think of a way". Urma tried again by giving Kelly an example of how to make her goal more culturally responsive and by explaining how this would enhance students' learning. Kelly, then, brought the conversation back to compliance with district and school mandates by asking Urma's support when the principal comes to her classroom to evaluate her practice. Finally, Urma accepted to help Kelly in a goal that had more to do with complying district mandates than with becoming a culturally responsive teacher.

This interaction evidenced how Urma's developing understanding of cultural responsiveness was more robust and that she was able to link to the practices of the school. Yet, she had to negotiate the tool with Kelly's goal that was more concerned with complying with district mandates and do well during walkthroughs. Urma, needed to negotiate her participation in the peripheral encounter that was her visit to

the classrooms, while opening spaces to translate the concept of cultural responsiveness. In this negotiation, she had to attain a balance between translating this conceptual tool and shape it in a way that was appealing to teacher residents and compatible with their daily job. This was an effort from Urma to claim membership in both communities (school and masters' program). In the midst of this negotiation, cultural responsiveness served an ideal boundary tool that kept teacher residents and site professors engaged and collaborating while it was changing over time according to site professors' understandings and negotiations to be recognized by both communities.

Summary of the Inclusive Education-like Discourse. The inclusive education-like discourse was present in the practices and texts of the Master's program that the teacher residents attended while working at the schools. The goal of this program was to prepare teachers that meet the educational needs of all students. This discourse encompassed two identity technologies: thesis seminars and site professors' visits to teacher residents' classrooms. These identity technologies were a bid of the university Master's program to re-professionalize teachers as *inclusive teachers* by providing teacher residents a vision of professionalism that require the use of mediational tools such as *Co-teaching, differentiating instruction, and cultural responsiveness* (see Figure 10).

These tools were ideal boundary objects (Star & Griesemer, 1989) that served the two institutions (i.e., the schools and the university Masters' program) to coordinate their partnership. These mediational tools were flexible enough to adapt to the different contexts but also structured enough to preserve a common identity across sites (Star & Griesemer, 1989). The brokering and the translation of these

ideal boundary objects were mediated by the site professors during thesis seminars and their visits to teacher residents' classrooms. To introduce these tools into teachers practices, the site professors drew from their own experiences as teachers and from their developing understandings of the mediational tools of the inclusive education-like discourse (i.e., co-teaching, differentiated instruction, and cultural responsiveness).

These ideal boundary objects did not travel without conflict. They created tensions as they enter the activities of the school. Drawing from Engeström (1987), I referred to this kind of tension as a "secondary contradiction." That is, the mediational tools that were introduced as a part of the Master's program were in conflict with the district's rules that governed the activities in the classroom such as the use of curriculum maps. In the following chapter, I examined how teacher residents resolved these tensions during the boundary encounter of site professors' visits to their classrooms.

Chapter 5

How Do Teachers Appropriate The Social Discourses Present In A Professional Learning School For Inclusive Education?

As described in the previous chapter, the TQM-like and inclusive education-like discourses embedded certain identity technologies that aimed to get teachers to take up particular combinations of mediational tools (i.e., a tool kit) that signaled a professional identity. The TQM-like discourse, for instance, offered a combination of tools that signaled a particular identity: the controller and executor of quality. This identity involved being a Fordist worker who was closely managed, and at the same time, as new capitalism workers who were given the flexibility to work in teams to solve their own problems and monitor themselves. The TQM-like discourse, thus, aimed to get teachers to be independent enough to take responsibility for their practice and academic outcomes while also docile and disciplined enough to accept correction and follow instructions. On the other hand, the identity technologies of the masters' program provided a tool kit to signal another identity: the inclusive teacher.

When examining teacher residents in situated practice (e.g., a reading lesson in the classroom), it became evident that there were moments of interdiscursivity—that is, moments in which teachers drew tools from the two identified discourses in the same speech event (Scollon, 2008). These instances of interdiscursivity emerged as teacher residents tried to use the tools of the inclusive education discourse in the context of their daily practice in institutions fraught with the tools of the TQM-like discourse. This occurred more often during the site professors' weekly classroom visits. As explained above, this was a boundary encounter: a peripheral connection

(Wenger, 1998). That is, the site professors were offered legitimate access to the practice without being subjected to the demands of full membership. Peripheries offer continuities, areas of overlap and meeting places for outsiders (e.g., site professors) and insiders (e.g., teacher residents and language coaches (Wenger, 1998). As Wenger (1998) pointed out, this sometimes can go beyond observation and involve actual forms of engagement. This was the case of the site professors who not only observed, but provided feedback to teacher residents in regards to the use of the inclusive education-like discourse toolkit. From this perspective, “the periphery is a very fertile area for change” because it is partially outside and in contact with other views and also partially inside so disruptions are likely to occur” (Wenger, 1998, p. 118). Peripheries are about the resolution of tensions between the new or strange and the taken for granted (Bowker & Star, 1999).

Site professors visited teacher residents to give them feedback; they were supporting teacher residents to become inclusive education teachers—i.e., co-teachers, culturally responsive, and differentiators of instruction. They brokered new tools into an established practice (i.e., teachers’ lessons in their classrooms) in which other mediational tools were already being used (e.g., instructionism). These visits, thus, were a boundary practice in which a *heterogeneity* (Tulviste, 1992) of mediational tools co-existed. Heterogeneity refers to the fact that in any activity or sociocultural setting there is not just a homogeneous way of thinking but rather different types that are qualitatively different (Tulviste, 1992; Wertsch, 1991; Wertsch & Tulviste, 1992).

This boundary practice presented complex demands to teacher residents. They were moments in which teacher residents had to orchestrate multiple tools

(e.g., tools from the 'TQM-like and inclusive education-like discourses' toolkits) to signal memberships in at least two communities (i.e., their schools and Master's program). They had to resolve the tensions between the new and the old mediational tools. I referred to these tensions in the previous chapter as a secondary contradiction (Engeström, 1987): new elements or mediational tools that entered the activity from outside creating contradictions between the elements of the activity system.

Resolving this tension was not an easy task and demanded an intensive identity work and problem solving (Star & Griesemer, 1989). A critical question, thus, arose: How did teachers appropriate the social discourses present in the UPIE? In other words, how did they make sense of and address the heterogeneous nature of this boundary practice?

To answer this question, I introduce the concept of *curating*. Curating was a special kind of heuristic development (Holland, Skinner, Lachiotte Jr., & Cain, 1998). I described heuristic development in the theoretical framework as the process in which individuals (e.g., teacher residents) reform themselves through the appropriation and reformulation of cultural materials (e.g., mediational tools) that have been created by past generations (Holland, et al., 1998). It is through heuristic development that "culture and subject position are joined in the production of cultural resources that are then subjectively taken up" (Holland, et al., 1998, p. 18). Through this process, teacher residents became history in person (Holland & Lave, 2001) as they appropriated mediational means to participate in contentious enduring struggles (i.e., inclusive education), and in doing so, they engaged in authoring themselves.

Curating was a kind of heuristic development that pertained particularly to the work achieved in boundary practices in which individuals such as teacher residents needed to claim multiple memberships by using the discourses (and their particular tool kits) of more than one community of practice (e.g., the masters' program community and the school community). It was not just about *a* meditational tool that was appropriated as a heuristic mean to signal a kind of teacher identity, but rather a *selective* combination of them that, when appropriated in situated practice, offered heuristic means for claiming membership in overlapping communities.

Curating was about the *deconstruction* and *reconstruction* of tool kits to signal situated identities that addressed the complex demands of boundary practices and to construct educational experiences for students. By examining the curation process, it became evident that mediated action was linked to historical and institutional contexts (Wertsch, 1991). Curating involved two processes: *privileging* and *appropriating*. The former was concerned with judging what meditational tools were appropriate and/or effective in a particular situated practice; the latter was concerned with how the combination of tools that teachers made their own in situated practice mediated how all of the tools function, constructing an educational experience for students.

To describe and illustrate these processes, and therefore the concept of curating, I examined two patterns of curating (see table 6) that afforded teacher residents heuristic means to work in boundary practices and to curate an educational experience for their students.

Table 6

Curating Patterns

Curating Pattern 1: Bending	Curating Pattern 2: Blending
Instructionism	Differentiated instruction
Being visually engaged	Co-Teaching
Ability profiling	Cultural responsiveness
Taylorism	Instructionism
Group based control	
Differentiated instruction	
Co- Teaching	

Note: the blue font signals that the tool belongs to the TQM-like discourse and the orange font indicates that the tool belongs to the inclusive education-like discourse.

Curating Pattern 1: Bending and the Managed Inclusionist

In this section, I demonstrated a curating pattern that, borrowing from Scollon (2008), I called bending. Scollon (2008) used the term bending to identify when traces (e.g., mediational tools) of one discourse are functionally performing within another discourse. In this case, I showed how two mediational tools of the inclusive education-like discourse (i.e., co-teaching and differentiated instruction) were curated with five mediational tools of the TQM-like discourse (i.e., Instructionism, being visually active, Taylorism, ability profiling, and Group based control) to functionally perform within the TQM-like discourse. The reconstruction of this tool kit signaled a situated identity that I called the managed inclusionist.

This was a significant curating pattern as it occurred in 57 percent of the total of speech events that were teacher led and in which I found tools from both discourses. This made it the larger curating pattern across videotaped lesson and teacher residents (see table 4). To provide an example of this curating pattern, I drew from an excerpt of a speech event that occurred when Debbie and Tina were co-teaching at the beginning of the spring semester. I begin by providing the historical context of this lesson and providing an excerpt of the lesson itself. Then, I examined how the tools curated in the situated practice of this lesson were privileged and appropriated.

Historical context of the lesson. This speech event belonged to a lesson focusing on suffixes that took place in Debbie's room, which was a 2nd grade general education classroom. This lesson occurred at the end of March, time in which the site professor and the language coach were both observing the teacher residents at the same time. The language coach guided her observation using the WTTTRI and the site professor was writing notes on the teacher resident's lesson plan. As I mentioned in the previous chapter, this created a boundary practice in which the community of the school and the community of the master's program met. This practice had brought some tensions to teachers as they thought that they were being evaluated for their implementation of district mandates while they were trying to implement co-teaching and differentiated instruction models that were learning during their thesis seminars. In the video stimulated recall interviews conducted after the lesson, Debbie and Tina brought up this tension. Debbie, for instance, stated:

No, not really at all I think more than anything it's my school stuff and wondering am I meeting my criteria for that and trying the new

co-teaching... I sometimes feel like they're not looking at the co-teaching aspect, they're looking at your reading block. Are you doing what you're supposed to be doing during reading block? You're under that criteria that you know you're going to have a write up for it. Then you also have your co-teaching. My co-teaching one is not one that I get nervous for. I like having them [site professors] come in because I feel like I'm going to get positive constructive feedback. I want to learn how to do it. I see the benefits of it...It's something that I want to experiment with and feel comfortable in doing and not be scared to make a mistake or not follow my script.

Tina also was aware of the evaluation that was conducted during their lesson:

Well because here at our school we have a lot of walkthroughs where they walk through with note pads and you know write down different things, which is great, but at that particular moment, we had like three different people in our room with three different note pads and you know it was just a little much.

Debbie's and Tina's quotes illustrated the demands and tensions of the boundary practice of site professors' visits in these classrooms. Bowker and Star (1999), drawing from Dewey, stated that a stranger (e.g., site professor) is a source of learning as it causes interruptions to the normal experience of the community. The overlapping of site professors' visits and the walkthroughs conducted by language coaches in Debbie's and Tina's classroom presented tensions and demands for these teacher residents. That is, they had to practice using the tools of the inclusive education-like discourse (i.e., co-teaching and differentiating instruction) while

complying with the demands of the walkthroughs, which as I explained, was an identity technology that aimed to get teachers to use certain mediational tools to signal an institutional identity: the executioner and controller of quality. In this boundary practice, thus, Debbie and Tina had to signal to be both a teacher at Desert Pride who was an executioner and controller of quality and a teacher resident who was aiming to become an inclusive teacher.

The tension created by the multiple demands of the boundary practice (i.e., the mediational tools of the inclusive education-like discourse while being evaluated to perform the mediational tools of the TQM-like discourse in the same situated lesson), thus, existed before the lesson started. Both Debbie and Tina were aware of the situation they were in. In the peripheral boundary practice created by the site professors' visit, Debbie and Tina needed to produce a performance that would signal to some extent that they were participants of both communities (i.e., their school and the master's program). In the previous chapter, I called this tension a secondary contradiction (Engeström, 1987). This contradiction occurs when new elements or mediational tools enter the activity from outside creating contradictions between the elements of the activity system. In this case, the tools introduced through the Masters' program (i.e., the tools combined by the inclusive education-like discourse) enter in tension with the district evaluation policies (i.e., the rules of the activity), and also the presence of the language coach embodying the administration (i.e., community of the activity).

As I reviewed the historical context of the lesson, I should also point out Debbie's teaching biography at the historical time in which the lesson occurred.

During a video stimulated recall interview that followed the lesson examined in this section, she stated:

I student taught in a Midwestern state and they did not do that at all. It was completely different. They didn't believe in an anthology where all people are reading the same thing. They didn't have like—you're either on level, below or above or ELL. Then the whole year you stay in that one level until you can make—there it's like you're a level one reader until you get three or four. Then they do a running record to see where you are and then they progress you to the next. You're always moving and they don't have a Harcourt book that they're teaching out of. It's so different...Everything was against everything that I had learned my whole entire teaching career. I had the hardest time. You want me to say exactly what this book says? That's what I have to teach?

Feiman-Nemser and Buchmann (1985) labeled “two-world pitfall” the issue illustrated in the above quote in which teachers' s university experiences collapse with their first years of teaching experience. Debbie was a relatively new teacher (four years of experience) who was struggling with being a new teacher and also with the practices she was asked to engage with by her school. Debbie had done most of her training in a different state where teaching practices were quite different. She was asked to follow a scripted curriculum to teach reading, which she did not find appealing or congruent with her previous training. To deal with these struggles, Debbie was trying to take one step at the time:

My first year of teaching I was like let me just get through this. Every day I was like I'm not going to let my class get out of control. We're going to pack up quietly. We're going to walk in a straight line. The second year I was like, I'm going to learn how to teach reading this year. The third year I'm like, I'm going to work on math. This year I'm like, writing. Next year I'm done all the core subjects. Now I feel like my whole teaching has changed though. This year I felt like a first year teacher again because this is my first year doing differentiation and doing all that kind of stuff. I have never worked so hard in my life because I didn't know.

Debbie was also going through what many new teachers go through. The literature on the experiences of beginning teachers suggested that their main concern and struggle is classroom management (Fuller, 1969; Kagan, 1992; Veenman, 1984). In addition, new teachers struggle with their abilities to teach specific subject matter (Borko & Putnam, 1996; Grossman & Stodolsky, 1994). As the above quote illustrated, Debbie was not the exception to these findings. She first was concerned with issues of classroom management and then she felt that she was in the process of learning more about teaching subject areas. She was trying to implement new tools, one at a time. In this historical context, the following lesson took place.

A lesson about suffixes. The lesson started with Debbie introducing Tina to the students. Then, she separated the class into two small groups and a larger group of students. While the larger group worked independently at their desks, Debbie took one small group and Tina took the other. Debbie sat with a group of six students in a U-shaped table, while Tina sat with a group of another six students

on the carpet. Debbie identified her group as “intensive students,” ventriloquizing (Bakhtin, 1981) the vocabulary of DIBELS to identify students who were far from meeting their expected grade-level benchmark. This group of seven students included a student who was receiving special education services under the learning disabilities category. “I’ve got an intensive group and we’re working on suffixes ‘er’ and ‘est’. Then we’re working on a level reader which is the below level reader for the week”, Debbie described during the video stimulated recall interview.

At the beginning of the small group, Debbie distributed the materials to the students – first a small wiper for each of the students, then the markers, and then the erasers. Every move seemed mechanized as a casino dealer would deal cards to poker players. Once all tools were distributed to the students, she started:

Debbie: OK. Markers down. Alright, When we were in the big Group, we talked about suffixes. Now again, in the reading group we're going to be working on suffixes. We're gonna practice suffixes. Say the word suffixes.

Students’ Choral response: Suffixes

Debbie: What sound the “er” says?

Students’ Choral response: ERR

Debbie: What sound the E S T says

Students’ Choral response: ESSST

Debbie: E R says.

Students' Choral response: ER

Debbie: Est says...

Students' Choral response: Est

Debbie: What does ER mean

Students' Choral response: More

Debbie: and S means

Students' Choral response: small

Debbie: Okay. A suffix is at the end of the word. It is at the end of the word and also changes the word. [Debbie looks at the hard court curriculum] First word is "taller". Say it!

Students' Choral response: Taller!

Debbie: Stretch it!

Students' Choral response: TAAAALLLLLLLEEEEEERRRR

Debbie: Count it

Students' Choral response: T ALL ER

Debbie: How many fingers is she holding out? [grabbing one of the students' hand that had counted the sound with her fingers]

Students' Choral response: Three

Debbie: Three, Why?

Students' Choral response: Three letters one sound

Debbie: and what sound did these three letters made?

Students' Choral response: ALL

Debbie: What three letters is it?

Students' Choral response: ALL

Debbie: What three letters is it?

Students' Choral response: A L L

Debbie: A L L good, Tall Errr, what two last letters?

Students' Choral response: E R

Debbie: E R, write it. I should hear you

Students' Choral response: T A L L E R. [students say it while they write the word]

Debbie: Good. Markers down. I am going to tell you the next one. (Lesson on March 31st, 2001)

After this excerpt, the same pattern of interactions repeated itself with different words that had suffixes such as “tallest”, “smallest”, “smarter”, “happier”, and “happiest.” Following this activity, the Debbie asked for the markers and white boards, put the materials away and continued with two activities that involved reading aloud. Once this group of students identified as “intensive students” were done working with Debbie they moved to work with Tina where they worked on short “I” and long “I” sounds. Tina introduced the activity to the students:

Tina: Put your whiteboard aside for me. The last time we were doing long a short “a,” and today we're gonna do long “I” and short “I.” Remember, they came with cars that would play last time. So the first thing that we did last time was, we say the word and then we decided if it was long or short. So we can do the same thing. We can decide if they are long “I” or short “I.” So, first of all what is a long “I” sound?

Students' Choral response: ai

Tina: Good, and what is the short I sound?

Students' Choral response: I

Tina: Eh, Eh, everyone says Eh.

Students' Choral response: Eh.

Tina: And what is the long I sound?

Students' Choral response: ai

Tina: Ok. So if you hear the long I, remember what we did last time? We did a [Tina does a thumbs up]

Students' Choral response: Thumbs up

Tina: Thumbs up, right. So if I see the world “nice”. Is that a long “I” or short “I?”

[Students do thumbs up]

Tina: Right. It's a long I. And if I say the word sit? Is that long or short?

Students' Choral response: Short.

Tina: That's right. So you gonna do thumbs..

Students' Choral response: Down.

Tina: Okay, let's practice with our eyes open. Okay the first one is I. You guys ready? The first one is [Tina reads her copy of the Harcourt curriculum place on her laps] dice. Does it say ai?

Students' Choral response: Yes.

Tina: So you gonna do thumbs up. This was for practice. Now, let's do one with your eyes closed. The first word is “time”. Close your eyes and showed me if your thumbs are up or down. [students do thumps up] Is it a short “I” or a long “I?”

Students' Choral response: Long!

Tina: So your thumb is?
Students' Choral response: Up.
Tina: Perfect. You guys are doing great.
(Lesson on March 31st, 2001)

In the following section, I focused the analysis on Debbie, though I also provided evidence from Tina's interaction with her students and from her video stimulated recall interview to support my claims. That is, I privileged Debbie's perspective out of the other subjects acting in the activity (i.e., Tina and students) (Engeström, 1987) as I focused on her situated identity.

Privileging tools in situated practice: Curating pattern 1. Privileging certain mediational tools over others is a key characteristic of the concept of curating. Wertsch (1991, 1993) used the term *privileging* to refer to the fact that "one mediational means is viewed as being more appropriate or efficacious than others in a particular sociocultural setting. It is concerned with the fact that certain mediational means strike stated users as being more appropriate or even as the only possible alternative" (p. 124). The notion of privileging, thus, is concerned with judging what mediational tools are appropriate and/or effective in a particular situated practice.

As curators select specific works of art over others that make up an exhibit, Debbie and Tina privileged (Wertsch, 1991) certain mediational tools over others. Furthermore, the process of privileging was situated in activity of the lesson. It was an achievement that was not solely attributable to Tina and Debbie, but it was distributed across these teacher residents and the mediational tools available to them in the activity of the lesson. That is, the way teacher residents privileged certain tools over others was mediated by elements of the activity system, such as the object and

the rules of the activity (Cole & Engeström, 1993). Privileging occurred, thus, in historical and institutional contexts. As I demonstrate in the following sections, privileging, as part of the process of curating, allowed teacher residents to enact a situated identity that could conform to the demands of the boundary practice that occurred when site professors visit teacher residents' classrooms.

Privileging tools of the TQM-like toolkit. Debbie and Tina privileged certain tools from the TQM-like discourse toolkit according to the rules that governed the activity system such as the reading and curriculum development policies (e.g., curriculum maps). First, it was evident that Debbie and Tina were using the conceptual tool examined in the previous chapter called ability profiling. To illustrate, Tina and Debbie separated students according to their DIBELS scores and had provided instruction accordingly. Debbie responded the following when asked about how she formed this small group of students during the video stimulated recall interview:

We have to look at your DIBELS scores and you have to go off that. A lot of them started off as intensive so anyone who is intensive would be group one...district wide, that's how it goes. You have the level readers that go with each group but you have to read with them. You don't get to pick what you do. Like the phonics skill that we're working on, the suffixes, which isn't really a phonics skill but that's what they have for that week.

Privileging ability profiling as a mediational tool was shaped by a rule (i.e., district reading policy) of the activity system (e.g., Debbie's and Tina's lesson). This rule required all teachers in the district to segregate and instruct students according

to their achievement to perform in a particular assessment such as DIBELS. Note how Debbie stated that “You don’t get to pick what you do”. Debbie perceived that she had little agency in deciding how to go about instruction in her classroom. By following district policies for teaching reading, she positioned herself as a docile worker (Foucault, 1977) who followed the instructions of the administration.

Instructionism was also evident in the lesson. The lesson was based on the transmission of discrete knowledge (e.g., letter sounds correspondence and understanding suffixes) and a set of procedures (e.g., blending and recognizing long ‘P’ and short ‘P’). This set of knowledge and procedures was transmitted from Debbie and Tina to the students. These words came from the Harcourt curriculum, which Debbie and Tina had right next to them during lessons and used it to identify the next word that needed to be introduced and taught. This was confirmed by Debbie during the video stimulated recall interview conducted after the lesson:

Interviewer: How do you decide what to teach and how to teach it?

Debby: We were following Harcourt.

Interviewer: How about how you teach it?

Debby: We were following Harcourt.

This was a district mandate and, as I explained in the previous chapter, it was part of the elements that language coaches look for in teachers’ practices while conducting the walkthroughs. In this regard, Debbie stated:

You don’t get to pick what you do. Like the phonics skill that we’re working on, the suffixes, which isn’t really a phonics skill but that’s what they have for that week. You’re told this is your phonics skill,

this is your focus skill which is like sequencing. You have a story that goes with it to teach it. Then you have a five-day plan. You have to do it. (Video stimulated interview, April 4th)

Instructionism was a mediational tool privileged across Desert Pride and Green Valley. A particular form of instruction guided school district practices and that teacher residents were required to engage with. Note in the above quote how Debbie stated that, “you have to do it.” Here again the district’s reading policies (i.e., rules of the activity system) also played a role in privileging instructionism as an appropriate mediational tool. That is, the school district’s reading policies that mandated and regulated the lesson required teacher residents to use this conceptual tool, and Debbie did so even when she struggled with it. Debbie commented during the video stimulated recall interview:

I feel like my day is so routine now. It’s almost getting boring because every day’s exactly the same. I guess it’ll be good when I have a sub because then the kids, they already know what to do everyday.

The students knew the script they needed to follow. On the one hand, this made easy Debbie’s job of being recognized as a teacher who uses instructionism (i.e., in this district, of being competent), and on the other hand, it made Debbie’s work boring. Yet, she continued to follow the rules even as she struggled with it: “You just follow protocol...A Robot. I don’t know. I do what I’m told. I mean I don’t know. It’s hard” (Debbie’s video stimulated recall interview, April 4th). Debbie, thus, saw herself as a teacher who did what she was told and in doing so she privileged instructionism as a tool to instruct students.

Remember that the TQM-like discourse combined flexible and tight forms of control to get teachers to be docile enough to follow district mandates and independent enough to take responsibility to measure and control the quality of their own work. The first kind of teacher was related to Fordism (Jessop, 1989) and the latter one to New Capitalism (Gee et al., 1996). In this regard, Debbie saw herself, in part as a Fordist teacher who complied with the strict requirements posed by the administration. As Cope and Kalantzis (2000) noted, though Fordist practices aimed to bring efficiency to schools, they ended up producing “crisis in motivation” and “demeaning the conditions of work” (p. 127). Accordingly, Debbie qualified her work as “boring” and talked about herself as a “robot”.

The claim that Debbie saw herself, in part, as a Fordist worker was further supported by how Debbie privileged two other mediational tools from the TQM-like discourse: *Taylorism* and *Team based control*. Grade level teams worked together using the district’s curriculum maps to plan out how to teach all the required state standards throughout the year. I pointed out also that the use of curriculum maps by grade level teams reflected Taylorism, as knowledge was split in small, discrete, and even quantifiable pieces, and also reflected team based control as teachers were given flexibility to work on grade level teams to decide how those standards would be taught throughout the year.

The instruction during the lesson that was the focus of this analysis, furthermore, is a reflection of Taylorism as the content and objective of the lesson was derived from the curriculum maps. Learning the suffixes “er and “est” was a part of a sequence of discrete knowledge that students needed to master to meet the state’s academic standards. In addition, in the excerpt of the lesson, just as a car goes

down the factory line, the students identified as “intensive” went from Debbie’s small group to Tina’s small group so that another discrete piece of knowledge can be given to them.

Further, the content of the lesson was selected and designed by the grade level team using curriculum maps. Debbie followed the lesson her grade level team designed even if it did not match her instructional preferences:

This is hard because when I want like the way that I wanted to teach it. I just wanted to put like a big piece of construction paper at their table, put the books out there, give them some markers, let them all work together. But then I’m like, “Wait, that’s not what we said.” That’s where it’s really hard when you’re teaching because I’m like, “No, if somebody comes in, and they’ve got markers, and they’re...” You know? It’s not going to, it’s not what our team planned. I really had to stop myself for a second. But it’s hard. It really is hard to stick to... I really try to stick to what we plan so. (Video stimulated interview, April 4th, 2010)

Debbie conducted a lesson that followed the decisions made by her grade level team, which in turn was guided by the district’s curriculum maps that were part of the district’s practices to ensure that all standards were taught in the classroom.

Interestingly, the use of grade level teams that, as I explained in the previous chapter, aimed to empower teachers and get them to own and be responsible for instruction, produced the opposite result in the case of Debbie. Instead of feeling empowered as a teacher, she saw herself as a teacher who just followed closed instructions: a

managed worker, even a “robot,” as she put it— or as I mentioned earlier, a Fordist worker.

The last meditational tool of the TQM-like discourse privileged by Debbie and Tina in this lesson was *being visually engaged*. There was an ubiquitous concern with keeping students visually engaged and focused on the goal of the activity (e.g., understanding and decoding words with suffices). Remember that there was a push for the district to increase student engagement and that the WWTRI indicated language coaches to evaluate the percentage of student engagement. As Kim, the language coach at Desert Pride Elementary stated:

Student engagement, we’re looking for students to be—at least 85 percent of their class to be engaged in learning so that means if they’re doing whole group instruction, they’re on the carpet, they have whiteboards, or they’re partner sharing or, you know, thumbs up/thumbs down. They’re constantly engaged. If they’re at their tables, working at their desks, everybody is on task doing what’s expected. (Interview with Kim, December 16th)

Evidence of *being visually engaged* was observed in Debbie’s and Tina’s high control of interactional patterns and of students’ behaviors. Debbie and Tina controlled the floor, the pacing, the engagement and the turn taking patterns. Debbie controlled students’ behaviors by saying “markers down,” “Say it,” “Write it,” among others. She used mostly commands to regulate the floor. In addition, she provided students their own individual white boards in which students wrote suffices and then words that contained those suffices. Tina used thumbs up and thumbs down as a response format to make sure that all students were engaged in the lesson. These were

practices that the language coach counted as student engagement as demonstrated in the previous quote from Kim.

As Wertsch (1993) pointed out, people privileged certain tools over others by valuing authority rather than efficacy, despite better ways to promote deep learning than instructionism (Greeno, 2006). Yet, the authority of the TQM-like discourse in the schools regulated how Debbie went about instruction in her classroom. It was not only the mediational tools of the discourses that were privileged, but the system of authority and values in which these mediational tools were webbed in. This needs to be understood in light of the cultural, historical and institutional forces that were at play in the lessons. The Rio Salado school district, as I reviewed above, had tightened up the control over its participating schools as it was falling short in meeting state accountability standards. In response, identity technologies such as curriculum maps and walkthroughs from language coaches were implemented. Particularly, the walkthroughs served to exercise closed control over the teachers by evaluating them and making sure they were following district procedures for developing and implementing instruction. In addition, remember that Debbie was a relatively new teacher. As Grossman, Thompson, and Valencia (2002) noted, districts play a powerful role as teacher educators for beginning teachers. Beginning teachers, like Debbie, are still in the process of learning to teach, and they may be more likely to follow district guidelines.

Up to this point, one could think that Debbie only privileged tools that signaled the teacher identity sanctioned by the district. That is, Debbie was taking up the institutional bid of becoming an executioner and controller of quality. Debbie positioned herself as a docile and managed worker who was following the

instructions of the administration. One could say so far, thus, that her situated identity was closer to that of a Fordist worker than a new capitalism worker. Yet, as I mentioned previously, this lesson was a boundary practice in which Debbie and Tina also used some of the tools afforded by the inclusive education-like discourse. I turn now to describe how certain tools of the inclusive education-like discourse were privileged in situated practice, and then to examine how all the privileged tools from both discourses of professionalism were appropriated to achieve the goal of the activity.

Privileging the tools of the inclusive education-like discourse. First, it was evident that Debby and Tina privileged co-teaching as both were actively engaged in teaching in the same classroom and sharing the same students. It is also evident that in this lesson, Tina and Debbie privileged differentiated instruction as they designed two different instructional activities according to the needs of two different groups of students: a group of students far from achieving their grade level benchmark in DIBELS (intensive students) and a group of students who were close to achieving their grade level benchmark according to DIBELS (strategic students).

The selection of these two mediational tools was far from being due solely to their agency. Tina and Debbie's privileging of co-teaching and differentiated instruction in this lesson was mediated by two elements of the activity system. First, the historical context of the lesson mediated what tools were privileged by Debbie and Tina. Remember that this lesson occurred on a Wednesday on which Tina and Debbie were able to and required to practice a model of co-teaching. As I described in the previous chapter, the arrangement of the university program with their school afforded them the opportunity to co-teach once a week and provided the funding to

pay for a substitute teacher. Debbie and Tina, in addition, were also learning about co-teaching and differentiating instruction during her thesis seminars. So, this lesson occurred in a day and time that Tina and Debbie were afforded to co-teach, by practicing what was being taught during their thesis seminars.

Second, as the selection of works of art in a museum exhibit is curated according to the theme and focus of the exhibit, the selection of the mediational tools of the inclusive education-like discourse was mediated by the goal of the activity (i.e., increase students performances as assessed by DIBELS). Note that not all students participated in these two parallel activities created by the use of co-teaching and differentiated instruction, but only the intensive and strategic students. These students are the ones who had not achieved their reading benchmark according to DIBELS, which in turn contributed to whether the grade level teams made their own benchmarks. Remember that I examined in the previous chapter how grade level teams came together in the data room to set benchmarks for themselves in regards to improving students' DIBELS scores. Debbie stated on the video stimulated recall interview:

After this small group was done, they go straight from my group to Tina's group because my intensives I try not to have them out by themselves the least amount as possible. My higher kids I let them work more independently.

Students who were identified as intensive needed more teacher directed work, more control, or in Foucault's (1978) terms, more discipline so that they could be instructed to achieve certain benchmarks. The main goal of privileging co-teaching and

differentiated instruction was to increase the scores of students who had not achieved their grade level benchmark in DIBELS.

They are so far behind and every year that gap just keeps getting bigger and bigger so I've got to close this gap. There is one of these kids in here, you can't see him, his name is Jazin and if he's not here at my table he won't do anything. That's how a lot of them are. If he's here and I'm within this proximity, he's going to be working hard. Even sometimes he may not be in a small group but he may just be sitting close by so I know that he's working.

Note Debbie's concern about closing the achievement gap. Close control and proximity were key factors, according to teachers, to help the intensive and strategic students to increase their scores so that the gap between their scores and the students performing above benchmark could be closed. Co-teaching and differentiated instructions were seen as a mediational tool that facilitated the much needed closed control on students:

You know it's just having a bigger group and having so many low students. Every single day by the end of the day I'm like, "Oh, I couldn't get to this one, and I couldn't get to that one, and I really wish I would have had a chance to do that." So when you have that co-teacher in here, it's like I feel like I can just get so much more done. I can see so many more students. I feel a lot better. (Video stimulated interview, April 4th, 2010)

In this quote, Debbie expressed her concerns about trying to get to every student; she saw co-teaching as a mediational tool to work closely with more students. She

was concerned about and took responsibility for improving all students' performance. Co-teaching and differentiated instruction were privileged in this lesson not just because the lesson occurred on a day in which Tina and Debbie were supposed to practice the mediational tools of the inclusive education-like discourse, but also because they were seen by these teacher residents as effective mediational means to achieve the goal of the activity, which was to improve the DIBELS scores of students who were not able to meet their expected benchmarks. This indicated that the mediational tools of the inclusive education-like discourse were used to functionally perform the goal of the TQM-like discourse. Drawing from Scollon (2008), I used the term bending to describe this interdiscursive relationship.

Note, in addition, that Debbie and Tina did not appropriate the entire toolkit of the inclusive education-like discourse. They privileged co-teaching and differentiated instruction but not cultural responsiveness in the situated activity of the lesson. Debbie provided some insight when asked how her lesson could have been more culturally responsive by the site professor:

Maybe I can find words that they're more familiar with. And help them build connections that way. Then it can be more culturally responsive maybe. It's the only thing I can think of. We kind of have, I don't know if you want to call it like a script, or a, you know, a dialogue that you have to stick to, so you don't have much flexibility in choice. And granted we do have the option if everyone on the team was will to find new vocabulary words. And come up with some more culturally responsive stuff, as long as we were all doing it. (Video stimulated interview, November 18th, 2010)

Note that immediately after Debbie came up with a way that she could have done her lesson more culturally responsive, she advanced a caveat. She could only incorporate culturally responsive if all her grade level team decides to do it. As Debbie continued explaining, this was challenging:

But at the same time, it's very constraining because if you wanted to add in culturally responsive books, and you know if you wanted to take it a step further, then you really can't because if you're not on the same page as everybody. Like we had one person different, then we all got dinged for it. You are very constrained in a sense because if you can't everyone to be sold on your idea of how you want to teach it, then you can't do it. A lot of people just really prefer to stick to what we have for Harcourt, and follow the day-by-day routine... Some people really prefer to keep it on the safe side. And they don't want to have to do any extra work.

Then when asked if she could negotiate with her team to add a culturally responsive component to her lessons, Debbie answered,

Yeah I don't think it's a negotiable. I think everyone feels really overwhelmed at this point with everything that we have to do. And if you ask them to do one more thing, even though it may seem like the smallest thing, to them it's just like when you're already on the verge of you know. Then it's like, "No I'm not doing anything else. My plate is full." But yeah...It's really frustrating because a lot of the things that we learn, and the great philosophies and practices that we

learn about in the program. You really don't get to implement in the classroom.

To add to this information that Debbie provided, let me remind you that the language coach present in Debbie and Tina's lesson was evaluating whether they followed the adaptation of the curriculum map adopted by the grade level team. Debbie, thus, felt constrained about implementing cultural responsiveness as it was in contradiction with one of the rules of the activity system of the lesson (i.e., rules about curriculum design). Debbie opted for following what was expected of her in Desert Pride, and did not find, thus, cultural responsiveness as a mediational tool that was neither appropriate nor available to her. As curators in museums select some art works over others according to the focus, or in activity theory terms, the object of the exhibit, co-teaching and differentiating instruction, thus, were considered more appropriate or even the only possible alternative, while cultural responsiveness was not.

Debbie and Tina, thus, privileged certain tools of the inclusive education-like discourse over others to signal, at least to a certain extent, that they were teacher residents of the master's program. Yet, Debbie and Tina curated the tools of the inclusive education like-discourse only to the extent that these tools would contribute to her signaling of the teacher identity afforded by the TQM-like discourse: an executioner and controller of quality, in particular being a Fordist worker. A conceptual tool that was in conflict with this situated identity, such as culturally responsive practices, was not privileged in that particular historical and institutional context in which the lesson took place.

In this section, I described how certain tools from both discourses of professionalism were privileged over others, which is part of the process of curating and a reconstruction of a toolkit. I demonstrated that co-teaching and differentiated instruction were privileged to actually perform the goals of the TQM-like discourse. In the following section, I examined how the privileged tools from both discourses were appropriated simultaneously to achieve the goal of the activity. This analysis pointed out the second characteristic of curating: the appropriation of mediational tools to reconstruct a tool kit that signaled a situated identity that could address the demands of boundary practice.

Appropriating toolkits to be a managed inclusionist. Another characteristic of the concept of curating was that the mediational tools that were privileged in a curating pattern are appropriated according to the activity in which they are being used in order to enact a situated identity that addresses the demands of boundary practices. I pointed out in the conceptual framework of this dissertation that the concept of appropriation referred to the process through which teacher residents make mediational tools their own as they participate in goal oriented activities (Newman et al., 1989). In the same manner that curators make meaning of and interpret art works and display them with other artworks, mediational tools that were used together shaped each other's implementation. This became a two-way process; teacher residents appropriated the discourses of professionalism and their mediational tools, and in the process they reconstructed the tool kits and the mediational tools themselves, developing heuristic means that signaled a situated identity that addressed the demands of the boundary practice of site professor visits.

Tina and Debbie appropriated a model of co-teaching. During the video stimulated recall interview, Tina referred to the model of co-teaching implemented in the lesson:

I think we started out with small group/whole group, and then she went in to take a small group while the rest of the group was working...this was the small group/large—I think that was the model we were doing.

Interestingly, small/large group was not one of the co-teaching models the teacher residents learned about in their seminars and were asked to practice every Wednesday in their classroom (see table 5 in chapter 4). This kind of co-teaching, thus, was the result of the appropriation of co-teaching by Tina and Debbie in situated practice. In this lesson, Tina and Debbie co-taught by appropriating another tool of the inclusive education-like discourse: differentiated instruction. The lesson was, in part, a combination of these two mediational tools that shaped each other's appropriation and implementation and that were used to achieve the goal of the activity (i.e., understanding and decoding words with suffixes).

To differentiate instruction and to co-teach in this lesson, Debbie and Tina separated the students into three groups: a group of students identified as intensive who worked with Debbie, two groups of students who, according to DIBELS, struggled the most. Debbie stated during the video stimulated recall interview that corresponded to this lesson,

Tina has a group and she's over there on the carpet. It's a group who they actually needed silent E and so she's practicing that with them.

She's got a strategic group, I've got an intensive group and we're working on suffixes "er" and "est".

This created two parallel but similar activity systems— one led by Tina and the other one by Debbie, which resulted in little interaction between them throughout the videotaped lesson. Yet, this served to signal their participation in the activities of the master' program. Liz, Debbie's and Tina's site professor, noted in her file note on the day of the lesson:

The teachers were well-planned...we could really see the difference in their lesson plans. They included more of the pieces you would see with co-teaching versus just the components of a good lesson
(Liz field note on March 1st)

Their enactment of co-teaching and differentiated instruction was socially recognized by the site professor. Drawing from these mediational tools, they could signal that they were implementing the mediational tools of the inclusive education-like discourse, which in turn signaled an identity that I called in the previous chapter an inclusive teacher.

As I pointed out in the previous section, where I described how some tools were privileged over others, several mediational tools of the TQM-like discourse toolkit were drawn upon in this lesson. These tools mediated the appropriation of co-teaching and differentiated instruction. Note that in many of the above quotes Tina and Debbie organized the differentiation of instruction by ability profiling students as either intensive or strategic:

She's got a strategic group, I've got an intensive group and we're working on suffixes er and est. Then we're working on a level reader

which is the below level reader for the week...No, there's a grid. Its, okay they scored this on this, this on this, this on that. They go in this group. Then for intervention time they have a phonics screener and if they miss three or more in this area, they go in this group.

There is no thought. You will just follow protocol.

The appropriation of co-teaching and differentiated instruction, thus, was mediated by a tool from the TQM-like discourse toolkit: ability profiling. Students were profiled according to what the information from DIBELS indicated that kind of instruction students needed. This was not the teachers' decision but an institutional one. Through the appropriation of ability profiling, Debbie and Tina were able to signal to the language coach, who was observing them, that they were teachers who followed closely the decisions of the administration to control and execute quality. Ability profiling, thus, was a mediational means that together with co-teaching and differentiated instruction allowed Debbie to enact a situated identity that signaled membership in both communities: the school and the Master's program.

Let us remember also that Debbie and Tina had designed this lesson according to the mediational tools of Taylorism and Team-based control: tools that Debbie privileged even when she did not agreed with them. Debbie stated when asked how did she collaborated with Tina to design the lesson:

We usually whoever's classroom we're going to, we look at the strategy and we say—like if it's my classroom then I'm going to come up with what we're going to do... Um-hum. All of the second grade has to be teaching the same thing at the same time. Every second grade in the district has to be doing the same thing at the same

time...We meet on Tuesday and we're going to go over it again to make sure that we know.

These tools also mediated how co-teaching and differentiating instruction were appropriated, particularly when designing the lesson. When co-teaching and differentiating instruction, Debbie and Tina needed to teach the objectives that the curriculum map dictated for that particular day. Their team got together every Tuesday to make sure that everybody was on the same page. When describing how she and Tina designed the instruction for co-teaching, she brought up the following story:

It turned out the Principal said when she went to observe the co-teaching lesson we were not doing what we're supposed to. What's going on with our lesson plans? Are all of us teaching differently in different rooms? Everything needs to look the same. Our coach came in there and she was like you guys are not doing what you're supposed to. We're like, "it was just for co-teaching we swear." I guess they had a different objective. They changed the verb and the adjective and everyone is supposed to have the same objectives written on their board every single day.

Debbie referred to this story to explain that even when they were co-teaching, they needed to be complying with district mandates regarding curriculum development. Debbie co-taught and differentiated instruction following the educational objectives dictated in the curriculum maps and according to the instructional decisions agreed upon by her grade level team. Co-teaching and differentiated instruction, thus, were

appropriated in situated practice within the constraints and affordances of the mediating tools of the TQM-like discourse.

Debbie and Tina appropriated instructionism to signal that they were managed workers who follow the decisions of the administration to control and execute quality. Instructionism was appropriated in situated practice jointly with the aforementioned mediational tools. That is, instructionism was used in the lesson as a mediational tool jointly with co-teaching, differentiated instruction, and ability profile students. The appropriation of instructionism was also mediated by Debbie's interaction with the member of the communities: the students identified as intensive students that composed the small groups and the language coach and site professor. Particularly, in the transcript showed in a previous section, it was evident that students recognized this way of going about teaching. Students responded chorally to questions such as the following.

Debbie: We're gonna practice suffixes. Say the word suffixes.

Students' Choral response: Suffixes

Debbie: What sound does the "er" say?

Students' Choral response: ERR

Debbie: What sound does the E S T say?

Students' Choral response: ESSST

In addition, students responded when cued and there were very little disruptions through the lesson. Students, thus, recognized this way of interaction and Debbie's position as a managed worker who followed instructions from the administration (e.g., implementing instructionism). Remember that Debbie stated, "I guess it'll be

good when I have a sub because then the kids, they already know what to do every day” (Video stimulated recall interview conducted with Debbie on April 4th).

Yet, when students made an error, the curated meditational tools allowed Debbie to correct students’ errors in order to achieve the goal of the activity. Let me bring back a fragment of dialogue that I presented when describing Debbie’s lesson.

<i>Debbie :</i>	Count it
Students’ Choral response:	T ALL ER
<i>Debbie:</i>	How many fingers is she holding out? [grabbing one of the students’ hand that had counted the sound with her fingers]
Students’ Choral response:	Three.
<i>Debbie:</i>	Three, why?
Students’ Choral response:	Three letters one sound.
<i>Debbie:</i>	And what sound do these three letters make?
Students’ Choral response:	ALL
<i>Debbie:</i>	What three letters is it?
Students’ Choral response:	ALL
<i>Debbie:</i>	What three letters is it?
Students’ Choral response:	A L L
<i>Debbie:</i>	A L L good.

These interactions show how Debbie curated co-teaching, differentiated instruction, ability profiling, instructionism, Taylorism, and Team-based control to reinforce a

concept that she perceived that students did not understand. Debbie, at this point in the interaction, stopped following the Harcourt curriculum. This was evidenced by the fact that when she was doing the same exercise using other words such as “happiest”, “smaller”, “smallest”; she did not stop the flow of the commands (i.e., count it, write it, and so forth). To reinforce the concept, she highlighted one of the students’ behaviors by holding her fingers and showing the students that the word “taller” had only three sounds. When she asked what sounds the three letters “all” make the students respond correctly. Yet, when she asked the students “what three letters is it?” the students, responded again saying the sounds that those letters made (i.e., all). Debbie signaled to the students that they had provided the wrong answer by repeating the same question (i.e., What three letters is it?). This question was an indirect speech act, which aimed to perform by way of performance of another speech act (Schiffrin, 1994). What was supposed to be a question was really a judgment about the students’ response. It signaled that the sound “all” was not the right answer. This was understood by the students as they changed their answer separating each letter and responding “A L L”. Finally, Debbie closed the IRE interaction format by praising the students for the “right” performance.

The simultaneous appropriation of the mediational tools privileged by Debbie allowed her to correct students in order to achieve the object of the activity. It was a process of heuristic development that served her to act in the present. Remember that these tools had been privileged because they were seen by Debbie to be appropriate to achieve the goal of the activity. This curating pattern afforded her the opportunity to work with a small group to which she could pay closer attention and made it easier to correct errors. Ability profiling her students, in addition,

allowed her to focus on one skill and have her group engaged in a common goal, which was selected through the use of Taylorism and Team-based control. Using instructionism, she was able to keep control of the speaking floor and be the holder of the right answer. The achievement of the students' response "A L L", thus, was distributed across Debbie, the student's and the meditational tools appropriated in this event.

It is interesting to note that the simultaneous appropriation of these tools allowed Debbie to take responsibility for her own instruction as she was able to stop it at any time in order to correct it and improve the quality of the outcomes (e.g., increasing DIBELS scores). This is one of the key tenets of quality management control: workers need to be empowered to prevent quality errors that can become larger systemic problems and that can ensure that quality is built into the final outcome (Crosby, 1979; Demings, 1982). Through this curating pattern, Debbie was able to also signal that she was an executioner and controller of quality that took, for moments, responsibility for increasing students' scores in DIBELS assessments.

As Star and Griesemer (1989) pointed out, tensions that emerge in boundary practices can be solved by each participating community by simply finding the ideal object to suit its demands, and in doing so, challenging characteristics of the ideal object are deleted or ignore. Teacher residents tended to delete or ignore characteristics of the inclusive education-like tools that entered in conflict with the TQM-like discourse. Remember that according to the masters' program, differentiated instruction and co-teaching should serve to dismantle the segregation of students and to provide multiple means for students to participate. Yet, the way that differentiated instruction and co-teaching were appropriated in the lesson

resulted in the segregation of students into ability-like groups, and in narrowing of ways of participation, as Debbie and Tina were also implementing instructionism and keeping students highly controlled so that they could signal that they were engaged in the lesson. That is, students had only one entry point to participate, and that was saying the right answer at the right time.

Remember that the tools of the inclusive education-like discourse were ideal boundary objects that kept both sides of the partnership connected (Star & Griesemer, 1989)— they were concepts that both sides agreed to worked upon and that provided the means for engagement and communication. They were flexible enough to adapt in each classroom but also maintained a loose structure. This made the inclusive education-like discourse more dialogic than the TQM-like discourse. In the case of Debbie’s curating pattern, the conceptual tool called cultural responsiveness was not privileged in the lesson at all, and the tools of differentiating instruction and co-teaching were bended to functionally perform the goal of the TQM-like discourse, which was to increase quality as indicated by quantitative measures such as DIBELS.

Summary of curating pattern 1. The analysis presented in this section illustrated how in a particular historical moment, Debbie and Tina curated a set of tools from both discourses that could conform to the demands of the boundary practice and could resolve the secondary contradiction created by the visit of site professors to their classroom. In doing so, they engaged in the historical endeavor of shaping these discourses of professionalism that have been produced and reproduced by various generations, becoming history in person (Holland & Lave, 2001). There was a deconstruction and reconstruction of these discourses’ tool kits,

rebuilding the cultural resources (e.g., discourses of professionalism) that were calcified in previous practices and generations of teachers (Holland & Lave, 2001). Bending -the curating pattern produced in the situated activity of Tina and Debbie's lesson- allowed Debbie to enact an identity that signaled participation in both communities (e.g., school and masters' program) and to curate an educational experience for her students. Mediated action and identity development occurred simultaneously. That is, *bending* was the result of a process of heuristic development that served Debbie to act in the immediate present to achieve the goal of her lesson and to signal an identity that addressed the demands of the boundary practice. I called this identity the managed inclusionist: a teacher who could follow the district mandates using the tools of the TQM-like discourse while trying to implement some of the tools of the inclusive education-like discourse.

This curation pattern was far from being an individual achievement, but rather a collective one that was distributed across the situated activity of the classroom lesson. Some tools were privileged over others according to the rules governing the activity system (reading and standard district policies) and the expected outcome of the activity (e.g., increasing students skills to identify and decode words with suffixes). Furthermore, the appropriation of the mediational tools of the inclusive education-like discourse (i.e., differentiated instruction and co-teaching) was mediated by the curated tools of the TQM-like discourse.

In the following section I demonstrated a different curating pattern that shared the same process – privileging and appropriating—and that worked in a boundary practice in which the TQM-like discourse was not as authoritative as in the

case of Debbie. I demonstrated, thus, how the same concept of curating had a situated flavor.

Curating Pattern 2: Blending

Scollon (2008) referred to blending as a kind of interdiscursivity in which traces of a discourse (e.g., a meditational tool) are brought into and embedded with another discourse. In the case that follows, instructionism was blended with the tree mediational tools of the inclusive education-like discourse (co-teaching, differentiated instruction, and cultural responsiveness). This was a significant event as this was the only moment from all the videos composing the data corpus that the three tools of the inclusive education-like discourse were included in a curating pattern. In the followings sections, I first situate the lesson in a historical context and then I demonstrate how this curating pattern occurred in situated practice by privileging and appropriating certain meditational tools.

Historical context of the lesson. The lesson examined in this section occurred in Nazareth's classroom during the Fall of 2010, more specifically on December 11th. At that time, Nazareth was the teacher of a self-contained classroom of one of the Rio Grande school district's special education program called Buddies (pseudonym) for students identified by the district with low-cognitive abilities. The Rio Grande school district described this program as:

The Buddies Program is designed for students who function considerably below their peers in intellectual ability and adaptive behaviors that adversely affect the children's performance in a regular classroom setting. Instruction is significantly modified and based on the needs identified in the student's IEP. The purpose of the

program is to provide appropriate instruction to enable students to function as independently as possible throughout their school years and transition to adult life. (Rio Grande school district special education programs' website)

Nazareth, in addition, described her students in the following way:

They have a lot of communication problems. All but one of them has significant communication problems, and their adaptive skills are okay. Like none of them need help with the toileting or anything like that, but in the general education classroom, it becomes very overwhelming for them. So that's why they're in here... They have a range of disabilities. There are kids in here that are autistic. They have hearing impairments. Some are mildly mentally retarded. There's some that just have severe learning disabilities, and all but one of them have speech impairments. They've all been in this program for a very long time.

Working in a self-contained classroom was new to Nazareth. She was a special education teacher who had 10 years of experience working in resource rooms. During the previous semester -spring of 2010- Nazareth worked as a resource room teacher at Green Valley elementary. She had in this semester arranged to go beyond the time that she was given to co-teach on Wednesdays through her participation in the masters' program; she had arranged to co-teach during writing instruction every day with a fifth-grade general education teacher called Nancy. In this way, Nazareth was able to include her resource room special education students in this classroom as she was co-teaching with Nancy.

After the summer break of 2010, however, she was moved from being a resource room teacher to the Buddies self-contained classroom. She mentioned the following in regards to her move to the Buddies classroom in an interview conducted right before the summer:

Yeah, I feel really good about it. I'm excited about my teaching position, but I'm a little curious as to how—if I'm even able to do co-teaching. Because, I know I can do co-teaching, but like talking to the other Buddies teachers, they really said that their students—they've done inclusion and they try to integrate their kids as much as possible, like in P.E. and science and library; those sort of things, but for the other core areas like reading and math, they feel like their students really do better in the self-contained setting. So I'm real curious as to how I'm going to go about integrating next year.

Nazareth perceived that moving to the self-contained classroom limited the possibilities of including her students in the general education classroom. Yet, as the Fall semester went on, she tried to include some of her students in general education classroom and was able to collaborate with other general education teachers to include her students beyond physical education, science and library:

I really do want more inclusion for them. Like one of my students who goes in for reading...kind of get them out of their comfort zone, because I feel like it prepares them more for how the real world is than just this group of kids that she'll be with for a long time....I'm collaborating with that second grade teacher with the curriculum that she's doing in the class, with the one student. I do some of the

things in here also. Then with a third grade teacher that my student goes in for math and then with a fourth grade science teacher because four of my kids now go in there for inclusive science

Nazareth was committed to include her students from the self-contained classroom into general education, but the majority spent most of the time in the self-contained classroom. This points out, however, Nazareth's commitment to inclusion. It was a commitment that was not only constrained by institutional arrangements but also by her own perception of her students' abilities. As Nazareth stated during an interview: "in the general education classroom, it becomes very overwhelming for them" (Nazareth exit interview on November 30th).

Another important fact of the historical context in which the lesson occurred was in relation to the district curriculum maps. In the fall of 2010, the Rio Grande School district had not developed curriculum maps for special education students. Beth, the principal at Green Valley, stated in this regard:

We don't have the curriculum maps for special education yet. That creates a glitch in the system right now. It's kind of like, "Okay. Well, just sit with whom you're closest too, and you just share the wealth with one another....They're supposed to be coming out with those I think next year [2011].

This glitch in the system resulted in that self-contained classrooms did not need to follow any specific instruction nor had to respond to a grade level team in order to design their lessons. As the word glitch indicates, it was a short-lived fault in the system. Something that needed to be corrected but that was happening at the time that the lesson occurred. Nazareth, thus, chose content that would meet her students

IEP goals without having to negotiate neither the content nor the pedagogy of the lesson with a grade level team. Furthermore, the language coach was not present during this lesson evaluating Nazareth. Language coaches did not have expertise with special education students so they did not conduct walkthroughs in the self-contained classrooms.

The lesson also occurred at a particular moment in time in Nazareth's teacher biography:

I think I'm finally not feeling like a new teacher anymore because even after I had my first couple of years of teaching, I always felt like a new teacher every year... I'm starting to feel like teaching is more part of my identity. Even last year when I would leave here, I wouldn't think about school. Once I'm here I put all into it. Outside of school I never really thought about it. Now I find myself thinking about it more and thinking about like different things I can do with my kids and even working on stuff when I'm watching television. I feel like it's more a part of me now than it used to be.

Nazareth noted that in the last year something had changed on her as a teacher. She did not feel like a new teacher nor took it as only a job, but considered it part of who she was- part of her identity. She was also committed to her own growth as a teacher. By December 11th, in addition, Nazareth was about to finish the master's program. That meant that she had been in the program for an entire year, including the summer. She had gone through all her PBAs and was putting them all together for her thesis presentation, and finished her classes on cultural responsive classes, inclusion, and assessment among others.

As she was considered an experienced teacher who was finishing the program, a teacher resident from the second cohort of the master's program, whose name was Tamara, was placed in her classroom. Tamara was a 22-year old student who had come from an African country to study to be a teacher in the United States. Tamara was in the classroom from Tuesday through Thursday and she was also taking all of the thesis seminars that Nazareth had taken the previous spring and summer. Tamara was not a full time teacher at Green Valley as Nazareth was. She was placed in Nazareth's classroom as part of the practices of the masters' program. This afforded Nazareth and Tamara the opportunity to co-teach three days a week and to collaborate with and receive feedback from Marlene, the site professor at Green Valley, during the Fall semester of 2010.

The moment in which the lesson occurred, thus, was a boundary practice in which the Master's program and the school practices came together. The site professor of Green Valley, Marlene, observed Nazareth and Tamara during the lesson. The presence of Tamara also contributed to the formation of this boundary practice as Tamara was implementing and practicing what she was learning in the Master's program in Nazareth's classroom. In this boundary practice, Nazareth and Tamara were afforded to co-teach and also to receive feedback from Marlene regarding how they were co-teaching, differentiating instruction, and creating a culturally responsive lesson.

Nazareth also served as a clinical teacher for Tamara as she was an experienced teacher with years of experience in special education. The teacher resident handbook of the master's program defined clinical teachers as the following:

Clinical teachers are general or special education teachers who coach, mentor and co-teach with residents. Clinical teachers ensure that residents understand how teachers make strategic teaching decisions about the children in their classes. Clinical teachers work to develop their residents' abilities to lead learning in the classroom. Clinical teachers provide residents with access to and practice with a variety of tools for assessing student progress and planning and designing and implementing instruction. Clinical teachers work closely with residents in classroom management, too. Clinical teachers guide residents as they are learning how to manage academic and behavioral performance of individuals, small groups and whole class formats. Clinical teachers are expected to exemplify continuous learning in their own teaching as well as share their knowledge, skills, and attitudes with their residents through modeling and collaborative exchanges about classroom life. (p. 27)

So, in this lesson Nazareth was both a teacher resident who was about to finish her master's program and also a clinical teacher who served to apprentice Tamara into being a special education and inclusive teacher. Yet, at the same time that Nazareth participated in the Master's program, she was a full time special education teacher in the Green Valley Elementary community. She had to teach according to the practices of this institution. Nazareth, for instance, had to focus on her students' IEP goals, make sure that she was working towards meeting state standards, and use the district's Harcourt curriculum. Nazareth, thus, needed to curate a set of tools from both communities to enact an identity that could conform to the demands of this

boundary practice (e.g., being a teacher resident, a clinical teacher, and a special education teacher at Green Valley). In this historical context, the following lesson took place.

The lesson: A chair for my mother. December 11th, 2010, Nazareth and Tamara conducted a lesson that aimed to teach students the difference between “wants” and “needs” and also work on reading comprehension. To do so, Nazareth and Tamara read a story called *A Chair for my Mother*, written by Vera Williams (see figure 11). Marlene was in the classroom videotaping the lesson and taking notes to give Nazareth and Tamara feedback after the lesson.

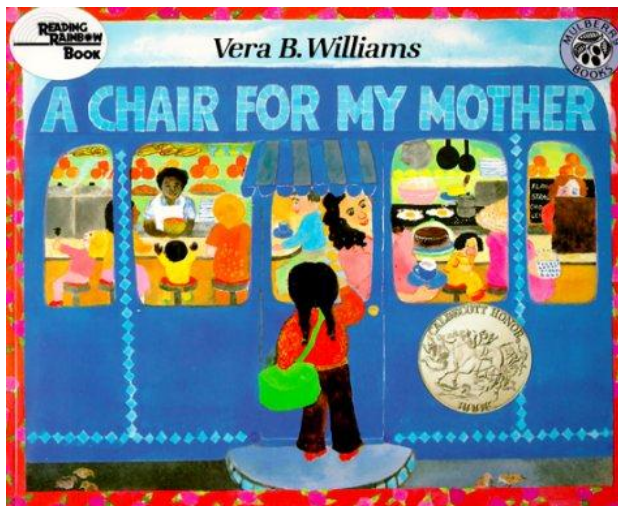


Figure 11. Cover for *A chair for my mother*

Tamara explained the lesson during a video stimulated recall interview conducted on December 11, 2010:

We were focusing on things that you need and things that you want, so just for them to distinguish between things that you want and you need. Then we read a story called *A Chair for My Mother*...That’s pretty much the layout of how we did it. We introduced the book, *A Chair for My Mother*. We told them what it was about. It was about a

mom that was trying to save up money for a chair because their house burnt down and they didn't have anything. The community helped give pots, and pans, and a bed and things like that, but then they were saving up money for a chair because mom worked a lot—she was a server—and her feet used to hurt, so they needed a chair. The whole family got together, saved up money and bought a chair. They liked that part. That was really cute. We asked them about things that they wanted to save up for, and things that they would save up for that they wanted and maybe things that they need.

Students were seated in chairs right in front of the classroom's whiteboard. The chairs were arranged in two rows of five; there were 10 students in the classroom. The lesson started with a teacher guided discussion about wants and needs. Nazareth and Tamara created on the whiteboard a two-column table in which they wrote student responses about what was a need or a want. This part of the lesson lasted approximately 12 minutes and then the book of *A Chair for My Mother* was introduced. Nazareth stated the following holding the book in her hand:

Okay we're going to keep going and read a story now called a "Chair for my mother." So, I want you guys to think about where we are reading because as we will ask you some questions about wants and needs. This is a book that really shows that there are wants and needs. What do you think we need more wants and needs?

Nazareth continued and read the story while Tamara held another copy of the book and showed the pictures to the students. The story was stopped often and Nazareth and Tamara asked comprehension questions such as "have you ever gone to your

parents jobs and help them out?” or “Why did the mom come back from work with all that lose change?” or “Do you have a jar with loose coins in your house?”

Students were asked to raise their hands to answer and Tamara and Nazareth gave several reminders that they would only call on the ones raising their hands.

Around 22 minutes into the lesson the following interaction took place, which I use as an example to illustrate a particular curating pattern (see Table 7). The two columns illustrate how these two events took place at parallel times. In the left column, is the dialogue that occurred as Nazareth provided whole group instruction, while on the right column is dialogue between Tamara and a student sitting next to her, Christopher, (pseudonym), who needed additional support. I identify the event occurring on the left column as differentiated instruction as it created a parallel activity within the classroom and provided Christopher a different instructional support than the rest of the class. Then the dialogue at the intersections of the two columns illustrates when both activities came together. That is, when Christopher and Tamara returned to the whole group instruction framework. After describing this interaction, I used it to examine how mediational tools from both discourses of professionalism were curated in a situated activity. First, I described how some tools were privileged over others and then I examined how the privileged mediational tools were appropriated jointly and served her to enact a situated identity that could address the demands of the boundary practice.

Table 7

Transcript from Tamara's and Nazareth's Lesson

Whole Group	Moment to moment differentiated instruction
<hr/>	
<i>Nazareth:</i> Thomas what would you need?	
<i>Thomas:</i> a TV	[Tamara walks towards Christopher and
<i>Nazareth:</i> Would you need a TV?	sits on a desk right next to him and
<i>Thomas:</i> no, you need a blanket	talks in a soft voice]
<i>Nazareth:</i> you would need a blanket.	Tamara: what would you need
Good job! But you would definitely	Christopher?
want the TV, right?	Christopher: well the house burned
<i>Student 2:</i> You need it!	down. They needed a water hose.
<i>Student 3:</i> You need a couch.	Tamara: but what would they need at
<i>Nazareth:</i> Ok. Bubbles in your mouth.	their home? [pause] they need food and
Remember guys can talk, but you need	what else?
to raise your hand, if not, we are	<i>Christopher:</i> Water.
currently talking over each other. Raul,	<i>Tamara:</i> Yes, they need water. Raise
What would you think they would need?	your hand and tell Ms. Nazareth [She
[Raul does not respond and Nazareth	mimics raising a hand]
sees that Tamara raises her hand]	<i>Christopher:</i> water to put down the fire
<i>Nazareth:</i> Christopher, do you have something to tell us?	

Does he have something to tell us? [looking at Tamara]

Tamara: Yeah, what else would you need in your house?

Christopher: A water hose so it wouldn't burn.

Tamara: Yep, they can use the water hose to get rid of the flames,
right?

Christopher: Yes, so it don't burn the house.

Tamara: Yes and what else do they need in the house inside the new
house where did you say some food and what else? Food and what?

[silence] Food and what? Starts with the W. WWWAAA

Christopher: Water.

Tamara: You are right.

Privileging: Curating pattern 2. In this excerpt, three mediational tools from the inclusive education-like discourse (co-teaching, differentiated instruction, and cultural responsiveness) and one mediational tool from the TQM-like discourse toolkit (i.e., instructionism) were privileged.

Privileging the tools of the inclusive education-like discourse. Co-teaching was evident as both Nazareth and Tamara had co-designed the lesson and shared the floor during the lesson. Co-teaching was privileged, on the one hand, as it was a practice afforded by the Masters' program in the specific day that the lesson occurred. Remember that Tamara was there as part of her master's program three-days-a-week (i.e., Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday) co-teaching schedule. Nazareth state the following during a video stimulated recall interview in regards to having Tamara in her classroom:

Really good. It's awesome having Tamara. I feel pretty lucky and usually I just have her Tuesday Wednesday and Thursday, I loved it. I wish every week it was every Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday. It would be awesome if we could have her everyday. (December 11, 2010)

On the other hand, as works of art are selected for a museum exhibit according to the theme and focus of the exhibit, co-teaching and differentiated instruction were privileged according to their appropriateness to the lesson goal (i.e., understanding the difference between wants and needs and practice reading comprehension). Co-teaching and differentiated instruction were privileged as they were seen to keep students engaged and focused on the lesson which was, as I mentioned in the previous chapter, one of the goals of the Rio Grande district. Nazareth, for instance, stated during the video stimulated recall interview of this lesson:

I feel like it really benefits everybody because when one of us is doing our thing, then the other person might give support to a kid that's not getting it or kind of get them back on task, so it's like an extra set of eyes, really. For these guys, I really think it benefits all of them. (December 11, 2010)

Keeping students engaged was a concern shared across schools. Nazareth and Tamara saw co-teaching as an appropriate tool to use in the lesson to keep all students engaged and focused on the goal of the activity (e.g., understand wants and needs and practice reading comprehension). During the lesson, in addition, there is evidence of the use of differentiated instruction. In the speech event illustrated in the

right column of table 7, Tamara gets closer to Christopher because she did not see him engage in the lesson:

I kind of went up to him a little bit to nudge him to get back on track. He was kind of looking around, looking for something else to do. I kind of just went up to him and I was like, “Oh, so what’s something that you may want, something that you may need at home?” He just went on. He was just so focused on, “Well, the house burned down and they needed a water hose,” and that’s pretty much what was going on in his head.

Differentiated instruction was seen as an appropriate tool, in this case, to keep students engaged in the lesson— to keep them focused on the goal of the activity. Notice that Christopher was focused in the lesson but not in the particular way that he was expected. As illustrated in Table 7 and also in Tamara’s quote, Christopher was giving an answer about what the family needed: a water hose because the house had burnt down. Tamara and Nazareth interpreted Christopher’s response as not being engaged in the lesson. They responded with a form of differentiated instruction in which Christopher received additional support so that he could get the “right” answer and rejoin the group appropriately by raising his hand. I expand on this interaction in the followings section when I examine how multiple mediational tools were appropriated in this event. For now, the point I want to make is that differentiated instruction was privileged to keep students engaged and focused on the lesson.

Cultural responsiveness was also privileged in the lesson as a mediational tool. This tool was privileged as Tamara was taking at that moment a class in which

she was learning about cultural responsiveness, and was trying to implement this conceptual tool. Tamara was drawn to try cultural responsive instruction and had similar conversations with Marlene, the site professor at Green Valley Elementary about this topic. In a field note, Marlene documented the following:

Tamara and I talked about what it means to be a Culturally Responsive teacher and what did she think that would look like in terms of guided reading. She was cognizant of the fact that she made sure she was aware of the students' learning styles and she acknowledged that she accommodated their academic needs through modeling and scaffolding. But, when I asked her whether her lesson (the content) was culturally responsive, she said, "not sure." We took out the pamphlet that she was to read for class that evening: *Becoming Culturally Responsive Educators*" *Rethinking Teacher Education Pedagogy, and reviewed a section on page 6, What are the Implications For A Culturally Responsive Curriculum*. We read through each of the three levels of curriculum transformation. We decided that we would start next week on creating a culturally responsive guided reading lesson for her students... (September 30th, 2010)

In addition, the lesson and the idea of using the book "A Chair for my Mother" had come from her own initiative. Nazareth explained during the video stimulated recall interview that corresponded to the lesson under scrutiny:

Well, Tamara said that she really wanted to do a multicultural lesson, and so that's where it started. Then she thought about this book that she had. This is her own personal book that she has. She brought it

in and then we just—from there we just worked on how we could do this with our kids and how we could design the lesson. I did hear her say that we looked up stuff on the internet, and we did. Then we looked at ways that our kids would respond to it. Because in this lesson there were a lot—I don't remember exactly what it was, but there was a lot more in depth that we could do, but we didn't, so that the kids would really understand it. We just bounced ideas back and forth and decided how we were gonna do it. (December 11, 2010)

We must note, in addition, that Marlene was also helping Nazareth with developing culturally responsive instruction: “Met Nazareth, next visit they will create a CR reading lesson and I will observe next Thursday and offer feedback” (Marlene’s field note, September 30th 2010). Nazareth had been trying to adopt culturally responsive practices in her instruction through her master’s program. Having a co-teacher (Tamara) who was engaged in the same goal of making their practice more culturally responsive was seen by Nazareth as contributing to privilege this tool:

I have to think so much more about like being culturally responsive and understanding the millions and millions of different like learning styles and techniques, and strategies. I feel like it's a lot more complicated but like with the collaboration, I feel like that makes it more accessible because it's people putting their minds together instead of just me figuring out everything. It's made my view of teaching and learning a lot more complicated but I think better and richer. I think I'm doing more now for my kids than I was before. (Video stimulated recall interview with Nazareth on December 11th)

As Wertsch (1991; Wertsch & Rupert, 1993) pointed out, the experiences in certain sociocultural settings (e.g., Nazareth's classroom) seem to be crucial on a subject's predisposition to privilege a mediational tool. In the above quote, Nazareth expressed that trying to be culturally responsive was a complex and difficult task. Note her use of the words "millions and millions" and "complicated" to express that being culturally responsive involved an overwhelming amount of work. Yet, her experience of having someone with whom to co-design the lesson made cultural responsiveness more accessible, and therefore, more likely to be privileged. Furthermore, she had a positive experience engaging with this mediational tool as she mentioned that it had made her teaching richer and better for her students.

On the other hand, cultural responsiveness was privileged as it was seen to help to achieve the goal of the activity which was not only understanding wants and needs, but also comprehension:

Well, with the whole multicultural and their value system, so it came from that, but I feel like you can connect it to lots of things. The main thing with this I feel like it's a connection to comprehension of text and us reading it to them... Understanding what you want and what you need, but further on comprehending text also because our students do have a hard time with comprehension. I think that our lesson really helped them to understand those two things and to make connections to the story... I think that helped them a lot because without doing that prior knowledge thing, they wouldn't be able to make connections and they wouldn't be able to hold on to the

information as long. It would just be kinda fleeting. (December 11th, 2010)

As Grossman et al. (1999) pointed out, teacher knowledge and belief about the tool mediates whether the teacher is likely to use it. The historical moment in Nazareth's teaching biography needed to be considered in this regard. Nazareth had already participated in thesis seminars that focused on the role of learning and culture. She was almost about to graduate from the program. She was exposed to the idea that connecting new information with students' prior knowledge enhanced their learning. To Nazareth, cultural responsiveness was as an effective tool to help students make connections with their lives and retain information. It contributed to achieve the goal of the activity. This quote, thus, illustrates how privileging cultural responsiveness was mediated by the goal of the activity and also by personal characteristics of Nazareth.

Privileging the tools of the TQM-like toolkit. It is interesting that instructionism was privileged in certain moments of the lesson but not in others. For instance, Nazareth sometimes opened the floor with questions such as “have you ever gone to your parents job and help them out?” which invited students to make personal connections. In these interactions there were no right answers that the students needed to guess. All answers were possible and valued. There was not direct knowledge transmitted from the teacher to the students. On the other hand, there were moments in which students were cued and helped until they got the right answer. Take for instance the interaction of Tamara and Christopher in Table 7 when they returned to the whole group instruction.

Nazareth: Christopher, do you have something to tell us? Does he have something to tell us? [looking at Tamara]

Tamara: Yeah, was what else would you need in your house.

Christopher: A water hose so it wouldn't burn.

Tamara: Yep, they can use the water hose to get rid of the flames right?

Christopher: Yes, so it don't burn the house.

Tamara: Yes and what else do they need in the house inside the new house where did you say some food and what else? Food and what? [silence] Food and what? Starts with the W. WWWAAA

Christopher: Water.

Tamara: You are right.

Christopher continued to answer that the family needed a water hose as the family's home had burn down (he was, of course, partly right). Yet Tamara had another answer on her mind (i.e., water). She first cued him saying "yes and what else do they need in the house inside the new house where did you say some food and what else? Food and what?" and then, getting no response from Christopher she began to say the word itself pronouncing the sound of the W and then the W with the A, "Starts with the W. WWWAAA". Finally, Christopher said the word (i.e., water) and she closed the IRE speech event evaluating Christopher performance: "you are right".

It is interesting that in contrast to Debbie and Tina's lesson, the conceptual tools of Taylorism or Team based control were not privileged to design the lesson. To understand the absence of these conceptual tools, let us notice that the lesson

occurred at a time in which there were no curriculum maps for special education. Nazareth stated in the video stimulated recall interview: “Right, so I don’t follow the curriculum maps.” This was a different experience for Nazareth in comparison to the spring semester in which she was a resource room teacher:

I really just had to follow exactly what they were doing in the classroom [in the resource room]. Maybe like more repetition or adapt it but I was very kind of locked into okay this is what we’re doing. In here, I do feel like I have a lot more freedom... a lot more flexibility. For being in here I feel like it plays out very positively because we can do things at the pace that our kids need. Yeah. I feel like I have more time to explore now that I’m a Buddies teacher rather than resource. (Video stimulated recall interview with Nazareth on December 11th)

As a resource room teacher, in the Spring of 2010, Nazareth was tied to the curriculum maps of the grade level in which she was including her students. As a Buddies teacher she had more flexibility and time to explore other ways of teaching and covering content. This may have also contributed to privilege cultural responsive teaching, or her understanding of it, as she was not constrained like Debbie and Tina to follow what the grade level team had designed using the district curriculum maps. Yet, this did not mean that Nazareth did not use the Harcourt scripted curriculum to orchestrate other lessons. Actually, she used this scripted curriculum every day to teach reading. When asked during the video stimulated recall interview how she usually designed instruction, Nazareth responded:

The Harcourt and DIBELS and a phonics screener to see like what they're having specific trouble with... I follow the Harcourt curriculum, but at the first grade level. I do it at their own progress. We may stay on a certain lesson for a few weeks.

In the lesson that she designed and implemented with Tamara and that the site professor went to observe, however, both decided to use a different book so that they could implement a culturally responsive lesson. The historical context of the lesson and the participation of some of the subjects engaged in it (i.e., Tamara) contributed to privilege some tools over others such as cultural responsiveness.

Appropriating: Curating Pattern 2. In the previous section, I described how some mediational tools were privileged over others. In this section, I demonstrate how these tools were appropriated as Tamara and Nazareth participated in the goal oriented activity that was their lesson. It becomes evident in this analysis that mediational tools that were privileged in Tina and Debbie's (Curating Pattern 1) lesson took a different shape as they were appropriated in the lesson conducted by Nazareth and Tamara (curating pattern 2).

In this curating pattern, Nazareth and Tamara appropriated co-teaching and differentiated instruction in quite a different way than Debbie and Tina did. Co-teaching occurred as Nazareth and Tamara worked in the same activity while in the case of Debbie and Tina occurred as they both taught separate groups of students. Nazareth and Tamara could have decided to take turns to teach different lessons or to have Tamara as an assistant. Yet, Nazareth and Tamara divided the floor in almost equal terms, both entering the discussion at non-predetermined times and adding comments to the story and asking questions to the students. For most of the lesson,

Nazareth and Tamara took turns to speak and shared the leadership of the lesson.

Tamara stated during the video stimulated recall interview that:

It was pretty much 50-50 because usually, when we come up with lessons together, we write down things that we're going to do and then we kind of split it up, not so it's so choppy like, "Okay, you do this part and I do this part." We just kind of have a rough idea and then we just work together on it...I mean, even though we split it up, I still feel like—even if you're not up there teaching, I still feel like we take 50-50.

Remember also that some of the main ideas to design the lesson came from Tamara and, furthermore, she had guided the section of the lesson that came previously to reading the book. This way of co-teaching can be seen as part of Nazareth's effort to be a clinical teacher who afforded Tamara meaningful opportunities to participate in the design and implementation of the lesson while also being a teacher resident in a program for teachers still in the process of learning to co-teach.

But the analysis got more interesting when I examined how multiple mediational tools were used at the same time towards the goal of the activity, shaping how each were appropriated in situated activity. Let me bring back the interactions that I illustrated in Table 7. In this lesson, co-teaching, differentiated instruction, and instructionism were not as preplanned or structured as in the case of Debbie and Tina. Co-teaching and differentiated instruction, in the lesson that Nazareth and Tamara conducted, was appropriated during the moment-to-moment interactions according to what the teachers considered students needed to achieve the goal of the activity.

Up to the moment illustrated in table 7, Tamara was holding the books showing the pictures to the whole class, and asking comprehension questions when Nazareth paused after every page. Then, Tamara noticed that Christopher was not participated as expected: “I kind of went up to him a little bit to nudge him to get back on track. He was kind of looking around, looking for something else to do”, said Tamara in a video stimulated interview. So, she got closer to Christopher and asked him, “what would you need Christopher?” In this moment she created an activity system parallel to the whole group instruction.

Interestingly, though Tamara and Christopher were participated in a parallel activity system, they were working towards the same goal than the activity engaged by the rest of the class (i.e., understanding differences between wants and needs and comprehend the story). These activity systems, however, had different rules and different subjects. That is, when talking to Tamara, Christopher did not need to raise his hand. It was a one-to-one conversation; that rule was not needed to access the floor. In the activity system composed by the rest of the class, on the other hand, Nazareth tried to get their students to respect this rule as she says: “Bubbles in your mouth. Remember guys can talk but you need to raise your hand if not we are currently talking over each other.” Then, when Christopher and Tamara joined back the larger activity system of the class, he was asked to comply with the rule of raising a hand to respond to questions. This is evidenced by Tamara's attempt to show the student how to get back to the discussion with the rest of the class. She said to him: “yes they need water. Raise your hand and tell Ms. Nazareth” and mimicked the motion of place in hand. This sign was socially recognized in Nazareth as an accepted form of rejoining the group. Differentiated instruction, thus, was

appropriated as a mean to provide Christopher and alternative means to participate and also to re-enter the same activity that the rest of his classmates were participating in.

The reader may have noted that this interaction was also mediated by instructionism as Tamara expects Christopher to give the answer that she thinks is the correct one while Christopher continues to bring up the water hose. Nazareth's teaching, at the same time, was mediated by instructionism. When Nazareth sees Tamara mimicking how to raise a hand, she invited Christopher and Tamara back to the larger activity system by saying: "Christopher, do you have something to tell us?" At this point, differentiated instruction ended as Christopher and Tamara rejoined the main discussion. Yet, Christopher did not respond nor rejoin the group successfully. So, Nazareth asked Tamara: "Does he have something to tell us? And Tamara responded by asking Christopher, "What else would you need in your house?" Christopher insisted in responding that the family needed a water hose that was not considered the right answer. Then, Tamara cued Christopher again until almost saying the word for him and Christopher says the "right" answer: "water".

Co-teaching, differentiated instruction, and instructionism were appropriated according to the moment to moment interactions and served to provide Christopher alternative ways to participate in the lesson. When seeing that he was not engaged in the lesson, Christopher was supported by engaging him a parallel activity in which he was afforded to participate in a different manner with Tamara to achieve the goal of the activity. When he was brought back to the larger activity system composed by the rest of the class, he still did not achieve what was expected of him. The co-teaching interactions between Tamara and Nazareth that were mediated by the use of

instructionism, culminated with Christopher saying the word: “water”. The performance of this utterance (i.e., water), thus, was an achievement that was distributed across the subjects of the activity (Nazareth, Tamara, and Christopher) and the mediational tools utilized to help Christopher (e.g., co-teaching, differentiated instruction, and instructionism).

Furthermore, Nazareth and Tamara reciprocally applied the process of appropriation in the interactions of the lesson. That is, while they were mediating Christopher’s appropriation of the concept of “wants” and “needs”, they simultaneously appropriated various mediational tools that were curated in the boundary practice. In this way, Nazareth was able to act as a special education teacher who was helping her students to learn the selected content, a clinical teacher that provided meaningful opportunities for Tamara to appropriate an heterogeneity of mediational tools needed to become a teacher, and also a teacher resident that was engaging with the mediation tools of the discourse of professionalism that was prominent in the Master’s program. Thus, she was able to address through the process of curation, at least to some extent, the demands of the boundary practice.

In addition, cultural responsiveness was appropriated in the examined lesson by choosing a book that was considered by the teachers as culturally diverse as it was about a girl Rosa and her mother who were from a working class Latino background. But most of all, Nazareth and Tamara considered the lesson culturally responsive for another reason. Tamara stated during the video stimulated interview:

It was culturally responsive because they brought in their life experiences and things that they may want and need at home. The one kid was like, “Oh, electricity,” and I’m like, “Oh.” It’s just kind

of getting to know them and the things that they would want and need in the house. Well, I feel like if I were a student, then I would feel important in the sense like, “Okay, the teachers wants to know about things that I may want or need,”

Nazareth stated something similar to Tamara:

Well, I think it was culturally responsive because we were having the kids take things from their own lives to connect to our class discussion. We weren't just telling them about things that they need or want, but they could actually think of the things themselves.

(Video stimulated interview, December 11th, 2010)

The implicit meaning of cultural responsiveness in these quotes is that students' lives, experiences, and daily knowledge need to be valued and used during instruction. This way of thinking about cultural responsiveness mediated Nazareth and Tamara's practice and therefore the implementation of the lesson. Nazareth and Tamara asked questions throughout the lesson that aimed to get students to bring their own experiences to the discussion about the book. Tamara stated in this regard:

Pretty much after every page, we asked them, “So what do you think about this? How many? What would you want? What would you need? What are some things that you guys have done at home? ...Asking them questions about them and things that they do and things that their families, how they help at home, you know, “Have you been to your mom, or dad's work or your family's work? What do you do? How do you help out?”.... I feel like with me and Miss Maxfield, we both—every opportunity we get, we want to get to

know the kids and their lives ... Even though we may do things a little different in here, we still care about what they do at home and, you know, “What do you do after school? What did you do—what did you eat last night?” We like to ask them questions like that to get to know them because that’s who they are.

Yet, when this concept was appropriated in the situated practice of the lesson it was blended with a meditational tool of the TQM-liked discourse: instructionism. This was reflected in the actual lesson’s discussion. Let me bring up here an example from Nazareth that is also illustrated in table 7.

Nazareth: Thomas what would you need in your house?

Thomas: A TV.

Nazareth: Would you need a TV?

Thomas: No, you need a blanket.

Nazareth: You would need a Blanket. Good job!

In this interaction, Nazareth asked Thomas a broad question that could be considered by Nazareth and Tamara to be culturally responsive. It was a broad question that aimed to elicit the students’ out of school experiences. It is evident; however, that Nazareth did not consider a TV the right answer as she followed Thomas answer with a question: Would you need a TV? This question was an indirect speech act, which are speech acts that aim to perform by way of performance of another speech act (Schiffrin, 1994). What was supposed to be a question is really a judgment about Thomas’s answer. It signaled that TV was not the right answer. This is understood by Thomas as he changed his answer to “No, you need a blanket.” Then Nazareth confirmed that “blanket” was part of the universe of

answers that were considered right; a blanket was a “need” while a TV was a “want”. What began as a question who elicited students’ knowledge and experiences was steered later towards eliciting what Nazareth thought was a “right” answer.

It is interesting that Nazareth and Tamara chose such a subjective concept such as wants and needs. But they still, using instructionism, pushed a particular perspective on what they were considered “needs” and what they were considered “wants”. They used their own values to judge what items were a “need” and what items were a “want”. One could argue, for instance, that a TV is a need if there are several children in the home that for moments need to be occupied so that a parent can work from home or cook in the kitchen. Also one could argue that a TV is a needed artifact if it is the family’s only means to get in touch with news of their home country or the country of residency. Yet, Nazareth imposed her value judgment through her use of instructionism and cultural responsiveness so that students could get the “right” answer. Though the meditational tools of instructionism and cultural responsiveness could have collided for moments, as the first one elicits teacher knowledge and the later students’ knowledge, they were appropriated in a way that they could be used simultaneously.

Let me add that the simultaneous use of co-teaching and differentiated instruction also contributed to the achievement of Thomas getting the right answer. That is, Tamara got closer and helped Christopher at the moment that this interaction between Thomas and Nazareth occurred (see table 7). This allowed Nazareth to continue the class discussion without interruptions and thus, to be able to guide Thomas to get the right answers. Again, the achievement evidenced in the utterance, “No, you need a blanket” was distributed across the subjects of the

community and the meditational tools that belong to a specific institutional context: the boundary practice of site professors visits in which teacher residents needed to use the different meditational toolkits of the discourses of professionalism of both communities (i.e., the master's program and the schools, in this case Green Valley Elementary).

Through appropriating mediational tools from both discourses of professionalism, Nazareth engaged in a process of heuristic development which resulted in a re-construction of a new tool kit. This served her to signal an identity that was recognized by both communities and helped her and Tamara support Thomas to get the “right” answer. By focusing the analysis on curating, it became evident that mediated action and identity development occurred simultaneously and were intimately linked to historical and institutional contexts (Wertsch, 1991).

Summary of curating pattern 2: Blending. Let me conclude by highlighting the main points of the process of curating in the situated activity of Nazareth and Tamara's lesson. First, the lesson represented, particularly for Nazareth, a boundary practice. That is, a practice that was maintained over time and that involved the joint work (to some extent) of two communities: the Master's program and Green Valley Elementary (Wenger, 1998). Nazareth had to address the complex demands of this boundary encounter: (a) the heterogeneity of tools created by the different toolkits of both communities and their discourses of professionalism and (b) the various identities that needed to be enacted to be a participant on both communities. Regarding this last one, Nazareth was expected to be a full time special education teacher of a self-contained classroom who taught according to the requirements of her school and special education law and procedures (e.g., IEP

goals), a teacher resident who was engaging with the tools she was learning in her thesis seminars and through conversations with site professors, and also a clinical teacher who apprenticed Tamara into becoming a teacher.

In the midst of these complex demands, some meditational tools were privileged and appropriated in the situated practice of the lesson. This involved privileging some tools over others according to the goals and the rules of the activity. Co-teaching, differentiated instruction, cultural responsiveness and instructionism were privileged and appropriated, allowing Nazareth to address to a certain extent the demands of the boundary practice. Nazareth, thus, shaped the cultural resources available to her by engaging in a process of heuristic development (Holland et al., 1998), in which the tool kits of both discourses of professionalism (i.e., TQM-like and inclusive education-like discourses) were de-constructed and re-constructed. This served her to curate an educational experience for her students and a certain kind of identity to work in boundary practice.

Identity development and mediated action occurred simultaneously in situated activity. Nazareth participated with Tamara and the students in a goal oriented activity (i.e., a lesson to understand “wants” and “needs” and enhance reading comprehension). Interestingly, as demonstrated in the case of Thomas and Christopher, the appropriation of these meditational tools occurred simultaneously as Nazareth and Tamara aimed to mediate these students’ understanding of the differences between “wants” and “needs.” As a result of this curating process, in addition, Nazareth was able to signal that she was a special education teacher at Desert Pride by mediating students’ understandings of the main content of the lesson. At the same time, tools such as co-teaching, differentiated instruction, and

cultural responsiveness were appropriated in particular ways that afforded Nazareth to be a teacher resident who was engaged with the tools provided by the Master's program while being a clinical teacher that afforded Tamara opportunities to co-design and co-teach lessons.

Remember that Tamara brought up the initiative of using the book "A Chair for my Mother" to design a culturally responsive lesson in which both would be co-teaching. By privileging and appropriating cultural responsiveness, Nazareth was able not only to signal her role as clinical teacher as she was apprenticing Tamara into the teaching profession, but also to signal that she was still engaged in the masters' program as a teacher resident willing to try and appropriate the tools of these communities. As a result she could enact simultaneously three situated identities and address, in a way, the demands of the boundary practice. Mediated action an identity development occurred simultaneously in situated activity through a process of curating as Nazareth addressed the demands of boundary practice.

Summary: Curating Meditational Tools in Boundary Practices

In this chapter, I answered the following question: How do teachers appropriate the social discourses present in a professional learning school for inclusive education? Or in other words, how did they make sense of and address the heterogeneous nature of a boundary practice? To answer this question, I introduced the concept of curating. I described curating as a kind of heuristic development (Holland, et al., 1998) that pertains particularly to the work achieved in boundary practices in which individuals such as teacher residents need to claim multiple membership by appropriating the discourses and their particular toolkits of more than one community of practice (e.g., the masters' program community and the

school community). Both teacher residents, Debbie and Nazareth, were members of two communities (master's program and their respective schools) where practices overlapped during the visit of site professors to their classrooms. These visits created an interesting dilemma for these teachers as they needed to signal simultaneous membership on both communities. In the case of the first curating pattern illustrated in this chapter, Debbie struggled with complying with district mandates when being observed and evaluated by the language coach. In the case of second curating pattern, Nazareth needed to signal that she was a teacher resident who was implementing the conceptual tools provided in the master's program, a clinical teacher who apprenticed Tamara into being a special education and inclusive teacher, and a full time special education teacher of s elf-contained classroom at Green Valley Elementary community.

In the situated practice of the two lessons examined in this chapter, there was a de-construction and reconstruction of the toolkits of the discourses of professionalism of both institutions. This occurred through two processes: privileging and appropriating. As art works are selected for an exhibit according to the focus of the exhibit and the policies of the institution (i.e., museums), meditational tools were privileged according to goal of the activities (e.g., understanding suffixes or the differences between “wants” and “needs”) and the rules that governed the activities (i.e., reading and curriculum development policies). In the first curating pattern (i.e., bending) certain tools of the TQM-like discourse were privileged as they were part of the districts' reading and curriculum development policies. Debbie, in addition, was a relatively new teacher who was becoming acquainted with her profession and with the Rio Grande school district

ways of teaching. As many new teachers, she was complying with district mandates, which resulted in the deletion of the conceptual tool of cultural responsiveness from her curating pattern. Co-teaching and differentiated instruction were privileged in her lesson because they were seen as appropriate tools to functionally perform the goal of the activity which was part of the TQM-like discourse larger goal: to execute and control quality through the use of quantitative means such as DIBELS scores.

On the other hand, the TQM-like discourse was not as authoritative in the lesson implemented by Nazareth and Tamara. The self-contained classroom in which the lesson took place was not under the regulation of curriculum maps nor there was a language coach observing the lesson. Interestingly, in this lesson the entire toolkit of the inclusive education-like discourse was privileged. The process of privileging tools was, thus, linked to historical and institutional contexts (Wertsch, 1991).

In this chapter, I also demonstrated how privileged tools were appropriated simultaneously in both curating patterns, which shaped the appropriation process itself. In the same manner that curators make meaning of and interpret art works and place them in company of other art works, which in turn shape how the viewer experience those pieces, the conceptual tools that were appropriated together shaped each other's implementation. This became a two way process; teacher residents appropriated the discourses of professionalism and their conceptual tools and in the process of doing so they reconstructed the toolkits and the conceptual tools themselves so that they could signal a situated identity that addressed the demands of the boundary practice of site professors visits. In the case of the first curating pattern, the tools of the inclusive education-like discourse were bended to functionally performed the goal of the TQM-like discourse (Scollon, 2008) while in

the second curating pattern the tools of the inclusive education-like discourse were blended with one tool of the TQM-like discourse that remained pervasive across institutional and historical contexts: instructionism.

The appropriation of discourses of professionalism and their tool kits also pointed out that the tools of the inclusive education-like discourse were ideal boundary objects: they were concepts that both sides agreed to worked upon and that provided the means for engagement and communication, and while they were flexible enough to adapt to different situated activities (e.g., a lesson about suffixes) they also maintained a recognizable structure (Star, 2010; Star & Griesemer, 1989).

In summary, curation allowed teacher residents to address the demands of the boundary practices in which their lessons took place. It was an achievement that was distributed across the participants of the activity and the tools they were operating with. By engaging with this curating process, teachers became history-in-cultural responsiveness person as they participated in the reconstruction of historical and institutional situated discourses and their toolkits. Teacher residents, as history-in-person, improvised upon the “sediments of past experiences, using the cultural resources available, in response to the subjects positions afforded to them in the present” (Holland, et al., 1998, p. 18).

Chapter 6

Discussion

One of the shortcomings of the inclusive education movement has been the capacity to nurture and develop teachers that have the skills, critical sensibilities, and the contextual awareness to provide quality educational access, participation and outcomes for *all students* (Kozleski & Waitoller, 2010). One of the contributors to this shortcoming is the scarce research and understanding about how traditionally prepared teachers become teachers for all students, particularly for students who embody multiple forms of difference. This dissertation has taken a step forward toward generating this kind of understanding. By drawing from a larger project that aimed to examine the impact of an urban professional initiative for inclusive education on practicing teachers' professional learning, principals' practices in participating schools, and learning outcomes for P-12 students in classrooms with teacher residents, I aimed to answer two questions: (a) What social discourses are present in a professional learning school for inclusive education? And (b) how do teachers appropriate the social discourses present in a professional learning school for inclusive education? I discuss in this chapter the evidence produced to answer these questions. Then, I discuss the limitations of the study and advanced recommendations for future research and the development of teacher learning programs for inclusive education.

What Social Discourses Are Present In A Professional Learning School For Inclusive Education?

The findings that answered the first research question of this dissertation contributed to the previous literature on teacher learning for inclusive education

providing insights about the historical, institutional, and socio-cultural contexts in which teachers become inclusive teachers. In particular, this dissertation generated new knowledge about the work of partnerships for inclusive education. This dissertation pointed out the significance of examining the negotiations that occur at the borders of institutions that entailed both maintaining and challenging boundaries.

The UPIE included two different institutions with overlapping boundary practices such as the visits of site professors in which the discourses of professionalism of both institutions created a multi-voiced context (Engeström, 2008). The work of boundary practices has been receiving increasing attention in the literature (e.g., Akkerman & Bakker, 2011; Daniels, Edwards, Engeström, Gallagher, & Ludvigsen, 2010; Ellis, Edwards, & Smagorinsky, 2010; Finlay, 2008). Yet, little of this literature has focused on partnerships between schools and universities for inclusive education. This dissertation added to this literature by demonstrating how two communities (e.g., public schools and university programs) that had partnered with the goal of developing inclusive teachers and practices had different tool kits and different understandings of the object of the activity in which they engaged together. In this sense, there were efforts from both institutions (i.e., schools and the university masters' program) to sustain and challenge boundaries.

Efforts to sustain boundaries. In the UPIE, there were two aspects that contributed to the maintenance of boundaries that cannot be disassociated: the main objects of each institution (i.e., controlling and achieving a level of quality for students and the development of teachers for inclusive education), and the toolkits that were used to achieve these objects (e.g., the TQM-like toolkit and the Inclusive education-like toolkit).

The objects of each institution became evident as they engaged in partnership work. Previous studies that have examined this issue shed some light in understanding the maintenance of boundaries. Edwards and Kinti (2010) for instance, found in their study of interagency collaboration that when professionals with different affiliations (e.g., schools and universities) came to work together, they negotiated the meaning of professional expertise and interpreted the object of the activity, according to their institutional affiliations. Through the negotiation of the meanings of expertise, different objects of activity became visible (Daniels, 2010). Max (2010) noted that in partnership work the objects of each institution tend to co-exist within the boundary zone (i.e., areas in which both institutions overlap), which creates tensions.

These studies help to understand the tensions that emerged as language coaches and site professors coordinated their work when teacher residents co-taught. Remember that teacher residents complained because they were being evaluated with the WTTTF when they were co-teaching. The WTTTF, a tool sanctioned by the Rio Grande District to evaluate teachers, was used in an activity that was supposed to strengthen teachers' capabilities to collaborate and co-teach in an inclusive program. Because they felt evaluated, teacher residents could not risk performing poorly and could not deviate from the district's guidelines in order to try what they were learning in the masters' program. The tensions that emerged from the collaborative work of language coaches and site professors are a reflection of the partnerships' disparate objects. On the one hand, language coaches aimed to correct teachers, aligning them closely to practices that were thought to yield higher students' test

scores. On the other hand, site professors provided feedback and facilitated teacher learning about co-teaching, cultural responsiveness, and differentiated instruction.

Previous studies also demonstrated how boundaries can be a site for expansive learning (Engeström, 2008). This can happen when partner institutions negotiate the object of their joint activity expanding them into new and more robust objects (Engeström, 2008). Edwards, Lunt, and Stamou (2010), for instance, demonstrated that the negotiation of a joint object may involve the redistribution of labor among the partnering communities. Max (2010) also pointed out that boundary crossing tools (i.e., boundary objects) enhance collaboration, and the development of joint expanding objects. According to Max (2010), the co-development of boundary tools and practices is of crucial importance for the transformation and long-term benefit of the partnering communities. Otherwise, boundaries between partnering institutions are maintained and expansive learning does not take place.

Unfortunately, this was the case of the UPIE. For instance, the tensions between site professors and language coaches were resolved by having disparate observations tools (i.e., observation rubrics and WTTRI respectively) that reflected their disparate objects and the discourses of professionalism of each institution.

In their analysis of partnerships between university programs and schools for teacher education, Jahreie and Ottesen (2010) found that tutors from the university and teacher mentors from schools tended to create and maintain boundaries between the two institutions through their interactions with teacher residents. The activities in which both mentors and pupils participated with teacher residents had different objects and a different conception of the tools available. As Jahreie and Ottesen (2010) pointed out:

The accounts in supervision and mentoring are in other words saturated with traditions of institutional argumentation and action. The tools (documents, educational goals), rules (administrative routines), and division of labor are inscribed with historical and institutional views in each of the activity systems on how to conceive the object and serve to work as authorized practices for the learning spheres. This is made visible by the way the object is constructed differently based on conflicting expectations in the activity systems.

(p. 232)

The institutional contexts of mentor and tutor meetings with teacher residents embedded different objects, tools, and division of labor across activities. This created disjointed learning opportunities for teacher residents. Similarly, teachers in the UPIE were afforded different mediational tools across the identity technologies of each discourse. Though both institutions were concerned with teacher learning, they were concerned with different kinds of learning and different kinds of teachers, which reinforced institutional boundaries.

The schools participating in the UPIE were reluctant to change. This resonated with Edwards and Sutton (2007) research. As the authors pointed out, schools prefer teacher education arrangements that are negotiated and conducted with little disruption to their institutional practices. In order to understand how teacher learning is mediated, thus, one must take into account the ways in which the tools and practices of the teachers' communities are structured by their institutional context, which in turn is shaped by social, cultural, and historical circumstances (Daniels, 2010).

This maintenance of boundaries created different learning opportunities for teacher residents, affording different kinds of mediating tools and identities. Similar findings have been reported by Smagorinsky and colleagues (Smagorinsky, 2009; Smagorinsky, Cook, et al., 2004; Smagorinsky, Gibson et al., 2004; Smagorinsky, et al., 2002). Smagorinsky, Cook, et al. (2004), for instance, demonstrated how schools and teacher education programs had different expectations for good instruction and a different understanding of teaching. This resulted in disjointed efforts to train teachers and created tensions for student teachers as they had to navigate sites with competing views on teaching and instruction and competing toolkits. This issue was called by Feiman-Nemser and Buchmann (1985) as the two-worlds pitfall in which student teachers needed to comply with the competing demands of university programs and the schools that structure their teaching experiences.

In addition, this dissertation has contributed to understand the work of partnerships by providing concepts such as discourses of professionalism and identity technologies to understand how boundaries are traced and maintained between partnering institutions and for what purposes. As (Engeström, 2000) pointed out, a worthwhile direction for research is to identify a set of methodological indicators with which continuities and discontinuities between communities can be empirically detected. Wenger (1998), for instance, noted how the boundaries of communities can be “reified with explicit markers of membership, such as titles, dress, tattoos, degrees of initiation rites” (p. 104). Using the concepts of discourses of professionalism and identity technologies allowed for a better understanding of how power struggles that occur beyond the boundaries of partnering institutions shape the ways in which boundaries are negotiated. For example, the use of

management strategies such as TQM to regulate teaching and learning in schools has been highly contested for many decades (Callahan, 1962; Apple, 2009). Discourses of professionalism socialized teacher residents into particular ways of thinking about teaching and learning and into the usage of certain toolkits that served particular institutional goals. They aimed to universalize a particular vision of what it means to be a professional teacher. This was evidenced in the work of identity technologies that provided teachers certain mediational tools and not others. This way, boundaries were maintained to universalize certain ways of thinking about teaching, learning and difference that benefited the institutions in which teachers work.

In the case of the schools participating of the UPIE, for instance, curriculum maps served as an identity technology that exercised power by universalizing particular mediational tools to think about curriculum development such as Taylorism and Team-based control. These mediational tools were thought to align teachers with their work and state academic standards so that schools could increase their state assessment scores. When mediational tools from the masters' program (e.g., co-teaching) made their way into school practices, there was an effort to control and modify these mediational tools by the language coaches to prevent the disruption of the mediational tools embedded in the identity technology of curriculum mapping. There was a power struggle to avoid disrupting the mediational tools that were thought to serve the achievement of school goals. The conceptualization of tool-kits and identity technologies as belonging to a discourse of professionalism contributed to the understanding of how power played out in, and was at the core of, institutional efforts to maintain boundaries in the midst of partnership labor.

These power struggles could be disassociated from the institutional and historical context of the partnership. An identity technology such as curriculum maps was a response to the schools' failure to cover all state standards through instruction and to meet AYP. This, in turn, was connected to a larger national and global movement towards a focus on narrow views on accountability and outcomes that reflects how business practices permeate the public sector (Ball, 1997). Curriculum maps, thus, was an identity technology that responded to the political demands of a particular historical context and was developed over time by the school district to which Desert Pride and Green Valley schools belonged to. A social discourse perspective and the use of concepts such as identity technologies provided the means to relate boundary work to power struggles contextualized in social, cultural, and historical contexts.

It is interesting that although partnerships between universities and schools tend to be a place of negotiation and struggle, this research has been silent about the development of in-service teachers for inclusive education. As explained in chapter two, the majority of studies focused on action research (53%). In these studies, faculty and teachers worked together in inquiry based projects to improve inclusive practices (e.g., Angelides, Georgiou, & Kyriakou, 2008; Argyropoulos & Nikolarazi, 2009; Carrington & Robinson, 2004). School staff engaged in various group activities and professional development events that focused on the cyclical and spiraling process of planning, implementation, and review. Furthermore, a sizable portion of studies focused on individual teachers, ignoring the complex cultural, political, and historical contexts in which teachers learn. This dissertation contributed to this literature, generating evidence about how partnering institutions maintain their

boundaries in order to avoid challenging the tools and objects of their institutional activity systems.

Efforts towards continuity of boundaries. Let us remember that there were also efforts from the masters' program to permeate certain mediational tools (i.e., the inclusive education-like tool kit) into school practices. These were efforts towards continuity of institutional boundaries. Several aspects contributed to these efforts. First, both institutions were concerned with developing "kinds of teachers". As Akkerman and Bakker (2010) pointed out, the work done at boundary practices does not involve the dissolving of boundaries and should *not* be thought of as a process of moving from heterogeneity to homogeneity and unity. It should be seen as a process of maintaining continuity in spite of sociocultural difference (Akkerman & Bakker, 2010). Both institutions were concerned with developing different kinds of teachers, which provided the basis for collaboration in spite of the institutions' sociocultural differences. A similar finding has been presented by Alsup (2006) who suggested that although schools and teacher education programs may have different perspectives on preparing teachers, they are still concerned with the development of teachers, which contributes to the continuity of boundary practices.

Another aspect that contributed to the continuity of boundaries was the presence of boundary objects. Both institutions had agreed initially to partner in developing teacher capacity for inclusive education, which facilitated the importing of the inclusive education-like discourse toolkit into school practices. The inclusive education-like discourse and its combined tools were ideal boundary objects that were flexible enough to adapt to different situated activities (e.g., a thesis seminar or a lesson about suffixes) while also maintaining a recognizable structure (Star, 2010;

Star & Griesemer, 1989) that facilitated the coordination of goals (even when they were disparate) and actions of the actors involved in the partnership.

The study of boundary objects has also been examined in research concerned with the work achieved at boundaries practices (e.g., Finlay, 2007; Lutters & Akkerman, 2007; Star & Griesemer, 1989). Boundary objects are resourceful tools that allow the coordination of work done in boundary practices (Star & Griesemer, 1989). This helps to understand, at least partially, how the partner institutions composing the UPIE continued engaging in boundary practices throughout the 2010-2011 academic year in spite of their differences. The tools of the inclusive education-like discourse allowed the members of the partnering community to work together, particularly teacher residents, site professors, and language coaches. These tools involved negotiations (Star, 2010). This explains why the inclusive education-like discourse was far from being homogenous and well bounded.

As Star and Griesemer (1989) explained, boundary objects do not travel seamlessly across and within institutions. This flexibility allowed for a situated translation which allowed schools to engage with this discourse and its tools, continuing the work of the partnership even at a superficial level. In this regard, Lutters and Ackerman (2007), when examining how service engineers use boundary objects, demonstrated that in spite of standardization and routinization, boundary objects continued to be malleable and had situated interpretations that varied across activities and according to the relationship between group members. Yet, interpretative flexibility is not the only aspect that turns mediational tools into boundary objects; boundary objects need to be “means of translation” (Star & Griesemer, 1989, p. 393) in collaborative practices between groups of people. They

are the nexus of perspectives (Wenger, 1998). The mediational tools of the inclusive education-like discourse served to connect the different understandings of inclusive education and the mediational tools presented by the masters' programs that may have otherwise contributed to more discontinuity between the works of the partnership.

On the other hand, studies examining the work done at boundary practices reported that mediational tools can fall short of becoming boundary objects when they are not permeable to multiple meanings and perspectives (Akkerman & Bakker, 2010). Hasu and Engeström (2000), for instance, found that message boxes that were designed by system designers without accounting for the interpretations of users fall short of being supportive of collaborative work. This was the case of the mediational tools of the inclusive education-like discourse. The interpretations of these tools across institutions and school and university actors varied to the point of creating tensions as it was demonstrated with the case of Urma, who struggled with how the school implemented differentiated instruction.

The study by Hasu and Engeström (2000) provided a possible explanation for these disparate interpretations: the original design and translation activities for the mediational tools of the inclusive education-like discourse may have not accounted for the interpretations of multiple actors that worked in politically and culturally charged institutions. Several scholars (e.g., Lutters & Ackerman, 2007) described how providing rich information about the boundary object (e.g., inception, history, purpose) was crucial to ensure that the boundary objects be considered intelligible for future use. This may have not happened often or effective enough in the partnership, which explained to some extent why some of the tools were

implemented in schools differently than it was expected by the university program (e.g., differentiated instruction and co-teaching) and other tools were completely ignored (e.g., cultural responsiveness).

This mediation and interpretation of boundary objects is not static. As some studies suggested (e.g., Barrett & Oborn, 2010; Pennington, 2010), the interpretation and usage of boundary objects differs over time and across activities: sometimes enabling communication and collaboration and other times losing their boundary feature. This was reflected in the UPIE as it was demonstrated in the cases of Nazareth and Debbie. Different activities (e.g., a reading lesson at a general education classroom and a reading lesson at a special education self-contained classroom) and different times (e.g., March and December) mediated how differentiated instruction and co-teaching were implemented. The activity system and its historicity, thus, played a key role on how boundary objects were taken up in situated and boundary practice.

It is interesting that previous studies examining boundary objects tended to look at these objects as isolated from each other. This dissertation demonstrated that boundary objects are not always presented in isolation. Rather, they are grouped forming toolkits that reflect a discourse of professionalism. So, there are *boundary toolkits* rather than isolated boundary objects. In the case of the UPIE, cultural responsiveness, co-teaching, and differentiated instruction were combined to form the inclusive education-like toolkit. This toolkit allowed for interpretation and adaptability. This was not designed a priori, but rather it was conceptualized as an organic process that was mediated by the historical and sociocultural contexts of the schools. For instance, cultural responsiveness tended to be ignored by the schools

when engaging with the inclusive education-like toolkit. Differentiated instruction, on the other hand, was reduced to profiling students into ability groups and providing instruction accordingly. This way, to use the boundary toolkit (i.e., inclusive education-like discourse) was mediated by the discourse of professionalism that was embedded in the TQM-like discourse.

The crossing of boundary toolkits from one institution to another one, thus, was mediated by the discourses of professionalism that regulated the work of the institutions. By paying attention to how a boundary toolkit (rather than a single boundary object) is taken up in situated practice, this dissertation demonstrated that the work done at institutional boundaries involves the translations and merging of entire toolkits; toolkits that served in different communities to signal participation and identification.

Another aspect of the boundary work that contributed to the continuity between the schools and the university was the work of the site professors. The site professors were key social actors as they were brokers that translated the inclusive education-like discourse to teacher residents. Suchman (1994) used the term *boundary crossing* to describe social actors (e.g., site professors) that enter unfamiliar territories in which they may not be fully qualified and in which they need to negotiate the tools of the overlapping communities in boundary practice. These actors have been called in previous studies boundary crossers or boundary workers (Akkerman & Bakker, 2010). The experiences of these actors illustrate the ambiguity and tensions of boundaries. For instance, Williams, Corbin, and McNamara (2007) pointed out how this ambiguous role can lead to conflicted narratives. These authors described how teachers in their role as school numeracy coordinators felt a conflict between a

collegial discourse and an accountability discourse that positioned them as colleagues but also supervisors. Similarly, in the UPIE, site professors encountered discontinuities and challenges when negotiating meditational tools from both institutions. Because boundary brokers work at the heart of discontinuities, they deserve a close examination; analyses of brokers' work can assist in opening windows into the work that occurs in boundary practice (Akkerman & Bakker, 2010).

In this regard, this dissertation contributed to the literature on boundary crossers by documenting how site professors acted as brokers at institutional boundaries and managed their ambiguous and complex position. This dissertation demonstrated how the site professors drew upon their prior experience as teachers, their developing understandings of the tools for which they served as brokers for (i.e., cultural responsiveness, co-teaching, and differentiated instruction), and the technologies afforded to them by the masters' program (e.g., thesis seminars and visits to classrooms) to negotiate their presence and work at institutional boundaries. The resources that site professors used and their ability to use them provides insight in what Landa (2008) called *personal fortitude* or Walker and Nocon (2007) called "boundary-crossing competence," which is the "ability to manage and integrate multiple, divergent discourses and practices across social boundaries" (p. 181). Similarly, Fortuin and Bush (2010) stressed the importance of boundary skill. This skill includes the capacity to have dialogues with the actors of different communities and also to have inner dialogues between the different perspectives they are able to take on (Akkerman, Admiraal, Simons, & Niessen, 2006). Fisher and Atkinson-Grosjean (2002), in addition, demonstrated how managers in industry were required to translate research results into existent commercial applications. To accomplish

this, managers needed to be skillful in using boundary objects and finding a balance in the ambiguity of boundaries. This study added to this literature suggesting that part of these skills and competence is the capability to use resourcefully their prior experiences, their developing understandings, and the technologies provided by the institution to translate mediating tools into the school practices. The larger challenge for these actors was to exercise this competence in culturally and politically charged contexts in which the object of the partnership was a moving target and was being negotiated in situated practice according to institutional self-interests.

Boundary crossers experience the risk of being marginalized in a community, as they are thought to be part of another community, and are valued as they bring new and innovative perspectives. Research on boundary crossing, for instance, consistently suggested that boundary-crossing individuals (e.g., site professors) run the risk of not being accepted (e.g., Edwards, Lunt, & Stamou, 2010). Edwards et al. (2010) demonstrated how welfare managers who were in charge of coordinating the work of multiple agencies that partnered to improve the social inclusion of disadvantaged youth in England were not completely afforded full membership in any of the participating communities. On the other hand, Jones (2010) found in a historical analysis of boundary-crossing architects that architects with a background in a different field were valued for their creative role in challenging established professional practices. Similarly, site professors were not acknowledged as full members of the schools, but they were valued for their work with teacher residents. Site professors, on the one hand, had a privileged position as they were the ones who introduced mediating tools (e.g., differentiated instruction) to the schools. On the other hand, they had to deal with the challenge of being at the periphery since

their primary affiliation was with the university, which positioned them at times as outsiders in schools, making difficult their efforts to introduce the inclusive education-like toolkit. This dissertation, thus, supported previous findings suggesting that individuals who cross boundaries not only act as translators between communities but also simultaneously embody the very division of these communities (Akkerman & Bakker, 2010).

Considering the rich and complex experiences of people who cross boundaries, it is unfortunate that the previous literature on teacher learning and developing school capacity for inclusive education has paid little attention to these actors and their experiences. For instance, previous research on teacher learning for inclusive education (e.g., Carrington & Robinson, 2004) tended to examine how school professionals and researchers from university settings collaborated to improve the inclusion of certain groups of students through action research projects. Furthermore, research on teacher learning has also tended to examine whether teachers implemented evidence based practices and the extent of the fidelity of this implementation (e.g., Bryant et al, 2001; Klingner et al., 2003). Unfortunately, that research fell short of generating understandings about how researchers and school personnel navigated the ambiguities and tensions that emerge when professionals from different institutions share, translate, and ignore the toolkits that each of the institutions bring to the partnership work. The positions that these actors need to negotiate, and the skills and resources needed to navigate such contexts, are worth researching. The findings of this dissertation pointed out the significance of looking at how certain combinations of tools cross institutional boundaries and become ideal boundary objects that depend on their flexibility to maintain collaboration between

institutions, and the work of certain actors accompanying these tools and serving as brokers in boundary practices. It was this examination that provided a window into how the work of partnerships is enacted and can be improved.

How Do Teachers Appropriate The Social Discourses Present In A Professional Learning School For Inclusive Education?

The analysis pertaining to the second research question provided a nuanced understanding about how teacher residents appropriated mediational tools (co-teacher, differentiated instruction, etc.) in situated boundary practices. The larger body of research examining the work done at the boundaries from a CHAT perspective described and explained development work, focusing at the institutional and organizational aspects of the collaboration between schools and universities (Jahreire & Ottessen, 2010). Yet, boundaries need to be understood in the interactions between individual participants (e.g., teacher residents) working in boundary practices (Jahreire & Ottessen, 2010). The analysis conducted to answer the second question of this dissertation contributed to previous literature by examining how teachers learn in a particular activity (i.e., a lesson plan conducted during site professors' visits) in which both institutions' toolkits and practices came together in the same space and time. Site professor visits constituted a boundary practice in which heterogeneity (Tulviste, 1992) of mediational tools co-existed. This boundary practice presented complex demands for teacher residents. There were moments in which teacher residents had to orchestrate multiple mediational tools (e.g., tools from the TQM-like and inclusive education-like discourses' toolkits) to signal memberships in at least two communities (i.e., their schools and Masters' program). This analysis pointed to the work that occurs as teachers blend or bend

the discourses of professionalism that overlapped in boundary practices anchored in specific institutional contexts. To explain this phenomenon, I advanced the concept of curating.

Exhibiting identities: The curatorial work of becoming an inclusive teacher. Curating is a kind of heuristic development (Holland et al., 1998) that pertains to the work achieved in boundary practices in which individuals such as teacher residents need to claim multiple memberships by appropriating the discourses and the particular tool kits of more than one community of practice. The mediational tools of the discourses of professionalism were appropriated by teachers as heuristic means to signal participation in both institutions (e.g., school and masters' program). Through curating, there was a continual process of heuristic development that became, for teacher residents, the basis for their situated identities.

Curating refers to a process in which tool kits, rather than isolated tools, are de-constructed and re-constructed. In doing so, teacher residents became history in person as they used and appropriated the mediational tools (e.g., co-teaching, differentiated instruction, and cultural responsiveness) that have been historically developed and used to include students who are considered different from the dominant culture of the schools. Curating, as a kind of heuristic development, was key to develop identities in boundary practices. It highlighted the situated nature of heuristic and identity development. Daniels (2010) reminded us that institutions and their structures are cultural products that mediate human activity. In this sense, different activity systems give rise to different curating patterns according to the social, cultural and historical circumstances in which teacher and students came together to participate within institutional practices. Different activities occurring in

these institutions (e.g., site professors' visits) provided different learning opportunities and even different understandings of the same mediational tools.

Previous research (e.g., Douglas, 2010; Finlay, 2011; Max, 2010) examined how teacher residents learn across the different activities that occur in partnerships (e.g., university classes, meetings with teacher mentors, working across departments, etc.). Douglas, for instance, (2010) demonstrated how even the same tools may be used differently across high school departments, providing different learning opportunities to student teachers that were mentored in those departments. In one high school department, for instance, the mentoring agenda (a tool used to guide the conversations between student teachers and mentors) that was designed for supporting the student teachers were used explicitly. Yet, in a different department, this tool was sidelined in favor of a more general support and personal interaction on issues arising directly from the teaching practice. These differences in the use of the mentoring agenda shaped how student teachers integrated or kept separate the tools presented to them by the university and the high school departments.

Similarly, Jahreire and Ottessen, (2010) noticed how teachers are afforded different positions in their meetings with their mentor teachers and their meetings with university supervisors who visit them in their school. The boundaries between these activity systems provided limitations and possibilities for student teachers' development (Jahreire & Ottessen, 2010). That is, the different tools and different objects of these activities afforded teachers different opportunities to develop their teaching.

These studies examined how teachers negotiated their learning as they moved from one activity to another activity system. Yet, the concept of curating provided

further understanding on how teacher residents work in a situated activity (e.g., site professors visits) in which more than one community and tool kit merged. Curating underlined that there is not only one community and its tool kit involved in a particular activity. Teachers may be boundary workers in the same activity. Curating, thus, needs to be understood within the grammar of partnering institutions that come together to work in the same situated activity.

Previous research has generated some understanding about how teachers or student teachers manage this issue. Smagorinsky et al. (2004), for instance, used the term *accommodation* to describe how student teachers and beginning teachers grudgingly reconciled competing conceptual tools such as constructivism and more traditional forms of teaching (e.g., instructionism). Similarly to curating, accommodation varied according to the social contexts in which teachers worked. In addition, Smagorinsky et al. (2004) pointed out how accommodation shaped teacher identity development as they positioned themselves as students, mentor pleasers, or as a more autonomous teacher according to the forms they accommodated both conceptual tools.

Smagorinsky et al., (2002) also identified the terms *acquiescence* and *resistance* to describe how teachers addressed the contradictions posed by constructivist approaches to teaching that they were taught in their university programs and traditional forms of teaching that were prominent in the curricula of schools in which they student taught and obtained their first teaching jobs. The former term refers to teachers “acceptance of, compliance with, and submission to their school curriculum”, while the latter one refers to teachers’ “opposition to the curriculum either overtly or subversively” (Smagorinsky et al., 2002, p. 201). Smagorinsky et al.

(2002) pointed out that whether teachers engaged in accommodation, acquiescence, and resistance varied according to teachers identity as some of them struggled with the school curriculum while others were contempt to have a scripted curriculum that decreased their planning time.

Yet, the work of Smagorinsky and colleagues only acknowledged the tensions between two conceptual tools while curating looks at how entire tool kits are deconstructed and reconstructed according to the activity system in which they are used. Curating affords a more nuanced understanding of how this occurs by drawing from intermediate concepts such as privileging and appropriating and how these are mediated by the elements of the activity system. That is, curating highlights the situated nature of working in boundary activities as it occurs in regards to two aspects: privileging and appropriating.

These aspects do not have a hierarchical order, but they occur simultaneously in situated activity. Teacher residents privileged (Wertsch, 1991) certain mediational tools over others; that is, teacher residents judged some mediational tools more appropriate or even possible to use than others (Wertsch, 1991). Privileging, thus, suggests that not all mediational tools provided to teachers by schools or university programs get used in situated activity. Similarly to Levi Strauss' (1974) concept of *bricoleur*, teacher residents used the tools that they have at hand in different ways to address the dilemmas they faced as a result of working in boundary activities. Like in the case of Debbie, for instance, teacher residents used mediational tools of the inclusive education-like discourse to achieve the goals of their schools (e.g., increasing students' test scores). As Hatton (1989) stated "Teachers' work is typically conservative even where adaptive. Just as the bricoleur by inclination or necessity

stays within existing constraints, so do teachers” (p. 78). Teachers coping strategies, thus, tend to accommodate rather than transcend the constraints of work (Hargreaves, 1994).

Like the work of the bricoleur, curating also refers to the limitations of teachers’ constructions of new cultural forms. Teacher residents reconstructed tool kits only in-light of what mediational means were afforded to them. The enlargement of their repertoire was ad-hoc (Hatton, 1989). Teacher residents used and acquired tools in response to circumstances in which they found themselves. As Erickson (2004) noted, the bricoleur needs to act in the present moment in circumstances not necessarily of his/her own choosing. Similar, teacher residents de-constructed the TQM-like’s and inclusive education-like’s toolkit to form a new combination of tools that responded to the demands of site professor visits. For instance, Tamara helped Thomas on the spot using mediational tools from both toolkits (i.e., TQM-like and Inclusive Education-like) to resolve what she understood as Thomas’s deviation from the lesson’s discussion. This was an ad-hoc use of the mediating tools afforded to her in that particular activity. It was a real-time event doing the immediate work at hand.

Yet, curating involves more than the ad-hoc reconstruction of tool kits. The way that some mediating tools were privileged over others was mediated by the elements of the activity system in which the tools were used (e.g., a lesson in the classroom). These elements included the object of the activity (e.g., learning differences between “wants” and “needs”) and the rules of the activity (e.g., district reading and curriculum development policies). In the case of Debbie, for instance, cultural responsiveness was not privileged because Debbie did not see it as possible

or appropriate when she needed to comply with curriculum maps and the district's reading policies. There was a value judgment involved in privileging. In contrast to the work of the bricoleur, curating can be (but not necessarily as in the case of Tamara and Thomas) more of a rational decision than an improvisation.

Privileging, thus, helps us understand how social discourses not only exercise power by universalizing a tool kit as the only possible way to be a teacher, but also by providing teachers a value system to discern which mediational tools should be privileged and which should be moved aside. Debbie was being socialized away from using mediational tools that were not mandated by the district. There was a hierarchy of mediational tools based on the values of the institution (e.g., Desert Pride and Green Valley). The proximity of the institutional context was critical in defining the hierarchy. For instance, Debbie used the concept of cultural responsiveness in her PBA for her thesis seminar but did not use it during her classroom instruction. It is possible also that cultural responsiveness was not used by Debby because her lesson took place in March, when her engagement with cultural responsiveness was just beginning. Both explanations for Debbie's ways to privilege some tools over others (i.e., institutional context and level of understanding of the mediational tool) signaled that curating is more of a rational decision than an improvisation.

Smagorinsky, Jakubiak, and Moore (2008) pointed out that this tends to happen to student and beginning teachers as the values of multiple stakeholders converge in their classrooms while they are beginning to develop their craft. These values bring different understandings of what should be the object of teaching. Smagorinsky et al. (2008) demonstrated how the school curriculum had the greatest influence in an early career teacher's pedagogical decisions, even when these

decisions were in conflict with the teacher's and the University program's values. In curating, this issue comes to bear when teachers privilege some tools over others. Debbie was an early career teacher and her lesson, for instance, was designed and implemented to improve students' DIBELS scores, even when she mentioned that she struggled with the curriculum and felt like a robot that followed the administration's curricular decisions. According to this activity object (i.e., increasing students DIBELS scores) some mediational tools were privileged and appropriated over others. Privileging, thus, is adequately understood only in light of the overlapping cultural, historical and institutional forces that shape the activity system.

Teacher residents' appropriation of mediational tools was also situated in the context of the activity system. Particularly, the appropriation of a privileged mediational tool was mediated by the tools that were being appropriated simultaneously with it. This was different than the work of the bricoleur. It is not only that the tools are used for an innovative purpose but also that mediational tools are shaped and changed as they are implemented simultaneously with other mediational tools in situated activity. Curating highlighted the importance of understanding mediated action in terms of an array of mediational means that are implemented simultaneously, mediating each other's appropriation, rather than in terms of how a mediational tool was appropriated or how several mediational tools were appropriated separately from the rest. In the case of Nazareth, for instance, the appropriation of co-teaching was mediated by the simultaneous appropriation of cultural responsiveness, instructionism, and for moments, differentiated instruction.

In this way, the concept of curating served to understand more deeply how teachers learn to work with students who embody multiple forms of difference (e.g.,

Latino, low income, learning disabled) that is missing in the research on teacher learning for inclusive education. Curating affords documenting how tools that have been historically developed to serve certain kinds of students (e.g., Latino students, ELLs, students identified with learning disabilities) are appropriated simultaneously, mediating each other's appropriation in institutional and historical contexts. For instance, this study examined not only the appropriation of iconic and historical tools of inclusive education such as co-teaching and differentiated instruction, but also on the (lack of) appropriation of cultural responsiveness. This shed light on how these tools are appropriated while addressing the needs (or not) of students who have diverse abilities but also come from diverse cultural and linguistic background.

Furthermore, when mediational tools that come from more than one discourse are appropriated simultaneously in situated activity, some of these tools may lose their intended use. I showed, for instance, that in the case of Debbie, curating resulted in the bending of the inclusive education-like discourse. The tools of this discourse were used to functionally perform the motif of the TQM-like discourse (i.e., control and increase quality as indicated by quantitative measures such as DIBELS). To this regard, Finlay (2011) noticed how tools such as reflective journal, teaching strategies, and concepts and theories were used differently across activities according to how student teachers negotiated the object of those activities. Furthermore, Williams et al. (2007) noticed how teachers who have assumed a supervisory position crossed boundaries between a collegial and an audit discourse. In doing so, they used a collegial discourse to interpret the audit discourse by distributing responsibility among all teachers and collectively identifying good

practices and involved all school staff in keeping each other accountable. Teachers used the audit discourse as a springboard for collegial inquiry (William et al., 2007).

Through curating, teacher residents became history in person; they personified historical struggles in local contentious practice (Holland & Lave, 2001). They privileged and appropriated mediational tools that were the crystallization of previous work in the struggles for inclusive education. It demanded an involvement with the past to create future cultural forms in the present. As a result, they reconstructed the discourses of professionalism that overlapped in boundary practices such as site professor visits. Curating became the basis of becoming certain kinds of teachers for teacher residents—the basis for their situated identity.

Daniels and Edwards (2010) reminded us that multifaceted problems (e.g., developing teachers to work with students embodying multiple layers of difference) call for complex responses in which teachers find themselves questioning their own practices and creating new cultural forms (e.g., the formation of a new tool kit) that in turn generate new contradictions and forms of understandings. Discourses of professionalism, thus, were not static, but rather an unstable body of tools and practices. They are reconstructed in situated activity as teachers engage with curating to address the complexities of boundary practices. Discourses of professionalism, thus, were intimately related to how teachers developed heuristics to author themselves, entering the flow of communication with the past and the future of institutions and their overlapping social discourses (Makitalo & Saljo, 2002).

Limitations of the Study and Recommendations for Future Research

One of the limitations of this study is related to obstacles faced during data collection. Participants changed their roles from one semester to the other and some

participants even left their positions. Site professors and language coaches, for instance, changed from one semester to the next and teacher resident positions changed within schools. Furthermore, Kelly -one of the teacher residents- moved from Green Valley to Desert Pride. These challenges interfered with videorecording and observing the same classroom activity over time for the same teacher. This study, thus, did not provide an understanding of how curating patterns changed over time in the same situated activity, nor how these changes shaped the development of teacher identities over time. Future research should aim to examine activity systems over time to provide nuanced understandings about the transformation of curating practices. For instance, future studies could examine a reading group in 2nd grade classroom that includes special education students over a period of a school year.

Furthermore, there is a scarcity of research on how teacher and student learning occurred simultaneously. That is, how teachers appropriate certain tools while mediating the appropriation of other concepts or contents by students. This study moved a step forward toward understanding this phenomenon, describing, for instance, how the appropriation of a certain tool occurred simultaneously as Christopher was helped to get the right answer by Nazareth and Tamara. Yet, because of the lack of additional data such as interviews with Christopher, additional classroom observations over time, and other biographical information about him, I could not provide a deep understanding of this process and to advance claims about how curating occurs simultaneously for teachers and students. Future research should examine classroom activities as constellations of boundary practices in which students and the tools that they have appropriated through their biography met with the tools elicited and combined by the discourses of the school. From this

perspective, future research could ask, how do students and teachers engage in the curating process of various tools? What is the role of the teacher in mediating this simultaneous curating process?

This study pointed out that the tools combined by the inclusive-education like discourse were ideal boundary objects. The limitation of the data sources may have limited the study to do such a claim about the tools combined by the TQM-like discourse. That is, I did not spend a sufficient amount of time observing school practices to make this claim. The data from the first research question came from interviews and documents, and a few observations of school staff (e.g., summer institute). This may have limited the way that the TQM-like discourse emerged in the data— as a more rigid and well-bounded discourse. Yet, other research has demonstrated how certain tools within schools and school districts are used between teachers and their mentors worked as boundary objects (Cobb & McClain, 2006; Edwards & Mutton, 2007). Future research should collect more evidence from school practices to examine whether the discourses of professionalism in school sites and their combined tools serve as ideal boundary objects, particularly in schools that are in the process of becoming more inclusive.

This study, furthermore, was conducted with in-service teachers. The teacher residents participating in this study were full time teachers working in the participating schools. Future research should test the concept of curating with pre-service teachers as they tend to work at the intersections of two worlds during their student teaching. The work of Smagorinsky and colleagues (e.g., Smagorinsky et al., 2004; Smagorinsky, Gibson, Bickmore, Moore, & Cook, 2004; Smagorinsky et al., 2002), for instance, has advanced some understanding on this topic. Their research,

however, did not focus on issues of inclusion and equity, nor examined this issue from a curating perspective.

Implications for Teacher Learning Efforts for Inclusive Education

This dissertation demonstrated the complexity of engaging in partnership work for inclusive education. Teacher residents were offered different and sometimes contradictory sets of tool kits. For partnerships to succeed, then tools, rules, and objects have to be explicitly communicated and negotiated with all parts involved, including teachers. The learning trajectory of teacher residents and their development as inclusive teachers needs to be a joint object in order to facilitate learning at both the individual and the administrative levels. As Edwards and Kinti (2010) pointed out, this should bring forth a boundary zone in which the learning trajectories of teacher residents are explored. Drawing from Gutierrez (2008), Kozleski (2011) suggested that collaborative programs for developing teacher capacity for inclusive education should create third spaces in which the narratives of each institution converge in ways that challenge and change each other. As Kozleski (2011) stated:

This third space produces generative dialogue among individuals and groups who may hold conflicting understandings of (a) the way that teachers come to know their practice; (b) the way that problems are resolved through policy, research, and/or practice; (c) the nature of the kinds of teacher education problems worth solving (e.g., alternative vs. university-based programs); and (d) the ways in which representations of reality are expressed through the specialized, professionalized language that we use. (p. 251)

A first step for this to occur is to make explicit the meanings of professionalism in each community and the object and motives of each of the partnering institutions. The goal would be to facilitate the emergence of a discourse of professionalism and its tool kit as a distributed achievement between the partnering communities. The goal is to create a system of distributed expertise that enables partnerships to be fluid and flexible to address complex problems such as the exclusion of certain students from meaningful access and participation in quality education. This is what Edwards (2005) called *relational agency*, which is the capacity to engage with others to expand the object of the activity at task (e.g., developing teacher capacity for inclusive education) by recognizing motives and resources that others bring to the partnership and by aligning one's responses with the responses of others to act upon the expanded object of the partnership.

Relational agency is also important for the co-development of tool kits in partnerships. Mediation tools need to be constantly revised and negotiated having equity in mind and inquiring about who gets excluded with the implementation of mediation tools. In the UPIE, mediation tools such as cultural responsiveness, co-teaching, and differentiated instruction traveled to the classroom where they got appropriated according to the institutional contexts in which they were used. By no means would one expect that these concepts would stay homogenous and well-bounded as they crossed boundaries. Yet, problems emerged when mediation tools that have been designed to contribute to the inclusion of all students get used to actually do the opposite. Partnering institutions should engage in a co-development of mediation tools that afford educators to become inclusive teachers. Partnerships, thus, should engage in a careful inspection of the discourses and their toolkits

present at the schools and university programs to bring to surface their assumptions and decide whether they contribute to including all students.

These co-developed mediational tools should not travel alone. Teacher learning efforts for inclusive education should encompass site professors, or any other kind of broker, who mediates the boundary crossing of mediational tools into teachers' classroom practices. There should be a robust investment on the preparation and development of actors who play the role of broker (e.g., site professor) as their understandings of key concepts such as inclusion, equity, and cultural responsiveness (among others) and their capability to translate them to institutional contexts will mediate how teachers appropriate these tools. Teachers' appropriation of these tools needs to be mediated because the complex and ubiquitous forms of exclusion that takes place in schools that sometimes goes invisible to the eye.

Teachers should learn to curate educational experiences for students. Teachers should have explicit conversations with coaches and university professors about privileging and appropriating mediational tools in situated practice. This includes understanding the institutional contexts in which they work, learning about their students and their families, examining and evaluating the goals of the activity, understanding who they are as teachers, and reflecting about how all these elements come together at the time of creating and implementing educational activities.

Learning to curate educational experiences, in addition, involves that teachers learn to orchestrate multiple mediational tools in situated activities rather than in isolation. This dissertation demonstrated that it is virtually meaningless to ask whether a teacher resident understands and implements a mediational tool without

taking account the activity system in which these mediational tools are appropriated and implemented. The case of Debbie working in a general education classroom and the case of Nazareth working first as a resource teacher and then in a self-contained special education classroom are good examples of this point. Each classroom presented a unique activity system that mediated how mediational tools were appropriated and implemented. It is not whether a teacher resident knows or not a topic or skill but rather whether they know how that mediational tool or skill is used simultaneously with other mediational tools in situated activity.

This dissertation also showed that efforts to develop teacher capacity for inclusive education need to be systemic. The differences in the activity systems in which Debbie and Nazareth operated demonstrated how district initiatives and policies (e.g., curriculum maps, reading instruction practices) mediated teacher learning for inclusive education. Efforts for developing teacher capacity for inclusive education, thus, need to focus not only on individual teachers, but also include a coherent set of policies, practices, and tools at the district, school, and classroom levels that has an equity focus and concerned with the inclusion of all students (Ferguson, Kozleski, & Smith, 2003).

Professional development schools may provide an appealing structure as this model of professional development also aimed to transform school practices. Yet, two caveats should be considered in this regard. First, the literature reviewed in chapter two demonstrated that professional development schools with an inclusive education focus are not very common (Breault & Lack, 2010; Tunks & Neapolitan, 2007). We know, thus, very little about the results and process that occur in this kind of partnerships. Second, as I mentioned in the previous paragraph, efforts need to be

systemic. Partnering with a school or group of schools may still not be enough when district and state entities are not equal partners in this effort. The partnership examined in this dissertation is a case in point. Teacher learning for inclusive education programs need to be embedded in a larger systemic effort to transform states and districts towards the *redistribution* of quality opportunities to learn, the *recognition* and value of differences as reflected in content, pedagogy, and assessment tools, and increasing the opportunities for marginalized groups to *represent themselves* in decision making processes that advance and define claims of exclusion and the respective solutions that affect their children's educational future.

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APPENDIX A

STUDIES IDENTIFIED FOR THE LITERATURE REVIEW

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APPENDIX B
IRB APPROVAL

To: Elizabeth Kozleski
EDUCATION

From: Mark Roosa, Chair
Soc Beh IRB

Date: 12/18/2009

Committee Action: **Exemption Granted**

IRB Action Date: 12/18/2009

IRB Protocol #: 0911004589

Study Title: Teacher Identity for Inclusive Education

The above-referenced protocol is considered exempt after review by the Institutional Review Board pursuant to Federal regulations, 45 CFR Part 46.101(b)(1) (2) .

This part of the federal regulations requires that the information be recorded by investigators in such a manner that subjects cannot be identified, directly or through identifiers linked to the subjects. It is necessary that the information obtained not be such that if disclosed outside the research, it could reasonably place the subjects at risk of criminal or civil liability, or be damaging to the subjects' financial standing, employability, or reputation.

You should retain a copy of this letter for your records.

APPENDIX C

INTERVIEW PROTOCOL FOR PRINCIPALS, LANGUAGE COACHES, AND

SITE PROFESSORS

Questions	Detail Probes or Expanders
1. Tell us about your school	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tell me about the students and families you serve • Tell me about teachers and staff • Tell me about the principles and goals that drive your school • Tell me about the policies that affect your school • Tell me about how your school address students' needs • Tell me about your school initiatives
2. Tell us about the partnership.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How are teachers and other staff encouraged to learn more about their craft? • How are teachers and students engaged in research and inquiry? • Describe some of the learning opportunities teacher residents have. • Describe how the climate at the schools you serve encourages culturally responsive learning.
3. To what extent is <i>your</i> current level of been influenced by this project?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How has the Professional Learning School influenced your ability to serve teacher residents, clinical teachers, and school leadership? • In what ways has the Professional Learning School fostered identity transformation for you? (probe for transformations in identity towards culturally responsive and inclusive practices, research and inquiry agendas, and so on)
4. In what ways have teachers residents been affected by the partnership?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How has WHAT they are learning changed? • How has the AMOUNT of their learning changed? • How has the learning environment changed for students? • What have been the CONSEQUENCES of the changes? (Encourage both positive and negative consequences)
5. Do you think that the partnership has made the schools you serve more democratic?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Who gives input into partner school decisions? Who has ownership over the program? • How is communication among the partner school participants fostered/blocked?
6. What words would you use to describe the relationship among all members of your school?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Who do you see as the members that are involved to the Partner School in your situation? Select the relationships within this group that have most impacted you. Now give words that describe those relationships and evidence of how those relationships have impacted you.
7. How do you support and help teacher residents?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What kind of activities you engaged with them? • How is your relationship with them? • How do you feel about their development?

APPENDIX D

SITE PROFESSORS' FIELD NOTE TEMPLATE

Site Professors' Field Note Template

Author:

Date:

School:

Hot Topic

Status Progress:

Next Steps:

Theme	What happened?
Research & Inquiry	
Professional Learning	
Teacher Preparation	
An Equity Curriculum	

APPENDIX E

STIMULATED RECALL INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

Questions	<p style="text-align: center;">Detail Probes or Expanders</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>These probes are the basic who, where, what, when and how questions. Use them to obtain a complete and detailed picture of some activity or experience. At the end of the probes ask, "Are there other key points that we haven't covered about the general question: (repeat the question from column 1)."</i></p>
<p>Show a couple of minutes that are representative of the lesson and ask,</p> <p>Tell me about this particular lesson we filmed.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What was your role as a teacher in this lesson? • What were you trying to accomplish? • How did you decide what and how to teach this lesson? Why was that content important to you? • How this event did reflect teaching and learning of your school? • How did it go? • What were the obstacles you faced? • What happened at the end of the lesson?
<p>Chose a particular interaction with a student and ask the participant to tell you about that event</p> <p>Tell me about this particular section of the video</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tell me about this student What is happening in this event? • What was your role as teacher? • What were you trying to accomplish? Why? • What was going through your mind? • What did you think the student was doing? Thinking? • How did your exchange with the student/s go? • What did you learned from this event?
<p>Chose a particular interaction with the clinical teacher or co-teacher and ask the participant to tell you about the event.</p> <p>Tell me about this particular section of the video</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What is happening? • What was going through your mind? • What did you think the clinical teacher was doing? Thinking? • How did your exchange with the student/s go? • What did you learned from this event?
<p>Ask the participant to chose any section of the video and tell you about it.</p> <p>Tell me about this particular section of the video</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What is happening? • Who is participating? • What was your role as a teacher? • What were you trying to accomplish? Why? • What was going through your mind? • How this event did reflect teaching and learning of your school? • How did this event turn out? • What did you learned from this event?

APPENDIX F

TEACHER RESIDENTS ENTRY INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

Questions	Detail Probes or Expanders <i>These probes are the basic who, where, what, when and how questions. Use them to obtain a complete and detailed picture of some activity or experience. At the end of the probes ask, "Are there other key points that we haven't covered about the general question: (repeat the question from column 1)."</i>
Tell me how did you decide to become a teacher?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Can you think of any particular story in your life that shaped your decision in becoming a teacher? Tell me about it • Can you think of any individual that play an important role in your decision to become a teacher? How?
How you decided to enroll in this particular teacher program?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What was appealing about it?
Imagine your ideal classroom and take me for a tour in it.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tell me about the physical space • Tell me about your students • Tell me about the materials • Tell me about the pedagogy • Tell me about what would you teach
Tell me a particular story about your co-teaching experience	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What happen when you co-teach? • How do you feel about it? • How were decisions made between you and your co-teacher • How is this relationship changing how you approach context and pedagogy when you teach alone?
How is like to teach in your school?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What are the responsibilities? • What are the supports? • How do these responsibilities enable or compete with the UPLSI program? • How do you negotiate what and how you teach? • What it means to be a teacher at your school? • What outside school factors shapes the way your school approach education • What things you like and what things you don't about teaching at your school?