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CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY, SAN MARCOS

Power Within Distributive Leadership:
A Consideration of Teacher and Administrator Relationships
as Constructed and Deconstructed through Discourse

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Education

in

Educational Leadership

by

Jerry Douglas Merica-Jones

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2014

The Dissertation of Jerry Douglas Merica-Jones is approved, and it is

acceptable in quality and form for publication on microfilm and electronically:

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<div align="right">Chair</div>

University of California, San Diego

California State University, San Marcos

2014

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to Dr. Janet Chrispeels for her encouragement, energy, and support during this long journey. Her love of learning and passion for improving schools for all children was clear in everything she did. She modeled for me how believing in others brings out the best in others.

I would also like to dedicate this dissertation to my dad whose long decline and death at 98 during my studies kept everything else in perspective and to my oldest son whose complete support and encouragement helped me get to the end.

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VITA

EDUCATION

Doctor of Education in Educational Leadership *June 2014*
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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Power Within Distributive Leadership:
A Consideration of Teacher and Administrator Relationships
as Constructed and Deconstructed through Discourse

by

Jerry Douglas Merica-Jones

Doctor of Education in Educational Leadership

University of California, San Diego, 2014
California State University, San Marcos, 2014

Janet Chrispeels, Chair

Reform is constant but there is little or no change in the achievement gap. As the nation begins yet another reform effort, the Common Core State Standards, the question proposed in this study is ever more pressing. Are we seeing real reform or is it that underlying these many reform efforts are unchallenged and unchanged epistemological assumptions that nurture existing theories-in-use despite whatever the current flavor of espoused theory.

The primary purpose of this study is to identify how leadership practice is distributed at the school site. Current literature on distributed leadership has identified that for distributed leadership theory to be explanatory it will need to account for not only that leadership practice is being distributed but how it is being distributed. Since distributed leadership is the espoused leadership practice in education today a method to uncover the theory-in-practice of leadership is required. The study used discourse

analysis and Micropolitical theory to analyze the conversations of teachers and administrators during 18 team meetings at two elementary schools over the course of a year. The research questions of the study focused primarily on how conversations revealed the power and position of specific discourses.

This study has observed that standards-based instruction and the high-stakes testing that drives it have changed the paradigm of learning. This paradigm is that learning is quantifiable and represented by the results of high-stakes testing. Raising test scores is not only the indicator of closing the achievement gap but discursively substitutes for closing the achievement gap. The study found that the discourse of high-stakes testing was the most powerful discourse at the two schools and established the context for conversations around learning. This discourse was more powerful at the school where scores were more important and was more influential on the approach teachers at that site had toward instruction. The discourse of high-stakes testing served as a substitute for leadership, which reduced teacher and principal autonomy. The study also found that the discourse of distributed leadership provided spaces where participative discourse occurred. Further, it found that leadership was largely hierarchically distributed at the two sites partly due to macro-discourses from beyond the school site. Distributed leadership did not necessarily reduce and may have increased the hierarchical power of the principal position.

These findings lead to a conclusion that the most recent version of standards-based instruction, the Common Core state standards, will continue to have the discourse of high-stakes testing set the context for conversations around learning since

it continues the same discourse. Another implication of the study is that how the Common Core affects authentically engaging instruction will be more around the construction and implementation of the assessment tools than around the accompanying rhetoric.

Adding to research on distributed leadership theory the study demonstrated that research on how leadership practice is distributed must incorporate some mechanism to consider how power and position influence the distribution.

Studies using discourse analysis participate in the social construction of reality where meaning is never fixed and all analysis is open to alternate interpretations. The findings that seemed emerge from the many conversations considered have other alternative interpretations that are accessible to the reader through the extensive presentation of text in chapter four.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Context of Problem and Rationale

My research interest stems from my experience as a teacher for 6 years, an administrator for 10, and then back to a teacher in a "community school" for 16 more years. The school where I now teach has no administrators. However, many of my acquaintances and classmates are school administrators and I notice that current discourse patterns in education have established "my staff" as the term commonly used by administrators to refer to the people with whom they work. This term produced a dissonance when I compared it to the discourse of a friend who works at Hewlett Packard as a "supervisor." He alludes to the team he directs as "our team" or "my colleagues," but never as "my staff." I mentally compared it to calling an African American man "boy" and then wondered if I wasn't overstating the issue. However, current educational reform efforts stress distributed types of leadership that should work to reduce hierarchical power relationships. Does the use of the phrase "my staff" situate the people the administrator is talking about in a specific power position vis-à-vis the administrator using the phrase? What does the discourse of administrators reveal about distributed leadership practices at the school site?

My experience as a teacher began in 1974 shortly after the release of the *Coleman Report*. This report framed much of the conversation about teaching and learning that took place in my credential program at San Jose State. After I moved to a principal position, *A Nation at Risk* was released ushering in the era of reform. While the discourses have changed since the release of *A Nation at* Risk there are still daunting issues of equity and social justice facing the U.S. education system. Reforms

abound but the inequity of student achievement that was noted in the *Coleman Report* and echoed in *A Nation at Risk* continues. One aspect of school reform involves modified power relations between teachers and school administrators. Like many other conceptualized reform efforts the implementation of this reform is problematic. Henze and Arriaza (2006) examined the connection between language and reforming schools in their article by that title and commented that "Any serious effort to reform schools to be more equitable and socially just, therefore, has to consider carefully the role of language in constructing the social identities of those who make up the school community and the power relations among them" (Henze & Arriaza, 2006, p. 164).

Background of the Problem

The Coleman Report in the 60s, *A Nation at Risk* in the 80s, and in the new millennium *No Child Left Behind* have all highlighted patterns of inequity in student academic achievement that continues to this day. Reform is constant but there is little or no change in the achievement gap. The problem may be that underlying many reform efforts are unchallenged and unchanged epistemological assumptions that nurture existing theories-in-use despite whatever is the current flavor of espoused theory. There is a general predisposition of humans and institutions to assimilate new things in terms of existing categories (Mannheim, 1940; March & Simon, 1958). Changing epistemologies requires cultural and not just structural change. Sergiovanni (2005) states, "Deep change, in other words, requires the reconstructing of existing individual and collective mindscapes of practice. Mindscapes are implicit mental frames through which the reality of schooling and our place in it are envisioned" (p. 297). The cultural changes in schools must occur within both the mindscape of

teaching and learning and the mindscape of the ways people work together. One small but significant aspect of this much larger issue is the continuing affect on reform efforts of the traditional leader-follower mindscape based on a constrained view of human nature. Hierarchical and bureaucratic forms of leadership are expressions of this mindscape.

Anderson (1998) records "In the last decades of the 20th century, a pervasive discourse of participation entered professional and lay discussions of education in the United States" (p. 572). The discourses of participation include site-based management, participatory research, consensus decision making, teacher empowerment through participatory decision making, and its 21st century form, distributed leadership.

Fairclough (1989) notes that in organizations like schools, there is "the tendency of the discourse of social control towards simulated egalitarianism and the removal of surface markers of authority and power" (p. 37). Fairclough goes on to explain that this does not necessarily mean that the control of power through consent and coercion has been forsaken. Rather the underlying cultural assumptions become opaque and work to naturalize the existing hierarchy. While the discourse of participation has become hegemonic in education reform efforts, without a change in the culture, the mindscape of the educational community, assimilation of this discourse into existing categories is to be expected. Indeed, a wide range of researchers and theorists document just such an assimilation occurring (Henze & Arriaza, 2006; Keith, 1996; Scribner, Sawyer, Watson, & Meyers, 2007; Sergiovanni, 2005).

Argyris and Schön (1974) in their seminal work on espoused theory and theory-in-use postulated that people have trouble implementing new theories, distributed leadership for example, not because of the difficulty of the new theory but rather due the pervasiveness of their existing theory-in-use. They write, "Blindness to incongruity between espoused theory and theory-in-use may be culturally as well as individually caused and maintained. In such cases, reeducation has to begin with an attempt to specify the patterns of existing theories-in-use" (p. viii). The theory-in-use of the discourse of participation as enacted in educational reform is clearly problematic due to the cultural pervasiveness of the traditional leader-follower mindscape. The need "to specify existing theories-in-use" as it applies to leadership practice today is clear given the juxtaposition of the cultural practice of leadership in the educational community in the 20th century with the discourse of participation championed by reform efforts.

Chris Argyris (1987) used research to demonstrate the difference between the two theories of action. Argyris interviewed management consultants on how they would handle a disagreement with a client. The consultants generally answered that they would state their understanding of the disagreement and then determine what facts could be agreed upon to produce a resolution. This answer reflected the best practice for conflict resolution taught in business schools. This is the espoused theory voiced by the consultants interviewed by Argyris. Then there were tape recordings of meetings between the consultants and their clients and Argryis found that the consultants on tape consistently argued for their own point of view and dismissed the client's. The theory-in-use by the consultant was very different from the consultant's

espoused theory. The interview documented the espoused theory while the analysis of

the discourse of the recorded meetings revealed the theory-in-use.

Scribner et al. (2007) in their research on Professional Leaning Teams find:

Both teams provide examples of how distributed leadership is a
complex phenomenon, and can just as easily be associated with the
negative qualities of organizations as it can be with the positive.
Oppressive and controlling structures can take form in a context of
collaboration and apparent shared governance. They are not limited to
traditional hierarchical models of organizations. Collaboration does not
necessarily equate with workers becoming more creative and
innovative. In fact the opposite can occur (pp. 94-95).

This makes it clear that the term participation instead of having a common

sense meaning may be seen as a "floating signifier" by poststructuralist definition.

Participative discourses can be discourses that are antithetical to participation as easily

as being participative. Anderson (1998) writes that, "Unless we unravel the ways the

current discourse of participation has been constructed, we cannot effectively analyze

the success or failure of current participatory reforms" (p. 597). The challenge then is

to find a research method that will access the theory-in-use of the discourses of

participation.

Research on Site Based Management has produced mixed results on how

participation is affected. Most studies to date have found no significant increase in

participation in decision-making (Barker, 1993; Anderson & Grinberg, 1998;

Hargreaves, 1994; Lipman, 1997; Malen & Ogawa, 1988). However, one significant

study titled, "When Shared Decision Making Works" by Johnson and Pajares (1996),

provides a perspective on how a cultural shift can occur. The researchers note that

research on reform efforts that are changing traditional theories of school leadership

must adopt new theoretical frames in order to understand and interpret the changes. They write, "A theoretical approach more applicable to studying schools implementing a democratic reform is a critical model of school leadership that is concerned with those persons who have been traditionally subordinated in schools" (p. 601). Thus it appears that the research method for determining the theory-in-use of distributed leadership should be linked to theory that is applicable to schools implementing democratic reform and includes persons who have traditionally not been participants in school leadership.

Purpose of the Study

My proposed study will use discourse analysis as both theory and method to look at the discursive practices of two elementary level Instructional Leadership Teams of teachers and administrators in California. Distributed Leadership Theory and Micropolitics Theory will be used to provide alternative perspective for the analysis of discourse. The participation of both administrators and other staff on Instructional Leadership Teams demonstrate that the school is attempting to implement some form of distributed leadership. Discourse analysis will be used to examine how discursive practices construct the power relations between teachers and administrators.

The proposed study is situated in a context, Instructional Leadership Teams, where there is the expectation that there is the potential for significant transformative changes in power relations between teachers and administrators. The study will use discourse analysis for two purposes. The first is the traditional use of discourse analysis to provide a critique of discourse practices that do not establish changes in power and position between teachers and administrators. The second purpose is to

produce an appreciative discourse analysis (ADA) through the use of theoretical lenses and the identification of emancipatory discourses. Luke (2002) envisions a "normative CDA" (Critical Discourse Analysis) that not only identifies what is "problematic with text and discourse in the world" but also what "should be" in the world (p. 105). Luke argues "that to move beyond a strong focus on ideology critique, Critical Discourse Analysis would need to begin to develop a strong positive thesis about discourse and the productive uses of power . . . we would need to begin to capture an affirmative character of culture where discourse is used aesthetically, productively, and for emancipator purposes" (p.106). This strength-based and appreciative approach to the use of the analysis of discourse in research is reflected in recent studies (Cook, 2005. Luke, 2002. Macgilchrist, 2007). It is for this reason that the study is situated in a district that has Instructional Leadership Teams. The presence of these teams demonstrates that the district has at least the espoused theory of distributed leadership.

A secondary purpose of the study is to demonstrate the application of the analysis of discourse to discourses of power and position within the educational context. While teachers can be identified as one group that has been traditionally subordinated in schools, parents with their children in certain communities have an even clearer subordinate position. As a teacher in a large urban school district teaching in an area where 4 out of 10 students never graduate from high school I see firsthand the discourses between the educational community, parents, and children. While there is one groundbreaking study, Rogers (2003), that looks at a mother and child's discourses in a special education referral process there is no other work I am aware of that addresses these types of discourses. A purpose of this study is to model how the

analysis of discourse can be used to address issues of power and position at the school site. It is hoped that such an approach can be used in considering the discourses of parents and children with the educational community where large inequities of achievement exist.

The purpose, in summary, is to locate an analysis of discourse within the social constructs of Instructional Leadership Teams that are expressly purposed for distributed leadership. The analysis of the discursive practices of these teams will be both appreciative and critical.

Research Questions

1. What are the individual discourses of power and position vis-à-vis other members of the Instructional Leadership Team?

2. What does discourse reveal about the distribution of leadership at the site?

3. What are the marginal discourses and how do they interact with the dominant discourses?

4. Do discourses of power and position vary between school sites?

5. Does Micropolitical theory (Blasé & Anderson, 1995) assist in understanding leadership distribution?

Significance of the Study

Social Constructivism, as first elucidated by Berger and Luckmann (1966), stresses the social nature of human reality that is constructed primarily through linguistic interaction. As such discourse analysis is uniquely suited to expose the epistemological assumptions regarding power and position operative in discourse practices. The use of discourse analysis to ascertain the nature of theories-in-action of

site administrators and teachers is critical to the evaluation of reform implementation.

Perhaps research that intends to study distributed leadership is not studying distributed

leadership at all. Distributed leadership may be a "floating signifier" by

poststructuralist definition and research that assumes the operation of distributed

leadership and then attempts to measure the effects clearly will have mixed results.

Since the discourse of participation has become hegemonic in education the claim that

such participation exists is as reliable as an individual claiming not to be a racist. In

the area of administrative power and position, is there actual change or only

assimilation by existing paternalistic patterns of traditional hierarchal leadership? If

power and position changes have actually occurred on a school site is this evidenced

in new varieties of discourse? Laclau and Mouffe (1985) note in reference to feminism

that "the ensemble of discourses which constructed them as subjects" (p. 154) had to

change in order to change the condition of inequality. Thus it is to be expected that

changes in administrative power and position will necessarily be reflected in changes

in discourse. Since language works to both reflect and affect human reality it is

important to identify these new discourses that have both produced and exhibited the

change in power and position between site administrators and other staff members.

Leithwood et al. (2009) note that their research on distributed leadership

"merely attempts to show whether the discourse that is used in the organization helps

or hinders the distributed leadership plan's success" (p. 224). The significance of this

study is that it attempts to show the discourses within an organization that help and

hinder a distributed leadership plan's success. Further the study will demonstrate that

discourse analysis is a theory and practice that can identify the discourses that help

and hinder full participation of all those persons who have been traditionally subordinated in schools.

Overview of a Set of Practices for Research

All the leading writers in the analysis of discourse recognize the imperative for researchers to align method to theory. However, the various theoretical approaches to the analysis of discourse have resisted the development of a prescriptive methodological approach recognizing that such an approach would become a "regime of truth" (Foucault, 1980). Instead of a methodology, sets of practices that are accepted by researchers are proposed (Grant & Hardy, 2004). While the distinction between methodology and practice is subtle, it is nonetheless important and reflects an emerging field of accepted research practices.

This study will use both the theory and practice of Norman Fairclough (Critical Discourse Analysis), James Paul Gee (d/Discourse), and Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe (Discourse Analysis) as the foundational works for establishing the practices of the analysis of discourse. While the term "discourse analysis" may be identified with a particular theory or method, the use of this term in the study refers to all types of the analysis of discourse unless specifically stated otherwise. In addition the study has established a 16-point rubric for discourse analysis derived from the rubrics of other studies using discourse analysis. The application of Critical Discourse Analysis to education by Rebecca Rogers is specifically informative to the discourse analysis of this study.

Beyond traditional critical approaches to discourse analysis this study will also take an appreciative approach to discourse analysis. Luke (2002) has titled this

approach, "normative Critical Discourse Analysis," Martin (2007) has called it

Positive Discourse Analysis, and Anderson (1998) has provided a framework for

evaluating "authentic" discourses of participation. Foucault (1988) went beyond

critique and encouraged an appreciative mode of discourse analysis when he wrote,

"all my analyses are against the idea of universal necessities in human existence. They

show the arbitrariness of institutions and show which spaces of freedom we can still

enjoy and how many changes can still be made" (p. 11). For this study I identify the

discourses that generate "spaces of freedom" as emancipatory discourse.

While discourse analysis provides a strong theoretical base for looking at

power and position within the school it does not theoretically address the social

construction of the school community. Silverman (2006) writes,

Theory provides both:

- a framework for critically understanding phenomena

- a basis for considering how what is unknown might be
  organized. (p. 14)

To provide a framework and to help in organizing the findings of this study the

theories of Micropolitics and Distributed Leadership will be used. The value of

Micropolitics is that it provides a framework for understanding the dynamics of power

and position at the school site. The value of Distributed Leadership is that it is the

theory identified by the two school sites as being the model for their enactment of

leadership.

CHAPTER 2: REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

Discourse Analysis

The initial focus of the section is on the theoretical foundations of the analysis of discourse as a research paradigm. After considering theory the paper moves on to a discussion of discourse analysis methodology and presents a rubric of practices found in discourse analysis research. Finally the implications of the research to my topic, the role of language in constructing the power relations between teachers and administrators, are examined.

Construction of literature review. The analysis of discourse as a research paradigm is relatively recent in the social sciences and is usually employed in the examination of power relationships. In a review of one specific variety of discourse analysis in education, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), 46 empirical studies were identified using CDA in educational settings through 2003 (Rogers, Malancharuvil-Berkes, Mosley, Hui, & Joseph, 2005). The authors of this study note "the analysis that we reviewed provided a detailed investigation of the subtleties of power and privilege, the ways in which power is linked to histories of participation in various contexts, and how power is internalized rather than reinforced from above" (p. 383). Addressing equity and social justice issues in education requires changes in "power and privilege." Fairclough (2001b) identified social change as being "discourse driven" making discourse analysis an important approach to understanding social change.

A review of organizational discourse studies used the search terms *discourse, organization*, and *management* in the ISI's Web of Science database (social science citation index) and found 444 articles through 2005 (Prichard, 2006, p. 220). This study found that the first article identified by these search terms was published in 1988 and that there had been a steady rise in yearly number of articles from then to 2005. Using Prichard's same search strategy I found that there has been an additional 128 articles from 2006 to November 2007.

Four different techniques are used to locate the articles and books: data-base searches to locate articles, reference sections of articles, MELVYL catalog (UC) searches, reference section of books searches. The first search I conducted used three different databases, ERIC, ISI World Web of Science, and Goggle Scholar. On all three sites the term discourse was linked singularly with administration, principal, education, organization, leadership, and management. The database searches provided recent pertinent articles and books that were read and their reference sections mined for more related studies. The entire search process did not find any empirical research using discourse analysis to examine whether implementing distributed leadership, shared and collaborative decision-making modified power relations between teachers and administrators. What was found was an extensive corpus of theories and methods that researchers are using to analyze a wide variety of power/knowledge relationships.

Introduction to discourse analysis. Any consideration of the analysis of discourse must begin with an overview of the theoretical basis for the research use of discourse. Gee (2005) stresses that "Method and theory cannot be separated . . . any method of research is a way to investigate some particular domain. In this case, the

domain is language-in-use. There can be no sensible method to study a domain unless one also has a theory of what that domain is" (p. 6). Historically, the publication of Berger and Luckmann's book *The Social Construction of Reality* in 1966 was the seminal work that put positivism on notice that it was no longer the dominate theoretical position in the social sciences. Berger and Luckmann proposed in the book that "the sociology of knowledge understands human reality as socially constructed reality" (1966, p. 172). Although they were not the first to consider this proposition, their carefully constructed argument considered how knowledge is based in discourse in all its various texts—oral, written, and actions. This argument impacted both the ontology and epistemology of current research in the social sciences.

The research uses of an analysis of discourse are found in all areas of the social sciences. However, there is no established single philosophic premise regarding the social construction of reality. Because of this, every study should attempt to be transparent in its theoretical basis. Every consideration of discourse in research should be comprised of both a theory and a methodological approach to discourse that should seamlessly flow together and be transparently obvious to the audience. The researchers in the field are clear that it is not desirable; in fact it may be contradictory to a constructivist approach, to establish a single method to an analysis of discourse in research. The value of a multiperspective approach to the consideration of discourse is based on the theory that since perspective is essential to meaning, the more perspectives; the more complete the understanding of the topic of the research.

One of the key critiques of the consideration of discourse in research is its almost exclusionary use by Euro-centric or first world researchers. By the nature of an

analysis of discourse it is understood that research on discourse from other perspectives would yield additional understanding of the social construction of reality. While an analysis of discourse has been significant in both gender and sexual identity studies it is interesting to note that there have been far fewer studies of discourse in racial and ethnic areas.

In the field today, there are a variety of prevalent flavors of discourse analysis. This next section will present their common theoretical foundations. Two major reviews of current research in discourse, one from the organizational perspective (Prichard, 2006) and the other from the educational perspective (Rogers et al., 2005), show that much the research done today in discourse shares similar theoretical foundations. This next section will present these common theoretical foundations.

Theoretical foundations of discourse analysis. The work of Foucault is the central theoretical starting point for all later thinking on discourse as the vehicle for the social construction of reality beginning with his book *The Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language* in 1972. To put Foucault's work in context it is important to begin at the start of the 20th century with the structural linguist Ferdinand de Saussure's conception of language as form and content. Saussure (Phillips, Lawrence, & Hardy, 2004) proposed that the form of the word is not connected to its meaning. Today this seems self-evident but the second part, the content part, is still debated. Saussure held that the words took their meaning from the structure in which they were embedded. This structure was fixed and so even if the form was arbitrary the content was concrete. To illustrate this we can say that Saussure (1974) believed that the concept of dog (signified) is fixed but the word dog (signifier)

"has no natural connection with the signified" (p. 69). Saussure realized that the signified existed only in relation to the rules, social construction, for that society. For example, growing up in Jamaica the word bat (cricket) in the context of playing a game signified something other than the word bat (baseball) does for a U.S. child.

How words/signs derive their meaning from their dialectical interaction with their context is called structuralism. Rogers et al. (2005) notes "Structuralism assumed that relationships existed between structures in systems and that examining those relationships could help us to understand the entirety of a system. The theory of structuralism permeated across disciplines and could be seen in studies of the economy (Marx), language (Saussure). Psychology (Freud), and anthropology— specifically, culture and kinship relations (Levi-Strauss)" (2005, p. 368). Foucault started as a structualist but concluded that both form and content were socially constructed. The word "dog" (signifier) and the content (signified), in the Euro-centric sense "man's best friend," can be different if put in different contexts. My son in northeast China tells me that dog is a frozen commodity in the grocery section at the Wal-Mart in his town. This theory that both form and content of language is socially constructed is termed post-structuralism and is detailed by Berger and Luckmann in *The Social Construction of Reality* (1966).

The central premise of Foucault's first work on discourse has been called "radical ontological constructivism" (Boje, Oswick, & Jeffrey, 2004, p. 252). This is the position where reality is entirely socially constructed by discourse. To understand these ontological positions consider reading John1:1 from the gospel of John, "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God."

Continuing with a strict constructivist understanding this might mean that, "All things are created through the word and nothing exists that was not socially constructed by the word." The "God" of Foucault was his theory of power that is the constituting agency of the social world.

How these two aspects of Foucault's thought, knowledge (the social construction of reality) and power, are integrated into the analysis of discourse is shown by Sharp and Richardson (2001), "In this conceptualization, the continuous power struggles between competing discourses create the conditions that shape the social and physical world, and construct the individual" (p. 196). Foucault acknowledges that there are a variety of discourses but believed that there was one monolithic discourse that overrode all the others. Most current theorists discount the notion of a monolithic discourse perhaps due to the change in discourse between Foucault's era and the postmodern era of today. One aspect of discourse constructing the individual identity is shown in this excerpt from *Discipline and Punish*, "The judges of normality are present everywhere. We are in the society of the teacher-judge, the doctor-judge, the educator-judge, the 'social worker'-judge; it is on them that the universal reign of the normative is based; and each individual, wherever he may find himself [sic], subjects to it his body, his gestures, his behavior, his aptitudes, his achievement" (Foucault, 1977, p. 304). Another example of the normative role of the discourse of society in individual development is detailed in Foucault's book, *The History of Sexuality* (1978), where he records that the homosexual identity was constructed by 19th century discourse. These discourses constructed not only the social identity but also constructed the individual's identity. Only by changing

discourses could the normative identity, both individual and social, be changed.

Foucault believed that no matter how pervasive the normative discourses might be

there were always power struggles where competing discourse could potential displace

the normative thereby constructing a new social reality. Foucault's initial writing on

discourse drew from his work in the French penal system and "insane asylums" where

he believed the prevailing discourses had created issues of social justice. At least in

the area of mental illness new discourses have been constructed due to Foucault's

pioneering work in the field. An analysis of discourse became a significant research

tool for social scientists addressing issues of social justice in the later twentieth

century. Laclau and Mouffe (1985), leading researchers in the analysis of discourse,

write

> If, as was the case with women until the seventeenth century, the
> ensemble of discourses which constructed them as subjects fixed them
> purely and simply in a subordinated position, feminism as a movement
> of struggle against women's subordination could not emerge. Our
> thesis is that it is only from the moment when the democratic discourse
> becomes available to articulate the different forms of resistance to
> subordination that the conditions will exist to make possible the
> struggle against different types of inequality. (p. 154)

It is important to note here that issues of social justice are culturally only

retrospectively recognized. I give as an example a discourse pattern that I participated

in as a boy growing up in Jamaica, West Indies, in the 1950s. One of my close friend's

nickname was "Mongrel" and we addressed him as this in all sorts of different social

situations. I know adults heard us address him as "Mongrel" and I recall no reprimand.

His name was Keith but since he had a mother of African descent and a father who

was of English descent the nickname "Mongrel" came naturally in the social reality in

which we lived. Keith was fine with the nickname and there never was an issue. Does

this mean that there wasn't a type of inequality created by his nickname? No. That

nickname reflected a social reality that now makes me cringe and certainly negatively

affected Keith's personal identity at the time. However, at the time there was no

problem! Perhaps, because of participating in a discourse of inequity that I later

realized, I understand well that aspects of the social construction of reality I currently

participate in will later be recognized as collaborating with issues of social injustice.

Jacobs (2006), a researcher in urban policy, says that Foucauldian discourse

analysts advance

> a view that language plays an instrumental role in establishing "regimes
> of truth" (Foucault, 1980) by which social problems are formulated and
> addressed . . . [they] claim that power is not reducible to individual
> agency but is instead constituent of a network of relations. In other
> words, the exercise of power is contingent on the relationships formed
> between individuals within and beyond organizations . . . language
> practices both shape and are shaped by power relations. (p. 41)

The dialectic between language practices and power relations framed

by Foucault is the foundational theory of the analysis of discourse at the school

site that is the focus of this study. Given that there is an espoused theory of

distributed leadership in school governance, what does the discourse at the

school site reveal as to the theory-in-action of leadership?

Discourse analysis presupposes an understanding of power and dominance

based upon Foucault's initial theorizing. Van Dijk (1993) identifies as a "crucial

presupposition" an understanding of social power and dominance. Power is manifested

as control over others and through others. Control can be seen in certain actions such

as administrators meeting at district offices and deciding on specific educational

policies. Power here is demonstrated by defining the group that makes decisions.

Control can also be cognitive and Van Dijk says that in the modern world power is

"enacted by persuasion, dissimulation or manipulation, among other strategic ways to

change the mind of others in one's own interest" (p. 254). He goes on to note

"dominance may be enacted and reproduced by subtle, routine, everyday forms of text

and talk that appear 'natural' and quite 'acceptable'" (p. 254). Control can also be

moral (Foucault, 1978) as individuals internalize the norms laid down by society and

monitor themselves in an effort to conform to these norms. Thus, they are controlled

not only as objects of disciplines but also as self-scrutinizing and self-forming

subjects. Since this power is exercised through discourse, discourse analysis provides

a method to access the dynamics of power.

While Foucault's ideas defined the discipline, since his time much work has

been done that modifies his conclusions. Recent studies using an analysis of discourse

are—in regards to theory—based on Foucault's discourse on power and language.

However, the majority of studies in education that use an analysis of discourse vary

from Foucault on the key theoretical issues of ontology and epistemology (Rogers et

al., 2005). Building on the work of the founder of critical realism, Roy Bhaskar, much

of the research using an analysis of discourse is based on the belief that there is an

independent world (the intransitive world) that is not socially constructed. This

dramatically modifies Foucault and is referred to as Critical Realism. "Critical realism

argues that this transitive knowledge is socially and historically located and

engendered. However, unlike postmodernism . . . critical realism maintains that there

is also an intransitive world 'outside the text' so to speak" (Joseph & Roberts, 2004, p. 2).

Fairclough identifies himself as a "critical realist" and his work has been the basis for what is identified Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). Ontologically Fairclough (2006) believes that such things as school systems have a "materiality which is not conditional upon the fact or the nature of human knowledge of them, but that they are nevertheless socially constructed, that social objects and social subjects are co-constructed, and that discourse contributes to their construction" (p. 12). This emphasis on co-construction is also seen in his understanding that discourses are both relational and dialectical. By relational he means that ideas such as distributed leadership can affect changes in elements of school operation that in turn affect changes in discourses. He notes that sometimes these changes "take place first in discourse, with changes in discourse then being operationalized in more general change" (p. 11). To illustrate the dialectic nature of discourse Fairclough (2006) gives the example of the design for a new automobile engine, the discourse, then being made into an engine, a material construction (p. 11). Organizations are fluid and new discourses affect organizational structures that then change discourses.

The strength, and perhaps from a critical analysis of discourse, the weakness of CDA is a defined theory and method for Critical Discourse Analysis. This makes CDA particularly accessible by researchers and CDA "can be said to have been the main force in establishing the new paradigm (or episteme, to use Foucault's term) of Critical Discourse Analysis" (Widdowson, 1996, p. 57). The weakness of CDA, that Widdowson identifies, is that "This (CDA) can be seen as a new ideological

orthodoxy and as such, paradoxically; it exerts just the kind of discursive domination which it seeks to expose in other uses of language" (p.57).

Laclau and Mouffe capture the tension between the critical realist approach and Foucault's original approach. Together they analyze discourse in an important, although less common way that has been identified as Discourse Analysis (DA). Laclau and Bhaskar debated each other in 2002 in an article titled "Critical Realism and Discourse Theory" (Bhaskar & Laclau, 2002). In this discussion Laclau identifies the theoretical basis of Discourse Analysis (DA) as being squarely in the poststructuralist tradition." Laclau argues that the way in which science "is able to constitute its objects on the basis of regularities depends on sedimented social practices and a variety of discourses" (p. 92) thus not requiring the "intransitive world" for science to "constitute its objects." Laclua questions the transitive and intransitive categories of critical realism because "the distinction between intransitivity and transitivity is itself transitive" (p. 93). Similar to all the other approaches to the analysis of discourse, Discourse Analysis (DA) has been identified as a discourse theory that "has as its center a commitment to challenging relations of subordination" (Willmott, 2005, p. 772).

From theory to method in discourse analysis. As Berger and Luckmann (1966) pointed out, discourse is foundational to the social construction of reality. Because of this research using discourse is able to examine all aspects of the human condition from a qualitative perspective. As detailed earlier, discourse analysis is particularly suited to deconstructing power and knowledge relationships and many of the studies are in this general area. Most research draws from theories and methods

previously mentioned but there are a wider range of theories and methods looking at how language works to construct social reality than are covered in this paper.

Distributed Leadership

A Macbeth (2009) point out Distributed Leadership is as old as Moses' father-in-law's counsel: "This is too heavy for thou cannot bear it alone" (Exodus 18:17-18 *KJV*) or as a modern translation puts it, "This is no way to go about it. You'll burn out, and the people right along with you. This is way too much for you—you can't do this alone" (Exodus 18:17-18 *Message*). So over three thousand years ago it was understood that complex tasks require a distribution, or as Macbeth specifies, a dispersion of leadership. School leadership at all levels is clearly a complex task and Alma Harris (2009b) identifies distributed leadership as "the leadership idea of the moment" (p. 11). She goes on to note the "leadership industry" is in the continuous process of rolling out new flavors of leadership often without any empirical evidence or testing. In the case of distributed leadership, Harris writes, that "the empirical evidence about distributed leadership and organizational development is encouraging" but then includes the caveat, "but far from conclusive." (p. 18). Leithwood, Mascall, and Strauss's (2009d) final paragraph in their book *Distributed Leadership According to the Evidence*, comes "to the grudging conclusion that research focused on outcomes (of distributed leadership) would have been premature, at least until quite recently" (p. 80). Premature because until recently Leithwood et al. believed that "it is not at all clear how one would have conceptualized and measured distributed leadership in order to assess its effects; whatever they might have been" (p. 281).

This conclusion is especially striking in a book that contains the writing of many of the leading distributed leadership researchers and theoreticians such as Spillane, Gronn, and Harris. The advice of Helen Timperley (2009) is especially important before launching into a review of distributed leadership theory and research. Like Macbeth she reminds us "leadership has always been distributed within organizations," and the enthusiasm for recognizing it and developing conceptual frameworks should not "mean we become blinkered to the limitations of the concept itself, and our ability to think about it and outside of it" (p. 221). For example, she notes that the micro-politics of the school often confounds the theoretical assumptions of how leadership is distributed.

In keeping with Timperley's caution I begin my review of distributed leadership theory with the work of Gronn. Gronn is a key theoretician on distributed leadership but believes that the current emphasis on distributed leadership is a reaction to the emphasis on the individual leader that was prevalent in the latter part of the 20th century. Gronn is currently writing about hybrid leadership (2009) as a more complete way to understand the variety of ways leadership is enacted. He writes, "I have also articulated a need to move beyond distributed leadership and have argued a case for hybridity as a more accurate representation of diverse patterns of practice which fuse or coalesce hierarchical and heterarchical elements of emergent activities" (p. 208). Gronn uses Kontopoulus's (1993) definition of heterarchy where "various levels exert a determinate influence on each other in some particular respect" (p. 55). Organizations have always had, and continue to have, both hierarchical and heterarchical leadership patterns. This section of the paper will look at how key

theoreticians in distributed leadership present their conceptual frameworks of distributed leadership.

Peter Gronn. The conceptual framework of distributed leadership presented in this section is based largely on the writings of Gronn at the beginning of the decade (2000, 2002a, 2002b, 2003). Gronn (2009) identifies his current position on leadership as "post"-distributed leadership. Bennett, Harvey, Wise, and Woods's (2003) review of distributed leadership literature identifies Gronn as presenting the most conceptually well-developed model of distributed leadership to that point. Leithwood et al.'s (2009c) use of Gronn's model of distributed leadership in their research into patterns of leadership distribution shows his model is still robust and central to the current understanding and study of distributed leadership.

Gronn defines leadership as the status of influence ascribed to an individual or aggregate of individuals by organizational members. When an aggregate of individuals are imbued with this status of influence there is distributed leadership. Distributed leadership operates on the principle of conjoint agency (Gronn, 2000). Conjoint agency can be understood as heterarchical leadership. Instructional Leadership Teams would be an area where conjoint agency is found in the relationships of influence between the members of the team and the larger organization.

Gronn (2000b, p. 318) uses activity theory to analyze organizational work. Activity theory can be understood as a conceptual system that analyses organizational conditions, contexts, and discourses (Engeström & Miettinen, 1999) based on an analysis of the interactions. Activity theory uses the collectively performed activity as its unit of analysis. Spillane (2006) takes this concept and uses it in his triangular

image of distributed leadership. This is similar to the approach of discourse analysis since both theories understand that the social reality of the organization is constructed through the dialectic of relationships. Gronn (2000) looks at the activity within its context, which "permits an understanding of agential-structural relations through the process of structuring" (p. 317). Structuring is how agency affects structure. These structuring activities will either transform or reproduce existing power and position relations.

This concept of *conjoint agency* Gronn identifies as the operational principle of distributed leadership. Against this he juxtaposes the individual agency of hierarchical leadership that is based on position and function. Distributed leadership processes are understood by looking at the interactional relations embedded in activities. There are two types of distributive actions, *numerical action* or *concertive action* (Gronn 2002a, 2002b). Gronn (2003) later identified numerical action as an *additive* type of distributed leadership where leadership is distributed in an uncoordinated pattern. Concertive action Gronn identifies as a *holistic type* of distributed leadership that is consciously managed and individuals experience a sense of synergy as the whole becomes more than the sum of its parts. *Reciprocal influence* is the defining attribute of holistic distributed leadership. Additive and holistic leadership can operate conjointly or by themselves. It is to be expected that holistic leadership patterns will over time and a variety of situations transform additive leadership patterns from numerical activities to concertive activities.

Numerical action is where the leadership in an organization is broadly dispersed. This type of distribution of leadership is where there are multiple leaders.

Schools where individual teachers go into their classroom and make the leadership decisions for their students independent of the larger community are an example of numerical actions. Gronn differentiates numerical action from delegation based on the locus of power. Delegation is hierarchal where work is assigned with no increase in autonomy. Discourse analysis looks at power relationships and will assist in differentiating numerical action from delegation in the discourse of the leadership teams.

Concertive action specifically involves groups such as leadership teams and Gronn (2002b) defines three types of concertive actions. *Spontaneous collaboration* has "brief bursts of synergy which may be the extent of the engagement or the trigger for ongoing collaboration" (p. 430). *Intuitive working relations* develop over time "as two or more organizational members come to rely on one another and develop close working relations" and leadership is distributed through "the shared role space encompassed by their relationship" (Gronn, 2002a, p. 657). *Institutionalized practices* are formal structures such as leadership teams that are expressly designed as an alternative to traditional hierarchical structures.

Leithwood et al. (2009) write "Our conception of distributed leadership patterns builds on and extends Gronn's three holistic forms" (p. 225). In their study they look at the performance of leadership in four different types of concertive action. They define these actions as *planful alignment*, *spontaneous alignment*, *spontaneous misalignment*, and *anarchic misalignment*. They found that to a large extent planful alignment was the most effective at producing productive forms of distributed leadership. However, for planful alignment to operate effective it required the

monitoring of the principal even when there were teacher teams that were formed to accomplish planed alignment. The inclusion of the two types of misalignment recognizes that concertive action does not always have to be productive in operation. This is important to recognize when looking at the discourse of Instructional Leadership Teams.

Gronn further distinguishes these forms of distributed leadership based on where the leadership activities are located. Members working in close proximity are engaged in *co-performed work* while those not in close proximity are engaged in *collectively performed work*. With the advent of instant real time communication proximity is no longer defined by physical location but by frequency and regularity of communication and relationship.

Distributed leadership also has the properties of *coordination* and *interdependence* (Gronn, 2002a, 2002b). Coordination is where activities are planned and executed in parallel. The difference between coordination and interdependence is that coordination produces activities that do not have a reciprocal relationship with the activities of others. Interdependence is the mutual dependence of multiple organizational members. There are two types of interdependence. *Overlapping interdependence* results when team members share the same information, resources, and support. *Complementary interdependence* is when members bring different resources and skills to accomplish tasks together. Coordination and overlapping and complementary interdependence are expected to be found within Instructional Leadership Teams. The extent a team has moved from additive to holistic patterns of leadership will largely determine the incidence of these properties. Coordination is

largely an additive type of distributed leadership while complementary interdependence is an example of mature holistic leadership patterns. Sometimes information and resources are not equally available to all team members and that will affect overlapping interdependence. At other times members lacking resources and skills that are required for accomplishing a task or members unwilling to share what resources and skills they do posses will affect complementary interdependence. These are some of the areas that micro-politics becomes an important lens in understanding the dynamics of distributed leadership practice.

Gronn also classified four types of synergies associated with holistic distributed leadership. These are *cross-hierarchy*, *trusteeship*, *parity of relations*, and *separation of power*. Cross-hierarchical synergies concern the negotiation of role boundaries. Gronn (2002b) notes "boundary expansion requires the preparedness of organizational superiors to include junior colleagues within the locus of their authority" (p. 438). This idea is supported by Leithwood et al. (2009a, 2009b) where they recognize the paradox that site administrators have a key role in constraining or developing distributed leadership at the site. Apparently without the "permission" of formal leaders to allow "boundary expansion" distributed leadership is constrained at the school site. This is one of the areas where formal leader discourse will reveal the level of cross-hierarchical synergy within the Instructional Leadership Team.

Trusteeship synergies are one of oversight where the members, individual, or levels of the organization, work to prevent the misuse of power. Since power at the school site is most often positionally determined those without the position most likely

would be participants in this synergy. However, the possession of power by any individual or group will usually produce a reactive trusteeship synergy.

Parity of relations synergies are rare. While it would be expected that in teacher groups there would be a parity of relations, micropolitics indicate that there are usually power differentials in almost all relationships with some of the differentials due to knowledge and not position. Gronn (2002b) gives the example of a musical quartet where there is the synergy of parity of relations but then goes on to acknowledge that while there may be a parity of relations the first violin holds a power position different from other members of the quartet.

Separation of powers synergies are when there is more than one group or individual that is pursuing different objectives. While there are always a variety of different objectives by the participants of any organization what is important here is that those with the differing objectives also have power. An example of separation of powers is the union and board synergy within San Diego City School District. For this synergy to manifest in an Instructional Leadership Team there would have to be more than one "power" base functioning within at the school site. It is possible that the Instructional Leadership Team might itself be part of a pluralism of powers. Since Instructional Leadership Teams are mandate by the district it does not necessarily hold that they work holistically in the distributed sense with positional leaders but potentially form a type of separation of powers synergy. The separation of powers synergy is not holistic in attribute and more additive. It would be expected here that actions would be more numerical and less concertive.

Gronn has grounded his conceptual framework of distributed leadership on conjoint agency and understood this on the basis of activity theory. Discourse analysis is also grounded on conjoint agency since a central supposition is that reality is socially constructed. Activity theory recognizes that a key activity is discourse. Thus Gronn's approach to understanding distributed leadership is propositionally similar to that of discourse analysis. This makes Gronn's framework, and its development by other researchers and theoreticians, particularly useful as a lens to focus an analysis of discourse.

James Spillane. Conjoint agency also forms the basis of Spillane's view of distributed leadership. Spillane (2004) emphasizes, "distributed leadership is first and foremost about leadership practice rather than leaders, leadership roles, leadership functions or leadership structures" (p. 2). Practice is not singularly about what leaders do but rather the interaction, the conjoint agency, of the school leader, the follower, and the situation over time. Spillane's first attempt at visually portraying the practice of leadership had only one triangle. The triangle was selected because he wanted to emphasize that the situation was critical in the interaction between leader and follower. He later added the multiple triangles to illustrate how leadership practice was socially constructed over time and event. Spillane shows his understanding of the interaction of the three elements of distributed leadership in Figure 2.1.

Figure 2.1: Leadership practice from a distributed perspective. From *Distributed Leadership* (p.3) by J. Spillane, 2006, San Francisco: Jossey-Bass. Copyright 2006 by John Wiley & Sons, Inc. Reprinted with permission.

Spillane's use of the metaphor of distributed leadership practice as a dance helps in appreciating his visual of the triangles over time. Spillane picked dancing as his metaphor because the interaction cannot be divorced from the context. The context, dancing, in turn moves the participants through the interaction. The music, the situation, structures the interaction between partners. Finally, while there is a leader in dancing the more those involved in the dance are aware of the structures and moves of the dance the better the dancing, the more effective the distributed leadership practice. While Spillane's metaphor uses a two-step dance among partners the metaphor could be expanded to a line dance perhaps even one of those group dances at a wedding.

It is interesting to remark here how the transactional approach to distributed leadership of Gronn and Spillane mirrors the transactional understanding of the nature of discourse. Merely by changing the labels leader, follower, and situation to the labels

of producer, receiver, text would make Spillane's illustration an excellent one for

discourse practice. The interaction over time of these three is what constructs

discourse. The different situations, dances, are analogous to the different genres in

discourse analysis. This similarity leads Currie, Lockett, and Suhomlinova (2009) to

conclude in their study of distributed leadership in schools that leadership is socially

constructed. They add, "Although we did not explicitly employ discourse analysis, we

suggest that a discourse approach will prove fruitful for our understanding of the ways

in which leadership is enacted" (p. 20).

     Melavel Robertson (2008) in her dissertation on distributed leadership practice

in a district level math council, a grouping not unlike an Instructional

Leadership Team, adds to Spillane's initial model of distributed leadership

practice as shown in Figure 2.2.
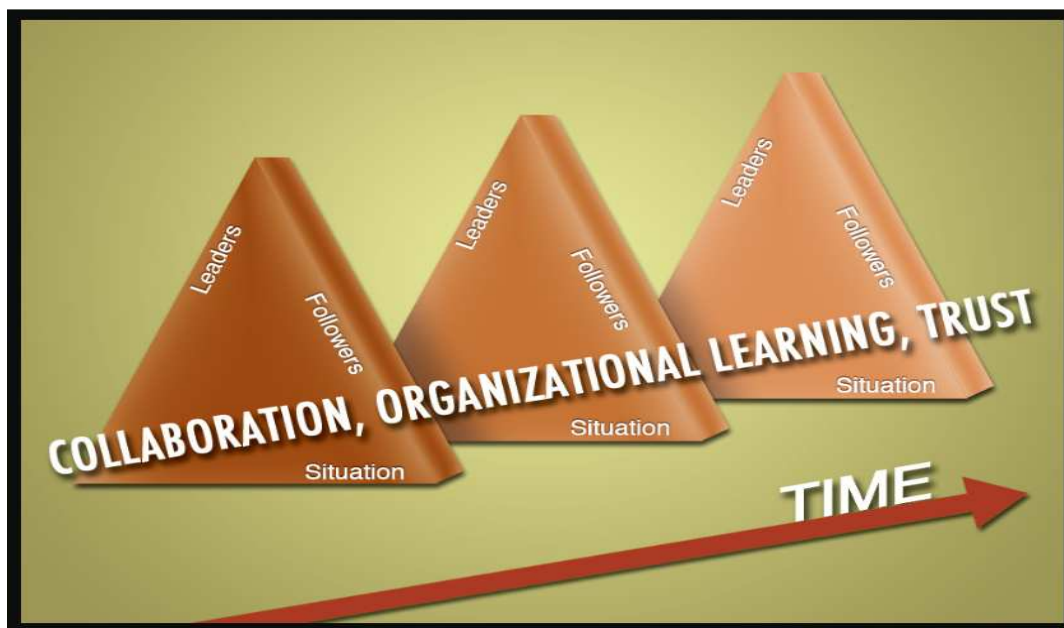
Figure 2.2: Refinement of Spillane's model of distributed leadership:
A district level perspective (Robertson, 2008, p. 171).

Leadership practice within the math council often had the same individual in different situations in leader roles and in other situations in follower roles. The individual in the formal leader position situationally filled both leader and follower positions. Based on this data she acknowledged this duality of roles by changing the label of the top corner to leader/follower and a bottom corner to follower/leader. Robertson also found that there were three critical contexts for distributed leadership in district math councils. Collaboration, organizational learning, and trust were required for distributed leadership to emerge as leadership practice. Going back to Spillane's metaphor of dance we might infer that without collaboration, a time for learning, and trust there could still be dancing but it would be more the leader dragging the participant along across the dance floor.

Alma Harris. Alma Harris (2009a) presents an alternative illustration of distributed leadership in Figure 2.3. Here she focuses on "the structural alignment, composition and patterns of distributed leadership practice. This model provides another lens to look at the discourse of Instructional Leadership Teams. Discourse can reveal the underlying structure of discursive interactions. One way to view these interactions will be through the use of the two axes used by the model producing four distinct patterns of distributed leadership. While most leadership practices will not neatly fit exactly into one clear pattern the use of theory is to help structure analysis into accessible forms. While the model is divided into four different forms of distributed leadership the two axes allow for flexibility in the analysis of specific discursive events. The axis of tight to lose coupling and the axis of diffusely

(uncoordinated) too deeply (coordinated) distributed leadership allows for a significant

degree of flexibility in the analysis of a singular text.
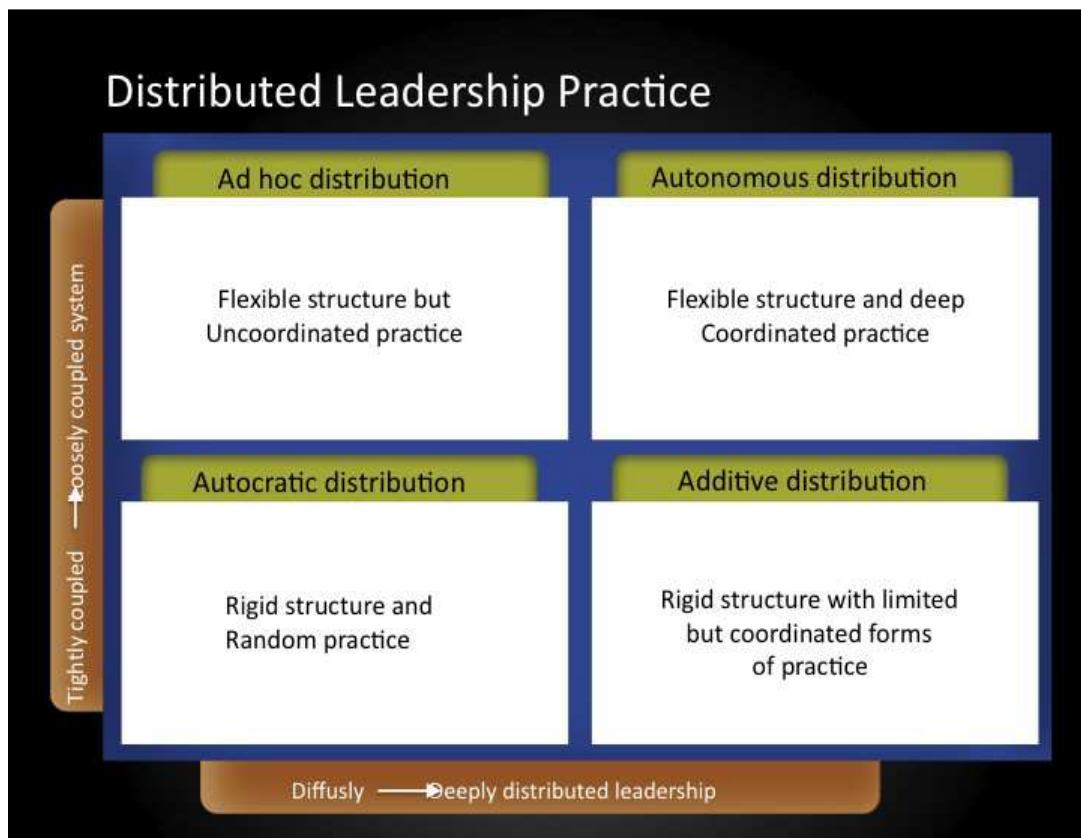
Figure 2.3: A model of distributed leadership practice. From Distributed leadership and knowledge creation (p. 263) by A. Harris, 2009. In K. Leithwood, B. Mascall, & T. Strauss (Eds.), *Distributed leadership according to the evidence* (pp. 253-266). New York: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group. Reprinted with permission.

Like the Spillane model of distributed leadership this model is descriptive of

leadership practice without reference to the power relationships that facilitate the

practice. Leadership practice can be loosely coupled that produces flexible structures

or tightly coupled that produces rigid structures. Here the focus is on how leadership

practice is structured within the school. Leadership practice can also be diffuse leading

to random and uncoordinated practice or deeply distributed leading to coordinated

practice. Here the focus is on practice and whether it is random or coordinated. To use

this model there needs to be a measure of how leadership practice is structured (tight to lose) and how implementation is carried out (coordinated to uncoordinated).

Gronn and Leithwood provide a rich vocabulary to use in analyzing distributed leadership practice, which they identify as being based on conjoint agency. Since a basic premise of discourse analysis is that words create worlds employing this vocabulary provides a very specific lens in understanding leadership. Spillane and Robertson look at leadership practice as where distributed leadership is found. Since discourse analysis looks at practice, the discursive event, this should mean that discourse analysis is an appropriate tool for understanding distributed leadership. A limitation of these theories is that their use deconstructs the discourse of leadership in a linear and sequential manner. Later in the paper methods to abate this limitation will be suggested.

Micropolitics as a Theoretical Lens for Discourse Analysis

Johnson and Pajares (1996) attribute their success in identifying positive changes in school practice to their adoption of new and appropriate theoretical frames. While the analysis of discourse and the practice of distributed leadership are the essential theoretical and methodological approaches of this study the discursive practices of the Instructional Leadership Teams will also be considered by using the Micropolitical theory developed by Blasé and Anderson (1995).

Maxcy and Nguyen (2006) in their article on the politics of distributed leadership state, "Our aim was to expose how distributed leadership frames, in particular Firestone and Heller, and Spillane, Halverson, and Diamond, may be problematic in their depoliticized, administrative characterization of leadership

distribution" (p. 189). As they looked at two case studies in Texas schools they found that "the cases reveal political dynamics of leadership distribution (and redistribution) obscured by the depoliticized, administrative language in which the frameworks are couched (p. 167)." So while distributed leadership "frameworks offer useful lenses and helpful language in reconceptualizing leadership . . . the characterizations of leadership distribution offered also reflect a depoliticized rhetoric that masks an antidemocratic, managerial bias" (p.180).

Flessa (2009) notes that distributed leadership and micropolitics literature both "focus on individuals' work within school sites and that investigates the different ways schools are managed" (p. 332). Why then, he asks, does distributed leadership literature make little or no reference to micropolitics? To support this he references the fact that two of the leading scholars in distributed leadership, Leithwood and Spillane, have authored collections of work on distributed leadership, (Leithwood, Mascall, & Strauss, 2009c; Spillane & Diamond, 2007) where micropolitics is mentioned twice in almost 500 pages (p. 332). Flessa (2009) proposes, "The split between the micropolitics and distributed leadership literature is an artifact of the new politics of educational leadership. When policy directions for schools are set far away and further up the hierarchical chain of command, local micropolitics can be seen solely as managerial obstacles to be overcome" (p. 346).

David Hartley (2007) notes that both Gronn (2000, p. 318) and Spillane, Halverson, and Diamond (2004) image distributed leadership practice as not what leaders do but rather the interaction, the conjoint agency, of the school leader, the follower, and the situation over time. This image is based on activity theory that aims

to identify "surface contradictions within an activity system" (Hartley, 2007, p.205).

Advocates of distributed leadership hold that these surface contradictions identify the

power relations within the activity. Hartley goes on to note, "Nevertheless these

contradictions are largely about means, not ends; about operations, not strategy"

(p. 205). Hartley holds that distributed leadership based on activity theory is able to

identify the tensions in how leadership is distributed but is unable to place the locus of

power within the distribution.

Malen and Cochran (2008) in their article on micropolitics in schools comment

on "how actions taken at higher levels of the systems are permeating, if not

dominating the micropolitics of schools" (p. 168). Flessa (2009), and Maxcy and

Nguyen (2006) attribute the "depoliticizing" of distributed leadership theory as

partially due to the fact of high-stakes testing and school accountability which frames

the macropolitical reality of educational practice. As discourse analysis must consider

the context of the discourse, any study of leadership practice at the school site

necessarily requires the consideration of the macropolitical and micropolitical

dynamics at that site. The careful consideration of Blasé's leadership matrix merits

lengthy consideration here because it will help provide the language for the

consideration of the political aspects of leadership practice that is not currently

accounted for in the literature of distributed leadership.

While discourse analysis is both theory and method the addition of the

terminology and structure of the micropolitics of school leadership will provide

another frame understanding the distribution of leadership through the use of discourse

analysis. The problem as Foucault foresaw is that inherent in all theory and

methodology is the potential for the establishment of "regimes of truth." This is where the methodology of the study must account for how both discourse analysis and Micropolitical theory shape the analysis of the discourses. It is not a question of whether analysis constructs a new reality but rather how transparent are the processes that work to construct that reality.

Flessa (2009) defines micropolitics "as the study of how things really work, not how an organizational chart or a principal's action plan would like them to work" (p. 331). As this study is looking at power relationships using discourse analysis it is trying to get beyond organizational charts or principal's claims to how things really work. Blasé and Anderson (1995) in their book *The Micropolitics of Educational Leadership* developed a useful tool for characterizing the nature of a leader's micropolitics. At a school with distributed leadership their explication of leadership interactions extend beyond administrative positions of leadership to other individuals at the site involved in leadership activities. The tool that Blasé and Anderson developed is a theoretical framework based on their micropolitical analysis of their own educational leadership research. Given the varying characteristics of the many leaders that they observed, a pattern became evident. This pattern allowed them to develop a framework by which to view any individual leader. In this framework, there are two main aspects of leadership that are important. Each leader simultaneously practices each aspect of leadership and each aspect is practiced in one of two ways. In this way there are a number of combinations that can occur and each is associated with certain leadership traits. Ultimately Blasé and Anderson present this micropolitical framework in a visual matrix for as seen in Figure 2.4.

MICROPOLITICAL LEADERSHIP MATRIX

Transformative

Adversarial Leadership

Promotes leader's moral vision

*power over and power through

Democratic, Empowering Leadership

Promotes democracy and social empowerment

*power with

Closed

Open

Authoritarian

Promotes maintenance of status quo

*power over

Facilitative Leadership

Promotes more humane organizational climate and individual empowerment.

*power through and power over

Transactional

Blasé, 1995

Figure 2.4: Micropolitical leadership matrix. From *The micropolitics of educational leadership* (p.65) by J. Blasé and G. Anderson, 1995, New York: Teachers College Press. Reprinted with permission. *Dominant form of power.

To explain the general micropolitical framework Blasé and Anderson (1995 begin with a description of two main aspects of leadership. The first aspect of leadership recognized to be important by Blasé and Anderson is referred to as "leadership style." Leadership style concerns the process of leading. Leadership style is the means by which some predetermined ends are achieved. Said in yet another way, leadership style is the prevailing strategy that a leader takes to accomplish given goals. The second aspect of leadership that Blasé and Anderson consider important is what they describe as the leader's "approach." The leadership approach determines what organizational goals the leader espouses. Starting with these two aspects of

educational leadership, leadership style and leadership approach, a comprehensive understanding of the politics of educational leadership can be developed.

Blasé and Anderson (1995) observe leadership style as being characterized in two ways. The first way is what they term an "open" leadership style. The second is a "closed" leadership style. An open leadership style is facilitative. This leadership style is "characterized by a willingness to share power." Teachers tend to describe leaders of this sort as more "honest, communicative, participatory and collegial" than leaders that have a closed leadership style. (Blasé & Anderson, 1995, p. xiii) On the other hand, a closed leadership style is authoritarian. This leadership style is "characterized by an unwillingness to share power." These leaders tend to be described as "less accessible, less supportive, more defensive, more egocentric and more insecure" than leaders that have an open leadership style. (Blasé & Anderson, 1995, p. xiii)

Leadership approach, on the other hand, concerns not the style that a leader uses to attain goals, but the goals themselves. Blasé and Anderson (1995) observe that the nature of the goals that leaders have for their organizations can usually be characterized in two ways. These two ways are termed the "transformative" leadership approach and the "transactional" leadership approach. Each approach refers to the type of goals that an educational leader has for their organization. The transformative approach toward leadership incorporates creative vision. Creative vision in this regard aims to beneficially change the status quo. This vision of progress concerns not just tangible results, but intangible goals that fall into moral, ethical and social realms as well (Blasé & Blasé, 2003). Leaders that approach leadership in this way set goals that have the collateral affect of transforming both leader and follower. The peripheral

byproduct of such leadership results in a situation where the intrinsic well being of everyone is elevated.

The transactional leadership approach, on the other hand, aims to maintain the status quo. Although the possibility of modifying minor aspects of the situation is not out of the question, in this approach leaders work to avoid significant change. As Blasé and Anderson (1995) point out, "Transactional leaders tend to view everything in terms of explicit and implicit contractual relationships. This type of leader relies heavily on contractual conditions of employment, disciplinary codes and reward structures" (p. 16). From a transactional approach, any deviation from the status quo merely involves micro-scale ideas. In such an approach ideas that undergird entire paradigms are strictly off limits. Any change that occurs under a transactional approach is more likely to involve modifying the logistics of accomplishing unchanged goals. These goals are taken as given and the discussion is only on how to achieve them.

In viewing the various aspects of leadership style and leadership approach, Blasé and Anderson (1995) point out that the attributes of each aspect run on a continuum. For example, as described above, Blasé and Anderson define two characteristics of leadership style: open and closed. However the open and closed characteristics of leadership style are not discreet leadership states but instead opposite ends of a stylistic spectrum. An individual leader's style will usually fall somewhere along the spectrum. This allows a leader with a dominantly closed leadership style to still have some stylistically open characteristics. While most leaders will indeed be a mix of the open and the closed styles, according to Blasé and Anderson it is the

general rule that each leader's style is dominated by one end of the spectrum or the other. (1995, p. 17) Likewise, leadership approach functions on a continuum. One end of the continuum is a transactional leadership approach whereas the other end of the continuum is transformational. Most leaders function somewhere in between the two extremes but most also have a dominant leadership approach, either transactional or transformational. It is important to point out here that the following discussion of the matrix contains implicit value judgments that Blasé and Anderson base on their own research.

The most desirable style/approach combination is open and transformative. This style/approach combination falls into the upper right quadrant of the leadership matrix where the leadership style is open and the leadership approach is transformative. Blasé and Anderson (1995) refer to the leadership described in this quadrant as democratic and empowering (p. 21). This open and therefore facilitative leadership style is "characterized by a willingness to share power" (p. xiii). Here, "goals are achieved through the collaboration of leaders and followers. Leadership and followership may shift depending on the issue . . . [and] power is exercised with followers" (p. xiv). This non-hierarchical structure where leadership is focused on the social distribution of a task puts this quadrant fully within the definition of distributed leadership by Leithwood et al. (2009b), Sergiovanni (1993), and Spillane (2006). As described, this state is one in which leader's foster true empowerment which in its best forms, "does not simply leave teachers alone to be autonomous professionals within their own classrooms, but engages them in a larger mission of student and community empowerment" (Blasé & Anderson, 1995, p. 21).

The least desirable combination is closed and transactional. This style/approach combination falls into the lower left quadrant of the leadership matrix where the leadership style is closed and the leadership approach is transactional. Blasé and Anderson (1995) refer to the leadership described in this quadrant as authoritarian (p. 17). Closed leadership style is one in which the leader is disinclined to share power, the opposite of a facilitative leader. These leaders tend to be described as "less accessible, less supportive, more defensive, more egocentric and more insecure" than leaders that have an open leadership style (p. xiii). In this fully negative combination, the transactional approach is equally counterproductive. The leader lacks creative vision and aims to maintain the status quo. The leadership approach merely looks for "better" ways to achieve them.

The authoritarian nature of this most undesirable quadrant results in the power over dynamic. Here, "Leaders achieve goals through their control of resources, persuasiveness, and hierarchical position over followers. The power-over approach is strongly influenced by the bureaucratic tradition. Power is exercised over followers" (Blasé & Anderson, 1995, p. xiv). Furthermore, the environment in such schools is usually "characterized by fear, distrust and avoidance. Principals in these in these schools attempt to avoid, disable or ignore teachers, suppress dialogue, and exercise control through formal structures" (p. 17). It is important to note here that the power-over approach may use the form of distributed leadership Harris (2009a) identifies as "autocratic distribution" (p. 258). Autocratic distribution maintains structures but participation and involvement is encouraged. However, since both the ends and the means are established the participation is merely manipulative.

The final two quadrants contain style and approach combinations that include one positive characteristic and one negative characteristic. The matrix's upper left quadrant is titled "Adversarial Leadership" and corresponds to a closed leadership style and a transformative leadership approach. With this leadership combination a leader promotes their moral vision resulting in a power over and power through dynamic that is dominated by power over. Many charismatic and visionary leaders fall into this quadrant. They desire change but only the change that they see fit. In order to accomplish their goals they depend on the enthusiastic support from the people they lead. Unlike the transactional leadership approach that influences people through enforcing rigid institutional rules, the transformative approach of leaders in this quadrant requires that everyone is "on board" with what the leader has planned.

The second in-between style/approach combination is seen in the matrix's lower right quadrant. Here "Facilitative Leadership promotes more humane organizational climate and individual empowerment," resulting in a power over and power through dynamic that is dominated by power through. Leadership within this quadrant runs the risk of manipulating others in the organization. Because the open leadership style encourages dialogue and the voicing of individual's own goals and desires, a positive environment may seem to exist. The reality of the situation however does not respond to the dialogue that's been fostered. The transactional leadership approach strives to maintain the status quo, even encouraging open dialogue. As Blasé and Anderson (1995) point out, leaders in this quadrant, "often employ a discourse of change while maintaining the status quo" (p. 20).

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODS

There are three reasons for the selection of discourse analysis as the method of research. The first reason is that it is a method that provides very little disruption to the natural functioning of individuals at the school site: "Our methods of research should therefore preserve the natural world which is regarded as taken for granted by the people we research, not distort it by placing people in a distinct context, like that of an interviewer with a questionnaire, or in an experimental laboratory" (Holdaway, 2000, p. 165). The recording of natural speech over an extended period of time in as nonintrusive manner provides as minimal an intervention as possible while still conducting research. While the data is naturally occurring it is not pure data, it is still an artifact of the dialectic between the participants, the theoretical lenses, and the researcher.

The second reason is based on the desire to escape two pitfalls of qualitative research where "the phenomenon escapes" (Silverman, 2006, p. 389). There is the explanatory trap where the study places people in a deterministic reality. Here the study focuses on explaining the discourse patterns. This type of study might conclude that administrative discourse is determined by societal expectations of principals. The other trap Silverman terms "divine orthodoxy" where discourse is measured "by some idealized normative standards" (p. 390) and the study concludes with some sort of value judgment. Silverman says that qualitative research should bring "us closer to the local organization of the phenomena" (p. 390).

The third reason is that discourse analysis is uniquely suited to identify the distributive dimensions of leadership since they both are focused on the social interactions of organizations. From a distributed leadership perspective, leadership practice takes shape in the interactions of people with their situation and these interactions are discursively conducted. As Spillane (2006) points out about distributed leadership that is "what is likely to be most salient is not the fact that leadership is distributed but how leadership is distributed" (p. 102). By looking at power relationships in dialogue discourse analysis can start to answer the question of how leadership is distributed.

The phenomenon for this study is the social construction of leadership at the school site. The constructive agent of leadership is language, the discourse that occurs at the site. Through the use of discourse analysis this study will look at naturally occurring discourses at the school site that work to distribute leadership.

In *The Sage Handbook of Organizational Discourse* (2004) Dennis Mumby writes "one of the things that most surprised me in reviewing research for this chapter was the relative dearth of data-rich studies. Critical researchers spend a lot of time theorizing about organizational discourse and many engage in ethnographic work, but relatively little time is spent in close analysis of the dynamics of discursive processes" (p. 251.) This study is focused on the "close analysis of the dynamics of discursive processes." It follows Mumby's manifesto that studies using discourse analysis spend time "actually examining the micro practices of such discourse and its relation to larger macro processes of organizational power . . .. Critical research, then, needs to

make a significant shift towards more richly textured analyses of actual discourse processes" (p. 252).

Text and Context: Instructional Leadership Teams

The texts that construct the leadership of schools are as diverse as conversations at the White House to conversations on the playground. The question then is why were the conversations of Instructional Leadership Teams taken as the central text for this study? The context of Instructional Leadership Teams brings together individuals who are on a leadership team. While some members of the team may not self-identify as leaders the context of the conversations at these meetings is one of school leadership. The genesis of these teams is predicated on some notion of the administrators, the positional leaders, having the need (practically or politically) for a team to perform leadership tasks. For the purposes of this study the conversations of Instructional Leadership Teams would appear to be a site where there will be conversations that construct leadership and the distribution of leadership at the school. Very clearly the context of ILTs is determining the text that will be analyzed by this study. In the private conversations in the principal's office or the staff lounge texts that construct leadership and the distribution of leadership occur that might be similar or very different than the texts used by this study. The conversations from teacher meetings independent of ILT meetings will be used to help clarify how the context of ILT meetings works to constrain the dialogue. A consideration of the significance of context will be an essential part of the analysis of discourse.

Research Context: District Setting

  The setting of this study is in a suburban elementary district in a southern California county, South East School District (SESD). The district serves about 10,000 students and about 75% of them are of Hispanic descent. The district has adopted a variety of ways to distribute leadership throughout the district. One of the ways the district has used to distribute leadership is to provide times during the school year for meetings. Instructional Leadership Teams that meet on a regular basis at every site composed of site administrators, teachers, and other staff is part of this program. Another part of the program is teacher meetings with and without administrators present. The meetings are during the school day, after school, or on designated teacher workdays that have been scheduled into the calendar.

Role of the Researcher

  The researcher is from outside the district and knows several administrators within the district through their participation in UCSD/CSUSM educational doctoral program. He will attend meetings as a silent observer primarily overseeing the audio recording of the meetings.

Data Sources and Collection

  Instructional Leadership Teams (ILT) have 6 to 12 members at elementary school sites and membership is arrived at in a variety of ways. As many of the ILT team meetings as possible will be audio recorded during the 2010-2011 school year. Other meetings involving teachers with or without administrators will be audio recorded when possible. All of the individuals recorded will be enlisted prior to recording and will have signed both the Research Study Participant Form

(Appendix A) and the Audiotape Recording Release Consent Form (Appendix B).

Meetings where there are individuals who have not signed the two forms will not be

recorded. Also, as specified in the forms, at any time participants can request to have

recording stopped or deleted. During the audio recording there will be notes taken on

aspects of the meeting that are not apparent on the recordings. All audio files will be

transcribed and entered into QSR NVivo 10 in two versions, audio and transcription.

NVivo 10 allows the researcher to listen to the audio files while reading the

transcription.

Overview of Discourse Analysis as Method

The analysis of discourse involves not only theoretical assumptions but also

methods of data collection and analysis along with a body of research studies and

claims. Martinez (2007) writes:

> The issue of theory seems to provoke debates regarding its relationship
> with a practical or methodological side, although the main
> representatives of present-day CDA (in the generic sense) adhere to the
> claim that every theory is determined by practical research goals. We
> cannot conceive analysis without a theory as its background: it is the
> practical support of the analysis that acts as a criterion or barometer to
> validate the theory. However, discursive achievements do not depend
> only on cooperation between theory and practice—they also depend on
> the development of methods of analysis that are compatible with the
> theory. The link between theory and practice is underpinned by
> method, which comprises the necessary tools to extract data from the
> analysis of the text. (p. 126)

All the leading writers in the analysis of discourse recognize the imperative for

researchers to align method to theory. However, the various theoretical approaches to

the analysis of discourse have resisted the development of a prescriptive

methodological approach recognizing that a prescriptive methodological approach

would become a "regime of truth" (Foucault, 1980). Instead of a methodology, sets of practices that are accepted by researchers are proposed (Grant, Hardy, 2004). While the distinction between methodology and practice is subtle, it is nonetheless important and reflects an emerging field of accepted research practices.

Research Practice in Discourse Analysis

A general rubric for areas that research practices should address has been created since it appears that there is a general agreement as to these areas. The rubric is based on Fairclough's work, the principles of reflexivity and validity, and two Rigor Frameworks (Crowe, 2005; Nixon & Power, 2004) all of which are discussed in the following sections.

Norman Fairclough: Critical Discourse Analysis

The theoretical position that texts and discourses are socially constitutive is a theoretical stance of this study and draws much of the theory and method from the ongoing work of Norman Fairclough. Fairclough's theory has been presented earlier in the paper and here the focus is on method. However, theory and method are so finely interwoven that any discussion of Critical Discourse Analysis will reference both.

Fairclough identifies as his starting point the work of Halliday and systemic functional linguistics. Halliday's conception of the multifunctionality of language as textual, interpersonal, and ideational formed the basis for Fairclough's three-tiered framework of discourse analysis. Halliday (1994) describes the ideational function as the "content function of language" and composes systems of knowledge and belief. The interpersonal function is the "participatory function of language" and composes

both social identities and social relations (p. 27). The textual function of language places language in context.

     Fairclough proposes a three-tiered framework that gives the aspects of discourse that should be included in any analysis of discourse. "The analysis should focus, then on (1) the linguistic features of the text, (2) processes relating to the production and consumption of the text (discursive practice); and (3) the wider social practice to which the communicative event belongs (social practice)" (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002, p. 68). Fairclough (1992b) presents the three aspects of discourse as nested boxes. Janks (1997) notes that the inter-dependence of Fairclough's boxes is best understood if envisioned three dimensionally. Janks writes that the "three dimensional image enables one to understand that an analytic move to examine a single box necessarily breaks the interdependence between the boxes and requires subsequent moves which re-insert that box into its interconnected place" (p. 2). When initially working with text Janks draws Fairclough's boxes and writes his analysis of the text in the appropriate box. He says that this allows him to see the interconnections between analyses and to break out of linear analytic frames where analysis is conducted in one box at a time. This approach would seem to answer Hubner's (2007) critique of Fairclough's framework during his analysis of data because "Fairclough treats discourse as a vertical process, starting with language-oriented and textual elements, ending with more interpretive features" (p. 84). Hubner goes on to state that in his analysis of discourse there was a "horizontal element interlinking" (p. 84). So it appears that Fairclough's three aspects of discourse should not be understood linearly but with a gestalt approach.

Fairclough (1995) added a three-tiered method of discourse analysis to these three aspects of discourse. He writes, "the method of discourse analysis includes linguistic description of the language text, interpretation of the relationship between the (productive and interpretative) discursive processes and the text, and explanation of the relationship between the discursive processes and the social processes" (p. 97).

Titscher, Meyer, Wodak, and Vetter (2000) explained their understanding of how Fairclough envisions the interaction of aspects and methods of discourse as three boxes that fit inside each other. Figure 3.1 was designed to illustrate what they discussed.
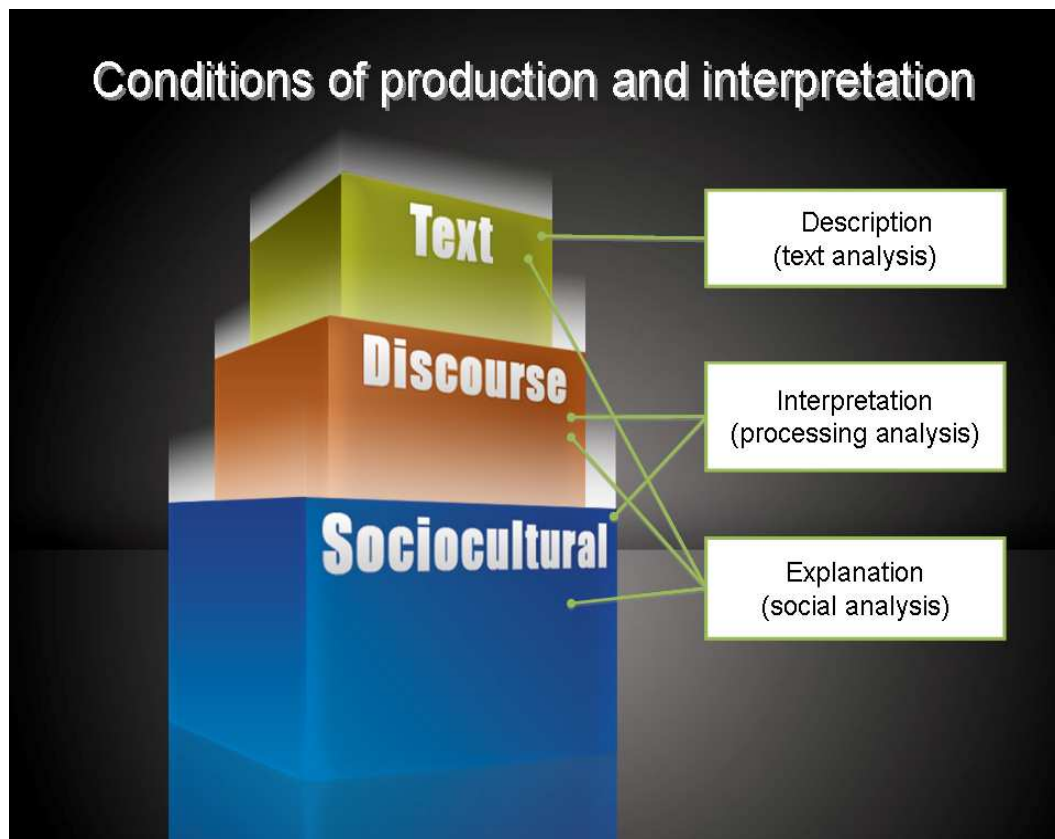
Figure 3.1: Dimensions of discourse and critical discourse

They have further attempted to interpret Fairclough's three dimensions as description (text), interpretation (discourse), and explanation (sociocultural). They write, "Linguistic properties are described, the relationship between the productive and interpretive processes of discursive practice and text is interpreted, and the relationship between discursive and social practice is explained" (p. 153). While this helps in understanding Fairclough's framework it separates and simplifies them in a way that Fairclough doesn't.

This analytic framework informs the current study in the following ways. First, text is at the core of the analysis. The first research question of this study is descriptive in nature and asks what the individual discourses of power and position are? Texts are examined for linguistic evidence of these discourses. At the level of discourse practice methodological approaches of discourse analysis are used to provide a reasonably grounded and transparent interpretation process. Finally, the theories of discourse analysis, micropolitics, and distributed leadership are used to structure a social analysis of the discourse practice leading to logically argued explanations. The analytic process should not be understood as a sequence of separate operation steps but as a cycle where the three dimensions of discourse are systematically and recursively related to the totality of contextual knowledge. The precise description of individual texts within the structure provided by clearly connected theory allows statements to be made at both macro and micro levels.

Text. At the first level, the textual level, linguistic and semiotic considerations are paramount. Here Fairclough (1989) draws on Halliday's (1985) systemic functional linguistics (SFL) to provide the description (text analysis). SFL is concerned with individual words only in context. Halliday (1985) says in SFL the "main attention will be

on the higher units, and particularly on the CLAUSE. This is because the mode of interpretation adopted here is a functional one, in which the grammatical structure is being explained by reference to the meaning; and there is a general principle in language whereby it is the larger units that function more directly in the realization of higher-level patterns" (p. 21).

SFL starts with analysis of words and then moves to an analysis of syntactic functions. Syntactic functions can be simply divided into eight areas: (a) patterns of transitivity (b) the use of active and passive voice (c) the use of nominalization (d) the choices of mood (e) the choices of modality or polarity (f) the thematic structure of the text (g) the information focus and (h) the cohesion devices (Janks, 1997, p. 6). To facilitate the consideration of the grammatical structure at the textual level Hanks (2005) has developed a rubric for linguistic analysis that will be used by permission for this study (Appendix C).

These are the textual tools found in inner box. Hanks (1997) notes that "before doing the analysis it is difficult to know what aspect of the grammar is going to be most fruitful in the analysis of that particular text so it is essential to examine all the aspects. Often the analysis of the separate elements produces patterns that are confirmed across the elements" (p. 6). And the analysis of text in the inner box will produce patterns that are confirmed across the other aspects of discourse analysis.

Discourse practice. The next level Fairclough calls "discursive practice" and it covers all the aspects of the production and reception or consumption of texts. Fairclough (2000) notes about discourse "the question of discourse is the question of how text figure (in relation to other moments) in how people represent the world, including themselves

and their productive activities. Different discourses are different ways of representing associated with different positions" (p. 170).

It will be important to identify the production and consumption of different discourses and associate their generation and reception positionally within the team. The individual discourses of the members of the ILT are going to provide clues as to how the individual represents their school environment and their school activities. The reception of individual discourses is another critical data point for the study. Reception is again only accessed through the dialectic nature of discourse. It is important to note here that reception has a historical presence in that later discourses, verbal or written, will exist in relation to previous discourses. Correctly and completely identifying reception is one aspect of discourse analysis that has been greatly enhanced by use of CAQDAS. Previous studies have done things such as post transcripts of conversations from different dates on the wall to help identify the dialectical nature of discourse over time. By the use of NVivo 10 similar topics and phrasing are coded and available for review.

At the level of production and reception discourse is relational and dialectical. Because of this the study does not look only at administrative discourses because discourses exist in relation to the other discourses of the Instructional Leadership Team. Understanding distributed leadership process within the ILT requires looking at all the discourses of all the members of the team. The opportunity to look at teacher meeting conversations allows for even greater depth in understanding how dialogue co-constructs the distribution of leadership.

The relationship between language and society is best understood not as a linear two-way model but rather a circular model where language affects society and society

affects language as a wheel moving down the road. Figure 3.2 is offered as a visual

representation of this concept.

Figure 3.2: Circular model of discourse practice.

Sociocultural. The third level is pictured as the outer box and analyzes the

discursive event in sociocultural contexts. As Lemke points out the sociocultural

context that is considered in an analysis of discourse is defined by the analysis. The

context itself is discursively constructed by the researcher and does not belong to any

positivist assumption about the nature of reality. Lemke (1995) writes of the discourse

analyst, "Better to say that we make the act meaningful by construing it in relation to

some other acts, events, things (which we then call its contexts)" (p. 166). A

significant part of the outer box, the sociocultural context, is constructed in this study

by the theories of discourse analysis, micropolitics, and distributed leadership.

Fairclough (2006) writes of the outer box, "the categories of 'discourse' and 'genre' don't belong at the level of individual texts but at the level of 'social practices,' ways of acting associated with particular areas of social life which are relatively stable and durable (e.g. the social practices of organizations such as schools or private companies)" (p. 10). Fairclough (1993) defines genre as "the use of language associated with a particular social activity" (p. 138). Discourse analysis presupposes a variety of genres at the school site. "Discourse communities" form one type of genre and are defined by Swales (1990) with six defining characteristics: (a) common public goals, (b) established mechanisms of intercommunication, (c) information and feedback through a participatory mechanism, (d) one or more genres to further the community's aims, (e) specific lexis, (f) membership includes both "apprentices" and experts with suitable degree of relevant expertise (pp. 24-27).

Instructional Leadership Teams and teacher team meetings are expected to form two different types of discourse communities based on Swales's criteria. Within the discourse community of the ILT will be multiple sub-genres. For example, there may be discourses (social genre) when administrator/s talk informally with others on the team about home and family and discourses (authority genre) when administrator/s give directions that are expected to be carried out. Identifying the correct genre of the text is essential in its analysis. The statement by an administrator saying, "You need to spend more time at home," should be understood differently than the statement, "You need to survey the teachers at your grade level."

One of the access points for this study is what genres are present within the discourses of Instructional Leadership Team meetings. Do members of the ILT genre

switch during the meetings? Are some ILT meetings typified by switching between a number of different genres while other meetings have minimal genre switching? All of these questions will further the understanding of how distributed leadership practice.

To fully consider the sociocultural contexts many studies are increasingly linking an analysis of discourse with an ethnographic consideration of the context of the discourse. While the author of the study is familiar with schools and education the study has no ethnographic elements other than the collection of the texts used by and generated by the ILTs. Since this study does not include ethnography or any observational evaluation of how leadership is distributed at the site it is open to a major criticism of Critical Discourse Analysis. Stubbs (1997) argues that without "non-linguistic evidence of a pattern of beliefs and behaviour" (p. 6), CDA infers beliefs from language use in a circular argument form. A goal of the study is to identify how discourse distributes leadership. This study does not use any quantitative methods for the measurement of distributed leadership at the school site. So there is no non-linguistic evidence to support any conclusions reached by discourse analysis on the practice of distributed leadership at the site. However, by looking not just at one specific type of discourse, administrative discourse for example, but rather focusing on the relational and dialectic nature of discourse the effect of one discourse upon another can be evidenced. Further, by looking at the change in discourse over time discourses that result in actions and material change can be identified vis-à-vis discourses that evidence no changes in actions or material conditions.

Reflexivity and Validity

The next consideration of methodology and practice concerns reflexivity.
Reflexivity is where "the analyst's choices at every step in the research process are
visible as part of the discourse investigation, and critique does not stop with social
processes, whether macro-level or micro-level, but rather extends to the analysis
itself" (Bucholtz, 2001, p. 166). Reflexivity is based on the understanding that there
can be alternative interpretations of the analysis of discourse. Using Fairclough's
framework the researcher should consider multiple meanings of the text, the discursive
practice, and the social practice. The research should be transparent in reporting the
decision making process in selecting certain meanings for inclusion or exclusion. The
research process itself should be reflexively considered and reported by the analyst.
Reflexivity also requires giving the personal context in which the researcher is relating
to the discourse being studied by identifying the personal bias (perspective) of the
researcher.

Another consideration of methodology and practice concerns validity and
incorporates elements of reflexivity. Gee and Green (1997) give three elements
necessary to establish validity in discourse analysis. These three are convergence,
agreement, and coverage. As Gee and Green define them:

> (a) Convergence: A discourse analysis is more rather than less valid
> (validity is not once and for all; all interpretations are open to ongoing
> discussion and dispute), the more different analyzes of the same data or
> related data, or different analytic tools applied to the same data yield
> similar results; (b) Agreement: Answers to our questions are more
> convincing the more both "native speakers" of the social languages in
> the data and other discourse analysts (who accept our basic theoretical
> assumptions and tools) agree that the analysis reflects how such social
> languages actually can function in such settings . . . (c) Coverage: the

analysis is more valid the more it can be applied to related sorts of data. This includes being able to make sense of what has come before and after the situation being analyzed and being able to predict the sorts of things that might happen in related sorts of situations. (1997, p. 159)

Convergence is demonstrated in the present study by the use of two different theoretical approaches to leadership, distributed leadership and micropolitics. Situating the study at two different sites provides another aspect of convergence. Coverage is provided by the use of two sites where the same theories and analytic processes are used. However, others who use the description by this study of discourse processes to understand and shape discourses at other school sites will determine the true extent of the coverage. Every analysis of discourse should be subject to demonstrating convergence, agreement, and coverage, as these are essential to the validity of discourse analysis.

Intertextuality

Intertextuality is an important concept for the analysis of discourse. Fairclough (1992a, p. 102) attributes the term to Kristeva (1980) from her reflections on the work of Bakhtin who writes: "Our speech . . . is filled with others' words, varying degrees of otherness and varying degrees of 'our-own-ness,' varying degrees of awareness and detachment. These words of others carry with them their own expression, their own evaluative tone, which we assimilate, rework, and reaccentuate" (Bakhtin, 1986, p. 89).

Intertextuality means that all discourse must be considered in a historical framework. Discourse is influenced by previous discourse, influences future discourse, and imbues past discourses with new meaning. Fairclough's use of intertextuality is

similar to Foucault's conception of the capillary function of normative discourse:

> The concept of intertextuality points to the productivity of texts, to how texts can transform prior texts and restructure existing conventions (genres, discourses) to generate new one. But this productivity is not in practice available to people as a limitless space for textual innovation and play: it is socially limited and constrained, and conditional upon relations of power. The theory of intertextuality cannot itself account for these social limitations, so it needs to be combined with a theory of power relations and how they shape (and are shaped by) social structures and practices (Fairclough, 1992a, pp. 102-103).

This interaction of texts with texts, intertextuality, is large constrained by the current hegemony. As noted previously the discourse of participation is hegemonic within the educational community. So distributed leadership theory should have a textual presence in the discourses of the Instructional Leadership Teams and teacher teams. This type of relationship Fairclough distinguished as vertical. The discourse of distributed leadership provides the convention and makes up part of the vertical axis of intertextuality. The horizontal axis of intertextuality is how distributed leadership is manifested in the flow of conversation during the team meeting. So the conventions are those discourses, genres and theories that make up the vertical axis of intertextuality for the team conversations. The horizontal axis of intertextuality is the flow of conversation during the meeting. During the meeting these discourses are linear but intertextually they have a vertical and linear aspect as well as an effect on discourse both past and future.

The vertical axis of intertextuality provides the interface between what might broadly be identified as culture and the text. The vertical axis places discourse analysis in the outer box of social practice. Here text is analyzed based on socially established patterns of meaning. The horizontal axis of intertextuality places discourse analysis in

the middle box of discursive practice where intertextuality might be sequential, embedded, or mixed (Fairclough, 1992, p.281).

A Rigor Framework

Other accepted methods are detailed in two articles that have precise tables on methodological and interpretative rigor for research in the analysis of discourse (see Appendix D and E). There is a close match between the two but each framework gives important considerations that the other overlooks. Additionally, both of the frameworks do not include some of the "practice" considerations discussed in prior paragraphs. For example, both of the frameworks identify aspects of reflexivity but do not reflexively consider the analysis itself (e.g. personal bias).

The two Rigor Frameworks found in studies using discourse analysis use evaluative language to frame their categories. This is problematic because by asking evaluative questions such as "Clear research question: is it appropriate for DA?" (Nixon & Power, 2004, p. 76) the reviewers are establishing their own "regimes of truth" (Foucault, 1980). In contrast, the rubric developed in this paper and presented below looks for practices to be evident as elements of research in the analysis of discourse without attempting to establish a "new ideological orthodoxy" (Widdowson, 1996, p. 57).

The rubric presents 16 practices of discourse analysis research in descriptive language such as "What is the research question?" The expectation is that there should be research questions but whether it is "clear" is social constructed. The rubric presented is reflective of the practices found in the analysis of discourse but its construction is unique to this paper. The following rubric will guide the collection

analysis of data for this study. The construction and refinement of a rubric of practices

used by this study is expected to be an ongoing process concurrent with the research

process

Discourse Analysis Research Rubric (Methods and Interpretation)

1. What is the research question(s)?

2. How is it matched to an analysis of discourse?

3. How are texts selected?

4. How are texts matched to the research question?

5. What is the interpretative paradigm (theoretical position)—ontological and epistemological positioning?

6. How is the interpretative paradigm connected to the data gathering and analysis?

7. How the texts are considered for their (1) linguistic features (2) discursive practices (3) social practices?

8. How does the study include (1) convergence (2) agreement (3) coverage?

9. How does the study address intertextuality within social and discursive Practice?

10. How is transparency in analysis methods and application of theory to the analysis achieved?

11. What is the context of the study?

12. How are the linkages between the discourse and findings described?

13. How much verbatim text is given?

14. How are the linkages between the discourse and the interpretation described?

15. Does the analysis critique itself?

16. Does the researcher reveal personal bias?

Discourse Analysis and CAQDAS

Discourse analysis is a theory-driven approach to analysis juxtaposed to grounded theory where themes emerge from the texts. Most qualitative software available today was originally designed for qualitative research using grounded theory (MacMillan and Koenig, 2004). While CAQDAS programs are widely used by studies using grounded theory MacMillan (2005) did not find any discourse analysis studies that had used CAQDAS. This led her to question whether the lack of CAQDAS use in discourse analysis was a practical or a methodological concern.

Discourse analysis as method looks for discourses of power and position within the texts considered. In the present study the method is to analyze the discourses of administrators within the context of positional leadership. The discourses of teachers are considered within the context of positional follower. The paradigms of Distributed Leadership and Micropolitics provide a theoretical framework to consider administrators and teachers departing from hierarchical leader/follower dialectic and creating emancipatory discourses. Methodologically there is the danger in discourse analysis that fragmentary analysis, coding individual segments of text, can blind the researcher to the entire document. Van Dijk when asked about the use of CAQDAS in discourse analysis replied that using a smaller selection of text and performing "deep qualitative analysis generally yield much more insight" (cited in MacMillan 2005,

p. 7). Fowler and Kress (1979) insist that the analysis of discourse is dependent on the context and that any tool that lifts text out of context "would be the very antithesis" (p. 198) of discourse analysis. MacMillan (2005) says that "for DA (discourse analysis) the material to be analysed has to be understood in relation to its particular discursive, interactional or rhetorical context" (p. 15), and hence "using CAQDAS with DA can, at best, be more time consuming than useful, and at worst, can steer the analyst away from the task of analysis" (p. 15). Clearly context is critical for discourse analysis and there is a real concern that CAQDAS will distance text from the context.

The work of James Pennebaker (2011) using CAQDAS to discover patterns in the use of function words is instructive. He points out that without the computer, surveying vast amounts of data would be impossible. However, with the computer clear patterns in the use of function words, especially pronouns have been revealed. His research shows that "people in the social hierarchy use first-person singular pronouns such as I, me, and my at a much lower rates than people lower in status" (p. 174). Conversely, higher status individuals used first-person plural pronouns (we, us, our) and second-person pronouns like you and your at a significantly higher rate than people lower in status (p. 174).

The primary question then is whether there is a qualitative software program that can keep the text, even down to single words, in a context that could entail the entire recorded meetings of all four Instructional Leadership Teams. QSR NVivo 10 allows the sophisticated user to toggle between a single word and the entire corpus. This is possible not only within transcripts but also within stored digital recordings. NVivo 10 facilitates listening to audio files and coding them. Then when returning to

the audio file it can be played while on screen the transcript scrolls revealing the coded segments as the audio file plays. Context is not necessarily lost in using NVivo 10 and as the data grows may be more accessible than growing piles of transcripts and audio files.

The danger numerous authors detail is that the researcher will be seduced by the program and use procedures not because the research requires it but because they are there. There is always the temptation to use procedures such as auto-coding to code all the text. But just because qualitative software can be abused does not mean that it shouldn't be used. The careful researcher who embeds memos in the data can detail the steps in the development of interpretation and analysis. An embedded journal of practice allows increases reflexivity on the researcher's part and provides a transparency of process and method to the reader.

Elaine Welsh (2002) presents a helpful metaphor for understanding CAQDAS. She identifies CAQDAS as the loom that is used for the weaving of the rich tapestry that is a qualitative research project. The loom she points out can speed up the process and limit the weaver's errors but the weaver is still the one defining the warp and woof of the data analysis. Another weaver using the same materials could weave a different tapestry depending on the questions they would ask of the data. The loom, like CAQDAS, has a number of values. One value is that the process of weaving, the process of analysis, can be seen by looking at the structure on which it takes shape. Analysis of text using CAQDAS provides an auditable trail. This is especially true of software packages like QSR NVivo 10 where memos can be attached to every step of the analysis process and the memos themselves can be accessed in the very same way

as the text. Another value of the loom is that it provides structure for the weaving but that is also a limitation for the tapestry's dimensions are limited and determined by the dimensions of the loom. NVivo 10 will be an important tool for the analysis of discourse in this study and its specific use is detailed in Appendix F.

Data Analysis

This study uses theory to assist the analysis of discourse and although not a case study it follows Yin's (2009) advice "the first and most preferred strategy is to follow the theoretical propositions that led to your case study" (p. 130). The proposition is that leadership is distributed and that power relationships expressed through discourse can be identified through careful analysis. These theories scaffold the analysis of the audio of naturally occurring discourse and the entry of the same discourse transcribed into NVivo 10. Miles and Huberman (1994) "advise interweaving data collection and analysis from the start" (p.50). This was done throughout the year in a sequential process.

Although not a grounded theory study, the first consideration of the data did not begin with theory, using Yin's advice, "A helpful starting point is to 'play' with your data" (p. 129). Analysis of the data began even before entry, as the researcher was also the recorder of the meetings and made field notes that were both descriptive and interpretive at the time of the recording. Then a contact summary report (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 53) was written identifying themes, tone, and anything that was specifically significant during the meeting.

Recording went on throughout the year and transcripts of the meetings were made within two weeks of the date recorded as required by the protocol with the

school. The first couple of times through the transcript and audio no coding was done but rather memos were written considering the entire meeting. This was done to mitigate the influence of the theories guiding the study and allow patterns and themes to emerge. Since the theories guiding the study were already in place it is recognized that even at this point in analysis they had some affect on the interpretation. It was at this point where *in vivo* codes emerged, some of which are used as headings in the findings section.

The next step was identifying specific situations where leadership practice was being distributed. After identifying the specific leadership situations in each conversation the process of axial coding began looking specifically at how leadership was distributed within that situation with the help of Micropolitical theory. Specific theory based questions such as was power being expressed with, over, or through were looked at in the data.

The leadership situation is envisioned as one of Spillane's triangles in his model of leadership practice from a distributed perspective. Each triangle has leaders highest on the triangle, with followers in the middle, and the situation on the bottom. Inferred by the placement of these words is the influence of the three aspects of leadership practice. The arrow below the triangles indicates that over time the triangles constitute leadership practice. Intertextuality in discourse analysis can be envisioned in a somewhat similar manner. Figure 3.3 given below is an attempt to model how discursive practice is aligned with leadership practice and how the two theories assist in the process of analysis.
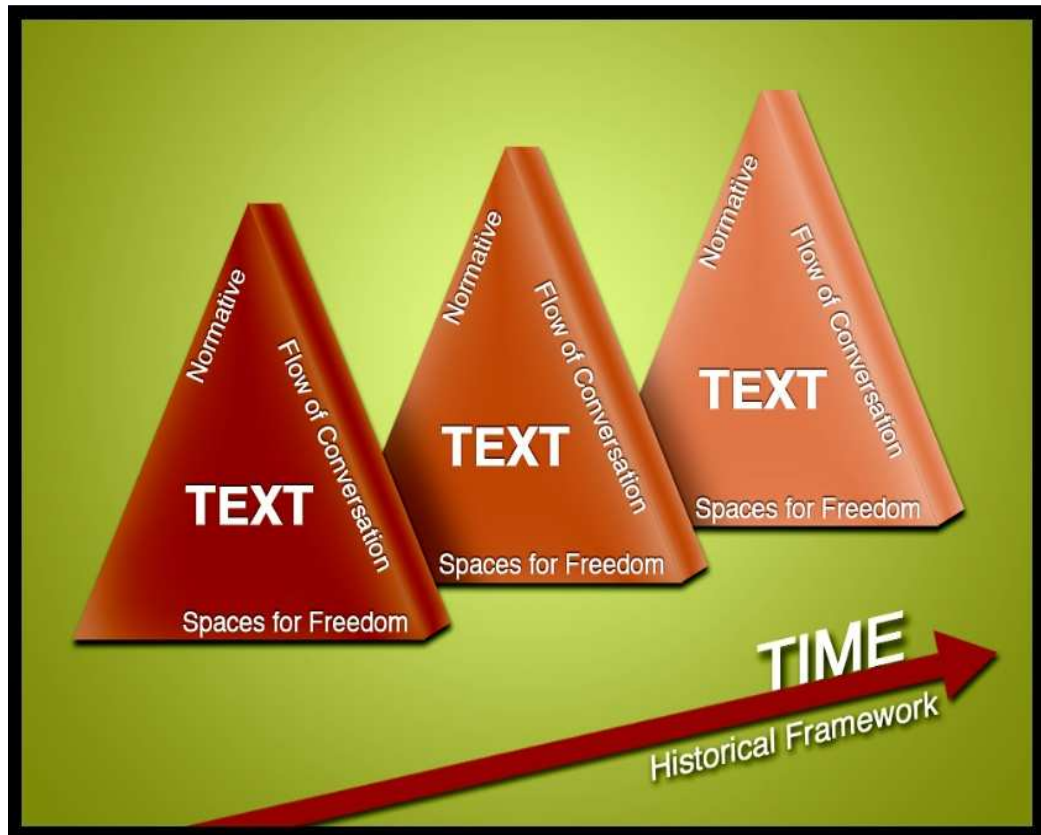
Figure 3.3: Adaption of Spillane's Model of Distributed Leadership. Intertextuality in leadership practice.

Jacobs (2006), says that discourse analysts advance "a view that language plays an instrumental role in establishing 'regimes of truth' (Foucault, 1980) by which social problems are formulated and addressed . . . [they] claim that power is not reducible to individual agency but is instead constituent of a network of relations" (p.41). Fairclough (1992b) describes a vertical aspect of intertextuality as the normative dimension of text where meaning is constrained. The horizontal axes of intertextuality are where the "network of relations" exists as people have conversations. It is in those conversations that analysis can identify spaces of freedom where new truths can emerge. As discourse is extended through time some of the small truths constructed in those spaces of freedom will emerge and displace some of

the existing normative Truths. The normative dimension of discourse occupies the side

Spillane gives to the leader. It is assumed here that the normative and the leader

exercise the most power in the situation. The side where Spillane has followers is

replaced by "the flow of conversation" that occurs between leaders and followers.

Situation is replaced in this model with "spaces for freedom" that are available in

conversations. Just as the triangle itself represents the leadership situation in Spillane's

model, the triangle in this new model represents the text of the conversation. In

analysis of a specific leadership situation the assumption is that the normative will

exert the greatest power and boundary the flow of conversation limiting or excluding

the emergence of any new truths. However, in analysis there is the possibility of

identifying spaces of freedom where truths emerge that actually deconstruct and

reconstruct a new normative for the group. Laclau and Mouffe (1985) note in

reference to feminism that "the ensemble of discourses which constructed them as

subjects" (p. 154) had to change in order to change the condition of inequality. The

change in these discourses over time happened in these space for freedom. The

overlapping triangles model how the "ensemble of discourses" functions over time.

This model provides a structure for looking at how specific features of discourse work

in leadership practice. This interaction of texts with texts, intertextuality, which occurs

over time, is a key theoretical construct that guided analysis.

During analysis each conversation was initially looked at using a grounded

theory approach. After looking at the conversations holistically a theoretical approach

was used segmenting the conversations into different leadership situations. Every

meeting had several situations where leadership was being distributed through the

conversation of leaders and followers. The texts for each of these segments were analyzed using this model of intertextuality. This model of intertextuality is similar to Fairclough's three-dimensional method of discourse analysis (Figure 3.1). The normative corresponds to the sociocultural, the flow of conversation corresponds to discourse, and the spaces for freedom to text.

The following chapter gives verbatim text and the accompanying analysis of the text in order to make the process as transparent as possible. What should be revealed is how the findings emerged from the data and how the data was interpreted through the theoretical frames used by this study.

Limitations of the Study

The study has a number of limitations. The first is that the two schools included in the study are outliers in terms of leadership practice and API scores. The district was purposefully selected on the basis having instituted distributed leadership as part of a district-restructuring plan. The schools were intentionally selected for having high-test scores and both schools had an API of around 900. The study looks only at the discourse of teams of teachers and administrators over the course of one year. The teams participating were selected because the principal at the site first allowed the researcher to present the study to teachers at the school and the entire team then allowed the researcher access. The discourse analyzed is only a small slice of the discourses at the school site that involve leadership.

Another limitation is that to fully consider the sociocultural contexts research should link an analysis of discourse with ethnographic consideration of the context of the discourse. While I am familiar with schools and education the study has no

ethnographic elements. Since this study does not include ethnography or any observational evaluation of how leadership is distributed at the site it is open to a major criticism of Critical Discourse Analysis. Stubbs (1997) argues that without "non-linguistic evidence of a pattern of beliefs and behaviour" (p. 6), CDA infers beliefs from language use in a circular argument form. There is no non-linguistic evidence to support any conclusions reached by this study on the practice of distributed leadership at the site.

A further limitation is that to have the study approved by the district and participating principals the hardcopy transcripts of every meeting were given to the principals within two of weeks of the meeting. Every participant was aware of this and it must have constrained and possibly directed some of the dialog since everyone knew it was a study looking at distributed leadership. One factor that mitigated this was that after a while the researcher seemed to become a silent but ignored part of the team as I believe the frankness of much of the discourse indicates. Also, it quickly became apparent to everyone that the two principals spent little time reading over the hundreds of pages of transcripts.

Another consideration is that while discourse analysis proper done is an effective tool for research this was my first attempt at discourse analysis. Due to the methodology of using only naturally occurring discourse there was no attempt by the study to secure agreement which would have required participants to reflect on the data and analysis and have that included in the study. Gee and Green (1997) establish that agreement is a required to establish validity in discourse analysis. It is hoped that the inclusion of as much verbatim text as possible and the attempt to make the analysis

as transparent as possible will work to allow the reader to participate in agreeing or not

with the analysis.

Studies using discourse analysis give as a limitation the insistence that

meaning is never fixed and all analysis is open to alternate interpretations. Discourse

analysis participates in the social construction of reality and while self-reflective is

under the same conditions that generate all discourse. The findings that seemed

emerge from the many conversations considered have other alternative interpretations.

CHAPTER 4: DATA AND ANALYSIS

The data for this study consists of over 20 hours of naturally occurring discourse from the meetings of teachers and administrators at two elementary schools. The intention of this chapter is to use discourse analysis to provide a grounded and transparent interpretation process of leadership practice as at the two sites.

Rocky Sage Discourses on High-Stakes Testing

High-stakes testing is discussed in four of the six Rocky Sage ILT meetings. In the four meetings where it was discussed at Rocky Sage it comprised 57%, 31%, 16%, and 3% of the meeting time. It was the second recorded meeting of the year at Rocky Sage where it was discussed 57% of the time. Rocky Sage, just previous to this discussion, had an all staff meeting where they looked at previous year CST results.

How context affects the conditions of possibility. The following conversation shows how the discourse of high-stakes testing establishes a context for all the discourses at the school. After going over the agenda for an ILT meeting Alexis makes this comment to the principal, Dr. Robert Davis. She is not accusing him of duplicity but to paraphrase Ralph Waldo Emerson she is saying, "Who you are (principal of a school in SESD with all of the constraints and expectations) speaks so loudly we can't hear what you're saying."

> Alexis: Well, I think what you're requesting oftentimes is that end result. You know? And our agenda here has, you know, how can we, you know, deconstruct standards? And I think that that's really powerful to do during a—that's what we should be doing collaboration, and instead, you know, there's—we have to, you know, give—there's that—what you have to do. I don't know how to get around it, but when you're wanting to focus on instruction and your—and we—we're wanting to focus on instruction and you're telling us this, I don't think, as staff, I don't—I don't think that that's coming through, and I know

it—just speaking for my grade level, we're feeling like, okay, he wants these scores, and we've got to get this assessment data, and this assessment data. So then we're not seeing that instruction. We're not—that's not being conveyed.

The awkwardness of the speech pattern shows that Alexis is conflicted in how to present what she is thinking. She says that the agenda item on deconstructing standards is really powerful and what they should be doing during collaboration. What she can't "get around" is "what you have to do" which is achieve high test scores. She starts to speak on behalf of the staff and then realizes she is over-reaching her position and speaks instead "for my grade level." She tells Robert that she understands that "you're wanting to focus on instruction." The focus on instruction is "is not coming through," it is "not being conveyed." Despite the what Robert says, the teachers "think what you're requesting oftentimes is that end result" test scores. The teachers do not trust the present conversation on instruction since they are thinking that Robert "wants these scores."

Robert is fully aware of the power of "these scores" and doesn't deny what Alexis is saying. What he does is insist that there can be legitimate conversations around good instruction since test scores measure good instruction. Alexis shouldn't discount his conversations around instruction just because there are also conversations around test scores.

Robert: Because you need both, right?

Alexis: Right. I mean—

Robert: You've got to work on instruction. You've got to measure whether it works.

Alexis: Right.

Robert: So we've got to have that balance and that's—I'm definitely thinking out loud in terms of how to make sure both messages are clear.

When Robert interrupts Alexis when she starts to say, "I mean," he makes a power statement that he usually avoids when he says, "you've got to work," and "you've got to measure." Here Alexis can only agree or disagree. Her "right" alerts Robert that he has just assumed a power position. When he says, "I'm definitely thinking out loud," he is trying to place the conversation into a participatory frame. What Robert does not address is the possibility that the discourse of high-stakes testing is so powerful that it establishes the boundary lines of all the other discourses. It may be that teachers are better able recognize the constraints placed on discourse due to high-stakes testing than the principal. Administrators at both sites have conversations that connect good instruction with high test scores. Teachers at both sites make clear connections between specific instructional practice and high test scores. The instructional practices that teachers connect with high test scores are seldom identified as "good instruction" but rather "what works."

Discourse of teaching to the test. The principal of Rocky Sage, Dr. Robert Davis, uses scores from other schools to help frame the conversations the ILT has around test scores. He mentions a school with a perfect API of 1,000 during the second ILT meeting of the year.

Robert: There was a school I read about a couple of years ago that was at a thousand. It was in Silicon Valley. [inaudible] I think so. I think every single kid was proficient if not advanced. I don't know how they measured it, but they were 1,000—so you imagine that Silicon Valley always gets some real high powered people there and their kids, and—but the kindergartens were real regimented. So I'm not sure it was a—

the parents were happy with it. Obviously their kids were achieving at a high level, so . . .

Rebecca: And I don't think our parents want that.

Robert: No, I don't think so either.

Is it the perfect API score of this school or the perceived regimentation of the school that Rebecca and Robert think the parents of Rocky Sage wouldn't want? Probably, it is the regimentation that would not be desired. Robert makes two statements about how the score was achieved. The first statement concerns the demographics of the school where there are "high powered people there and their kids." Here the score is not attributed to the school but to the demographics of the school. Then he notes that the "kindergartens were real regimented." He doesn't mention any other grades but the inference is if even the kindergartens are regimented then the primary grades are equally if not more regimented. Here the score is attributed to a certain regimentation of learning.

The question is what is meant by "regimented." In a latter meeting at Rocky Sage one of the teachers appears to reflect on the Silicon Valley school mentioned during the earlier meeting.

> Martin: Although there's a structure and good thinking too, I think it—I guess I look more in terms of a balance of academic pursuits and creativity go hand-in-hand. Unfortunately, it—people do divorce them from each other and you get schools that hit 1,00r0 because they create this mechanized system, which I wouldn't want. I couldn't be in either.

While Robert talks about the kindergarten of the 1,000 API school as "regimented" Martin now identifies this as a "mechanized system" where academic pursuits are divorced from creativity. Also, Martin says he wouldn't want this

"mechanized system" and "couldn't be in" it either. These are the sentiments of

Rebecca and Robert in the previous conversation where they say the parents of Rocky

Sage wouldn't want a school like the Silicon Valley school.

Another conversation about schools with a high API occurs during the first

ILT meeting recorded. The principal shows the team high API scores of schools not in

their district but in another district that has similar demographics to Rocky Sage. As

the ILT discusses these high performing schools this conversation takes place.

> Rebecca: But I think personally, it created a sense—as soon as I saw
> that I'm like, "what are they doing?"

> [conversation goes on]

> Alexis: I, you know, I—obviously I feel the same way as you do. I
> would want to know what they're doing. I didn't. I mean I had no clue,
> as far as the different—the variation scores and everything. I mean,
> obviously they're teaching to the test. No, but are they using OARS
> [Online Assessment Reporting System]? Are they—?

> [crosstalk]

"Teaching to the test" is another narrative associated with good scores in high-

stakes testing. This "teaching to the test" is associated with "regimented" programs,

and "mechanized systems" of learning. The assumption shared by the teachers is that

high API scores come from schools that do not have a balanced program. The

programs of these schools discount creativity in order to advance "academic pursuits."

This narrative of a lack of balance is also addressed at the other end of the

spectrum in regards to test scores. As part of the district's initiative to advance

distributed leadership, schools within the district are put into cohorts that share in-

service activities and teacher collaboration. Rocky Sage participates in a cohort of six

other schools that look at CST test scores for the district and their own schools. The

principal of Rocky Sage gives this reflection on the activity.

> Robert: We all saw Chavez's [another school in their cohort] approach
> right now and I think that we sense that they got urgency—they
> definitely have urgency. But is it healthy too? And I think we want to
> balance. They're at that extreme, that end of the gun [Program
> Improvement] in a year or two or whatever it is and we—some of us
> had a reaction to them saying things like "just tell us what to do and
> we'll do it." That I think is definitely an over-the-board negative sense
> of urgency that's not producing people who are working for the right
> reasons, in some ways. And then you got Rocky Sage, and we don't
> have that threat of scores right now. But if we stop paddling on the
> canoe, we can get there any time soon, quickly too.

Chavez is a school in the third year of Program Improvement and their focus is

on improving their CST scores in order to get out of Program Improvement and the

coming sanctions for low scores. Teachers at Chavez expressed during their

collaborative time with higher scoring schools like Rocky Sage, "just tell us what to

do and we'll do it." Here their discourse is perceived to be one of asking, "How do we

teach to the test." The Rocky Sage principal and teachers identified this as "not

producing people who are working for the right reasons." In most of the conversations

regarding "teaching to the test" there is a contrasted narrative of teaching "for the right

reasons." But as the Rocky Sage principal points out high-stakes testing is the modern

version of the sword of Damocles over the educational community.

The difference between Chavez and Rocky Sage is only positional and not

conditional in regards to high-stakes testing. The position of the two schools is

different. Chavez is at "the end of the gun." Rocky Sage is not in this position.

However, Rocky Sage, Chavez, and Achieving Charter School share the same

condition that is identified by Robert when he says, "we stop paddling on the canoe,

we can get there any time soon, quickly too." The condition is that all schools are under the implicit threat of Program Improvement and the stigma of this identification within the community. Teachers and administrators want to teach "for the right reason," but everyone knows that "if we stop paddling on the canoe," if we stop getting high test scores, then there are immediate severe consequences for everyone.

These conversations show that teachers and principal do not identify schools with high test scores as ideal learning environments. They do identify high test scores with strategies that are directed toward teaching to the test. This is what is believed to be true both at Rocky Sage and apparently also at Chavez. The discourse that equates high test scores with teaching to the test is not a socially acceptable discourse within the educational community. Robert identifies teaching to the test as not "working for the right reasons." There is a real desire on everyone's part to have authentically engaging instruction but that is seldom connected by teachers to high test scores. At times Robert makes the argument that authentically engaging instruction does produce high test scores. However, as the previous conversations indicate, when the teachers and principal at Rocky Sage consider high test scores they immediately assume teaching to the test and all that it implies. Their "truth" is that high test scores and authentically engaging instruction are fundamentally not aligned.

Discourse of good instruction vis-à-vis test scores. There is another conversation at Rocky Sage that juxtaposes good instruction with high test scores. The argument these conversations construct is that you can either achieve high test scores or have good instruction. This ambiguity creates spaces where teachers can choose instructional methods that may not lead to high test scores or choose poor instruction

that does lead to high test scores. This discourse is not consistent throughout the meetings but it does exist. This section begins with Robert talking about the teacher meeting where they looked at CST data for the school.

> Robert: So it's not a perfect measure, [test scores] but—and I think what I see—actually I saw something come out of a cohort recently that was really negative in that we looked at the scores, test. And a lot of the conversation was around the test and test taking strategies, and how to tweak our approach to make sure they know how to approach, you know, this type of question, or that question, was bad. And I knew I set it up in such a way that that was kind of inevitable.

The problem Robert identifies is that the conversation around test scores resulted in conversations about how to teach to the test. This highlights the fundamental disconnection between how Robert understands high-stakes testing and how the teachers at Rocky Sage apprehend it. When Robert sent the agenda of the meeting he connected test scores with conversations around authentically engaging instruction. After seeing what actually happened he reflects that, "I knew I set it up in such a way that that was kind of inevitable." Why was it inevitable, because teachers have conversations around test scores concerning how to optimize test scores. The dialog Robert desired was centered on "how do you make sure kids are thinking in your class?" This conversation supports the district common core initiative for designing structures supporting student collaboration and critical thinking.

> Robert: But in reality I wanted to go back to it, okay, let's look at instruction and how do you make sure kids are thinking in your class? Because if you create good thinkers who are careful readers, they'll do fine on anything the test throws them. So, yes, I want scores to go up, but how do we get there? By creating really authentically engaging instructional classrooms. You say something?

Robert is hoping that when a school is data driven, test scores are the starting point for conversations about what is good instruction. "Authentically engaging instructional classrooms" lead to student learning and student learning results in high test scores. Rebecca does not have the same linear perspective in regards to authentically engaging instruction leading to scores going up.

> Rebecca: I was going to say also its delivery of what we see from our administrators because, at the moment, I know that the—I was going to say the big monkey [superintendent] we have is, like, we need to have the scores up. So then at the same time now we're hearing, oh, well, you know, I want to make sure that [inaudible] are respectable citizens, that they love learning. So sometimes that creativity is taking over in the classroom because we're so, you know, like, focused, and, okay, raise the score. So it's kind of like a catch-22.

By contrasting, "we need to have the scores up," with "I want to make sure that [inaudible] are respectable citizens, that they love learning," as a catch-22 Rebecca frames the paradox experienced by teachers between high-stakes testing and authentically engaging instruction. The superintendent and the principal make the connection between test scores and authentically engaging instruction, "So, yes, I want scores to go up, but how do we get there? By creating really authentically engaging instructional classrooms."

The teachers at Rocky Sage engage in the conversations about good instruction but are unsure of how coupled good instruction is with good test scores. In other conversations they identify high test scores with teaching to the test. So, as Rebecca states, accomplishing both is "kind of like a catch-22."

By identifying the superintendent as the "big monkey" she is recognizing that much of what he says has a public relations aspect. She is also recognizing that Robert

is the "little monkey" and he has a public relations aspect to his position. So of course

he will be talking about raising "respectable citizens that love learning." However, the

reality is that in SESD every year starts by looking at the past year's CST scores. In

other conversations we see that teachers are very aware of the score their students

earned. Scores identify the quality of a district, a school, and a teacher. There are no

measures of "authentically engaging instructional classrooms" outside of test scores.

By starting with test scores Robert understands how the conversations ended up being

all about how to "teach to the test."

> Robert: That's what I'm seeing in that cohort. I took total responsibility
> for that in that in my head there's all these other thoughts about good
> instruction but I didn't present it carefully enough with the data to say,
> let's get back into how these scores were created by your day-to-day
> instruction and let's look at good, quality instruction.

Robert positions good quality instruction as the cause of high test scores. The

teachers are not making that connection. Rebecca identifies the focused effort of

"getting test scores" with "those behavior issues or unfortunate events that happen at

recess time."

> Rebecca: Because then I think too—I notice in the school—I mean
> when I was going to school, it was fun to go to school because we had
> chorus, we had activities, we had field trips. We had fun things to look
> forward to, of postages, always, you know, giving our work in class.
> Now it's—everything is all about, you know, getting test scores, doing
> this. We have some creativity but you also want to make sure that kids
> have the time to enjoy their school time because that's when you also
> have those behavior issues or unfortunate events that happen at recess
> time so we have to find a balance where it is—okay, it's a fun place to
> come to school, but we also know it's our time to learn. So it's got to
> be a nice balance opposed to just come here to learn, learn, learn. You
> have 20 minutes of recess, and then come back to learn, learn, learn.
> You've got to have some kind of balance.

Robert: So I think that's a—it raises—always want to hear that argument. I really want to dig into that one because what you're saying is learning's not fun and everything else. You really are. That's what you just said.

Rebecca: No. No. No. The way you take it—it's the way you took it though, but the thing is, you can make learning fun with the creativity of a teacher that does—you know, or the activities. So you were able to learn about things, and we did Jeopardy games, and we—[inaudible] assemblies for the students, so it was—we were learning—

Alexis: The whole child.

Rebecca: Exactly.

Alexis: The whole child, yes.

The "learn, learn, learn" that Rebecca is referring to is the learning she associates with teaching to the test. So when she responds with her "no, no, no" she is saying to Robert that he doesn't understand her position that good instruction is different from instruction that leads to high test scores.

Rebecca in this section expresses the tension she feels between instruction that focuses on the whole child and instruction that leads to high test scores.

Rebecca: And it was a small school too though back then, so it wasn't like it is now. So I know that because then we had the population [inaudible] I mean, like, I mean it's—in every grade we're having some issues with kids and their behavior, you know, and it seems like if we try to find an outlet to that aggression where maybe they don't have a positive way to have an outlet would—some of them are all in sports. Some of them are not involved in clubs. So it's just finding a balance, again, the whole child situation. I'm not saying learning is not fun. I love to learn even to this date. I'm reading a lot, you know, and my kids—and try to put it into my own kids, but you've got to find a way to balance as well, and then there's kind of—I'm trying something different in a classroom, and then I get a little note, like, how do you know this is working? I don't know. I'm trying something new.

Martin: Exactly.

Rebecca: So, you know, that is how—so that room should be created and try something and it hasn't been researched yet or have the data but let me just try something new.

Robert: Inaudible] problem.

Rebecca is "not saying learning is not fun." Apparently there are two types of learning. The "learn, learn, learn" type that is not fun and the type of learning that she loves which is fun. Another type of balance Rebecca refers to is balancing the imposed structure of the district initiatives with her personally created structures. By identifying that "room should be created" to try something that isn't research based she makes it clear that at Rocky Sage that room doesn't exist. In fact something different will lead to a little note from Robert. For Robert this is a problem since he doesn't want to "come in with a list and make us all do it" but he does "think in the end, it would be a great school if it was the same on every page, every day." By identifying Rebecca's statement as a "problem" Robert produces that ambiguity. He could say that there is room for trying something new. He could say that if you try something new you need to ask yourself "how do you know this is working?" Instead, Robert chooses to ignore Rebecca's comment and the conversation continues. The conversation is difficult to follow due to the fact that the teachers alternate between saying that good instruction and high test scores are two different things and then connect both of them. Possibly they are making the connection only because they heard Robert make the connection. Possibly they are this conflicted about how the two interact. Certainly they have two types of instruction; focusing on the whole child and focusing on test scores.

Alexis: So just what I'm hearing, to move forward, we don't really want to use an API. When we read the article, it talked about having goals, and I just thought that, you know, first grade goals are very different than second grade goals, so we just had, you know, the last test and we're going to get some data back. If we look at that data and said second grade [inaudible] what—what students do we really need to hone in as a grade level? And as a grade level, take ownership on those children, that we will all have those children—make sure that when their CST time comes that they're not struggling but they're successful at that time. And I think that is a tangible goal and, you know, first grade schools are going to be different than second grade—like—

Since first grade students do not participate in the CST the goals of first grade teachers are not going to include test scores. Jared, a first grade teacher, says that his goals are motivated by getting his students to a place where the second grade teachers will be able to have them get good test scores.

Jared: But I think my goals are motivated by your goals a little bit because I'm trying to get my kids—my goal is to get you to a place where you can start—here your goals can, you know, be taken to the next level.

Rebecca: And absolutely, but they—

Jared: They're different, but at the same time, they're very connected.

Alexis: Um-hum. And so if we're aware of each other's goals—and I think that will—I mean we can—you guys tell me what you think, but I think at our grade level, if we decide what our goal is, we look at that data, and I think at my grade level, where we are looking at the questions, and what we realized is we are doing the whole child. We are teaching these concepts and we're teaching that, but at some point we have to say, okay, now use everything, and we have to model how to use what they've learned to take a test. So that's two separate things. So either grade level—when we saw those tests, we were like, we haven't done that yet. We are so focused on the whole child that we don't want to bombard them with, this is our test taking skill. We want them to enjoy learning. So right now they will get caught in those tricky questions, but we honestly—we're like—we've already modified our instructions so we're moving on past that because we're looking at the whole thing. So that's my suggestion is that the grade levels come up with goals, and that will raise scores, but more importantly, we're

going to feel success when knowing that, these kids, we push them up. Like, that was our goal, to push these kids to be successful and to get that. Our EL has moved up, and that we created them. So to take more ownership over it I guess.

The dilemma faced by these teachers is that they feel they are responsible for two separate things. They want their students to enjoy learning that they do not equate with raising test scores. Even as Alexis says they are two separate things she also makes statements that show how entangled they are in her mind. She concludes her statement by saying that we will raise scores, but more importantly, we're going to feel success when we raise scores. This awkward phrasing show how difficult it is to feel that there is something more important than test scores while the valued measurements are standardized test scores.

Danna and Alexis express this frustration with standardized test scores in the next section. Danna notes that by looking at a writing sample she can access a student's ability better than a multiple choice test. She lists some of the deficiencies of standardized tests in accessing student learning. Both of them identify that high-stakes testing is an imperfect measurement of student learning. Since the district initiatives are directed toward authentically engaging learning and standardized tests imperfectly measure this type of learning it is hard to see a casual relationship.

> Danna: That's okay. My feeling is when we're assessing them with multiple choice, I can look at a kid's writing and they're doing, like, the verbs the right way, and subject verbs, and then I can see a test where they miss it. I'm like, but they know that. But how the test, you know, asks them, or how they felt at that time didn't accurately portray what they do know, and what we see, and what they do produce not with a test. So, like, I see where she's saying that, you know, a standardized test is not necessarily a true view of the student and their capabilities.

Alexis: They could have been just having a good day. I mean at the end of the day—I mean I just—from taking tests and things, I could have had a slamming day that day, and then the next day take the test, I'm tired as all heck, I didn't eat right, and then I take the test and it's—

Robert ends the discussion by introducing the language of an article he had them read. Robert refers to both authentically engaging learning and test scores. In regards to test scores Robert notes that low scores create the urgency of everybody's job is on the line. To those teachers who were referring to balance Robert makes it plain what they are balancing. The opportunity Robert is referring to is authentically engaging learning. So the teachers may claim that their test scores are lower because they want their students to enjoy learning but they should not forget the consequences of enjoying learning to the detriment of test scores.

Robert: Well, I like this discussion. I appreciate you guys just honestly sharing your points of view because it's important to have those, and there's two ways to create urgency. One is a threat, like what [inaudible] situation where you—there's urgency there because, you know, everybody's job is on the line or whatever and the pressure is on. The other way to create urgency is opportunities.

At another meeting the teachers are working on the implementation of district common core initiatives and ask about the superintendent's priorities in light of the initiative's emphasis on authentic instruction. Here we see Robert is also conflicted about test scores and authentically engaging instruction when he identifies "grow and learn" as a dichotomy. I think the dichotomy he is referring to is, "the environment can be very creative, and exciting and fun," because of common core initiatives, and there needs to be "evidence that kids are learning by whatever measures we have." Since Robert and the superintendent share this dichotomy it seems they also understand the catch-22 nature of accomplishing both.

Robert: So he wants kids to grow and learn, and I share that same dichotomy in that I don't think it's a false dichotomy. I do think kids will learn, but the environment can be very creative, and exciting and fun because they got flows, but—and I think he's that same way. He's definitely still going to want to see evidence that kids are learning by whatever measures we have.

What are they doing to get such high test scores? Besides "teaching to the test," both Rebecca and Alexis ask, "what are they doing?" Alexis identifies a program in SESD that allows teachers to view and manage student achievement data from a variety of sources. Alexis is linking high test scores to targeted instruction based on an analysis of data. Targeted instruction is a narrative that is also connected with high test scores. In responses to Alexis' question about whether they are using OARS (Online Assessment Reporting System), Joyce and Jared, remember that this district is using MAP (Measures of Academic Progress), a program similar to OARS. They knew this because in 2009 they were also looking at this district because of the high test scores. At that time they were asking, "What are they doing," to see if there were practices that they could implement at SESD.

Robert: We don't know.

Joyce: They were using MAPS.

Alexis: They were using MAPS? Oh, okay. Are you looking this up?

[crosstalk]

Jared: We looked at a lot of the Inland data and practices when, um, we first did that—what was it called?

Alexis: MAPS. Oh, okay.

High test scores attract attention from other teachers, schools, and districts. The question asked is what are they doing? Robert notes that MAPS is more robust

than OARS if the "very expensive portion of the program" is used. Inland School District uses the expensive part that allows kids to "get online and do lessons tailored to the scores on their" tests. Targeted instruction is part of the discourse of teaching to the test. Robert seems to indicate that this is not an option for their district. Right now he is asking whether the staff would respond favorably to looking at Inland's scores as a comparison to the scores at Rocky Sage. Would these significantly higher scores help further the sense of urgency? Joyce says the staff is confident due to their already high API and they are willing to be challenged by looking at schools with even higher scores.

> Robert: So MAPS– the thing about MAPS is that Inland does it as a district. They do MAPS, but they do everything. They do MAPS, they do the Compass Learning, which is this very expensive portion of the program that then, once you get all the data in, it tells you what to do and kids can get online and do lessons tailored to the scores on their MAPS. So they do the whole nine yards of that program. [Inaudible] My question is not, you're asking good questions about it, you know, this is what we might cause us to do or think about. And that's always a good idea, in terms of urgency too is to go outside your organization to get more ideas. But I heard from Alexis that she thought the staff would respond favorably to this as a comparison. What do the rest of you think from your corners of the Rocky Sage world?

> Joyce: I think it would actually go good—we're doing very well for a big school in our API and everything else. So I know, at least in my team, they'll be like, "Yeah, now let's move it on, let's do something else, let's keep going up." They'll be positive about this.

Discourse of can we do what they're doing? At this point the conversation switches from "what are they doing," to examining the value of comparing themselves with schools in Inland School District. Joyce initially welcomes the comparison, feeling that looking at schools with even higher scores than theirs will motivate everyone at Rocky Sage. However, a conversation develops where teachers identify

perceived differences between the population at Rocky Sage and the students and

parents at Inland. This is in contrast to Robert who presented the PowerPoint on these

schools because he identified them as having similar demographics.

> Martin: I still think their demographics are—even though you have these numbers here—are a little different than what we have down here. I think—I think when you look at our population—yeah we got a lot of semi-affluent over here and we've got a good community, but you know, it's how—what their priorities are outside of the school. And priorities over here could be way different than what they are in the Inland District or, you know, close to what they're doing after school. I mean, the focus could be more on education first, and maybe over here the majority of parents are focused on extra-curricular activities or whatever it is, I don't know.

> Joyce: And I do, because families that I spoken to outside of this community that I know from east of here, over there, it seems like they teach their kids at home. They go to school to perform. So everything is being taught at home and they go to school for [inaudible].

> Martin: And when I discuss with parents here, and the parents that we get here, a lot of times they see that the instruction doesn't leave the classroom a lot of the times and go home with them. So what we're doing here in the school is their primary, you know, source. And as soon as they leave and go home, a lot of its just being forgotten and not taken care of over here, whereas at home, they could be reinforcing right now. And that's just saying a generalization but, um, it's different. You know, we still have to look at it a little more closely. We can see it. Their numbers EL percent is comparable. But when we look outside the priorities and where we live, it's I think it's different, socioeconomic still.

Martin struggles with the fact that the schools have similar demographics. He

acknowledges that their numbers "are a little different than what we have over here."

He also recognizes that "their EL percent is comparable." Despite the similarities he

thinks, "it's different, socioeconomic still." For Martin the Rocky Sage community is

"semi-affluent," with different priorities. Martin is taking similar economic numbers

and creating a class that is "semi-affluent." Now he can contrast affluent

neighborhoods with the "semi-affluent" neighborhood of the Rocky Sage community. What identifies a "semi-affluent" community is not income but priorities. Martin is careful to specify, "we've got a good community" but the "priorities over here could be way different than what they are in the Inland District." Martin is careful not say, "the priorities are way different," but only they "could be way different." So while someone could challenge him whether the priorities are way different, it would be much harder to argue against the proposition that the "priorities over here could be way different." Through a careful use of language Martin is able to create ambiguity between the two similar demographic groups. Robert has selected this nearby district due to its similar demographics and Joyce likes the challenge of seeing how students at similar schools are performing at a higher levels. However, the conversation then centers on how the districts may appear similar statistically but are not really similar. Joyce says of the parents at Inland, "they teach their kids at home," whereas Martin says of Rocky Sage students "as soon as they leave and go home, a lot of it's just being forgotten and not taken care of over here." Similar demographics are not really similar and the interpreted demographics of Rocky Sage now can be used to explain the lower test scores. At this point Alexis disagrees with what Martin and Joyce have just said. As a parent, as well as a teacher, at Rocky Sage "our goals are the same" as those of the Inland parents. Alexis is not going to let Martin get away with creating a different reality. Rebecca appears to agree with Alexis but by introducing the idea that it is not a matter of the two groups being completely different but only statistically different she creates another "semi-affluent" construction. There might be a lower percentage of Rocky Sage parents who "do what you do." Rebecca, like Martin, is

careful to reinforce her epistemic position by stipulating that there "might" be a

difference.

> Alexis: Well, you know, I mean—I've lived over here for ten years and I have friends in all parts of this area, I'm raising children in this area, my children come to this school. And you know, on the whole, I would just disagree with that, um, as far as my group of friends and outside – and my friends' friends. I think our goals are the same. I mean, you know, I think—I, you know, I read with my kid—you know what I'm saying? I mean, I represent a parent in this neighborhood as well.
>
> Rebecca: So I think it's more like the percentage of parents that do what you do might be higher over there
>
> Alexis: Sure, I—
>
> Rebecca: So maybe that's what it is a little bit more than—
>
> Alexis: Sure, but maybe, but then again I think we need to look at, like what you said as far as what are the—because all that we can control is what's going on, on this campus, right? We can't control all those outside things right? So are they holding, um, you know, uh, I've always wanted to do this—

Alexis now accepts that she may not represent Rocky Sage parents but asks the

question of whether diminishing the capabilities of their parents in relation to the

Inland parents is a good thing to do. This is close to talking about a discourse of "no

excuses" when she says, "All that we can control is what's going on on this campus."

However, the power of the discourse of "semi-affluence" that the other teachers have

endorsed has constructed reality for Alexis. Her next statement concerns how the staff

at Rocky Sage can assist their parents in becoming more like the Inland parents.

Alexis is identifying a deficit position for their parents when she says, "if we're not

providing those tools for them to actively participate in their child's learning, how can

we hold them accountable for it?" Her statement that they don't have "those tools" and

her further marginalization of their parenting creates a discourse that concludes "how can we expect them to help them at home?" The parents at Rocky Sage cannot be expected to exercise the same level of support for student as the parents in Inland Schools. Robert does not make further comments after asking whether "the staff would respond favorably" to a comparison of Rocky Sage's and Inland's test scores. It cannot be assumed that Robert supports the dichotomy between the two districts that the teachers have created. Robert may feel that by expressing a counter opinion or a critique at this time he would discourage the climate of collaboration and participation he is seeking to establish. When Robert made the PowerPoint comparing Inland with Rocky Sage he was identifying the comparison as appropriate. Creating spaces for participation creates spaces for ambiguity. The test scores that Robert believes are comparable are not considered comparable in this conversation due to the differences that the teachers establish in the two populations.

> Rebecca: We have that – like math nights, science nights.
>
> Alexis: Right, are they holding things like that for parents that— to assist in their children's learning? I've always wanted to do something where, you know, because my parents, when they watch that video with Carrie reading, that stuck with all of my parents on how to just read with your kid. I mean, they had no idea how to just read with their kid. If they don't have those tools, and we're not providing those tools for them, to actively participate in their children's learning, how can we hold them accountable for it? Because we're teachers, so we get it. But you know, often times parents say, "I don't even know how to make my kid read." Okay, then let's—then you got to take a two steps back. It's not just learning, you know. They just continue to read to them until, "Oh, you want me to read to them now—or you want them to read?" Like it just goes over their head. So I think that that—I think the tools—who knows what they're doing, you know, as far as after school instruction time like that.

Rebecca: Yeah. I think there's something to be said about what they both said. I totally agree, and I think if we look at it from a teacher's perspective, what are they doing in the classroom? How can we modify it? And the parent's—you know, look at it from a parent's perspective and say, look, if we want to get there, this is what they're doing. As a school, we will provide you these resources so that you can support your child and do more activities like that because as a parent it's not a matter of they don't want to. They just don't know how.

Alexis: I mean look at how many people come to Jane Nelson's talk, because they—I mean I can't believe it how many parents come because they need help just disciplining their children. Okay? So then how can we expect—if they can't—if they don't even know how to discipline their children, how can we expect them to help them at home? You know, these parents—these same parents probably that are having these discipline issues are the same parents that are probably unable to help their children learn at home. So providing that extra time—and I can—I would suspect that you would have a lot of people coming to those as well—those kind of workshops.

Rebecca: What I hear you saying is kind of how that is something that we could do as a staff to kind of supplement what—maybe Inland doesn't need to do. I think Inland is, you know, established, and here this school is fairly new. Our—everything is growing. People are moving in, moving out. There's not that established feel. There's a lot of movement, so that I think that is a good way to create kind of a supplement because we don't have that establishment. We can just try—you know, we can do as much as we can as teachers to help the parents in any way as long as they're willing. It's definitely a good idea, but I just think—yeah. I agree. You can't control it but you sometimes, you know, there are things that affect different areas because of just simple growth. We've been growing and changing a lot over the years, so . . .

By marginalizing the parents at Rocky Sage the teachers construct a paradigm where their responsibility for test scores is diffused. Contained within their discussion is the assumption that due to parental factors students at Rocky Sage cannot achieve test scores similar to students at Inland School District. Through the use of modals Martin and Rebecca are able to advance arguments that appear reasonable on the surface. By introducing the category of "semi-affluent," Martin and the other teachers

are able to define a demographic group similar to Inland Schools but with different attributes. This does lead to constructive conversations about providing information and training for parents at Rocky Sage.

Robert does not challenge this discourse of a "semi-affluent" community in this conversation. However, in another conversation Robert says that he considers Rocky Sage to be "low performing" even though it's a "900 API." He notes the demographics of Rocky Sage and says, "of course it's 900."

Discourse of position vis-à-vis test scores. There is a discourse of how test scores establish position at Rocky Sage. This discourse occurs at every level of instruction. While high test scores establish one type of position, Alexis notes that improvement on test scores should also be recognized. Robert shares that at his previous school they gave awards to both top scoring students and students with the highest growth.

> Alexis: Well, and I'm really proud of my own daughter that she's in that 600 club [perfect score], you know, on this bulletin board outside the office here. That's fantastic. But for that middle population that's just—if they're making growth that should be celebrated. And I mean, it shouldn't always be the top students, you know? So—
>
> Robert: I totally agree. We used to give out CST awards at Skyline and we would do just that. We would give out the top ones, because you got to honor that, but then we would give the kids with the highest growth from year to year, which is what you're looking for. Where did you start from and where did you end? So that's one thing we could do for.

At the school level where Robert makes a PowerPoint with Rocky Sage's test scores compared to other schools.

> Robert: So what I did for us is that I've given you the top schools in Inland compare to Rocky Sage. And I put down demographics so you can see where we are and where we are different.

During another meeting there is a discussion about "beating" a near-by school's CST scores and one of the ILT members makes this comment.

> Martin: Why are we comparing ourselves to some other school in the first place? What's the value? You're trying to create a sense of urgency to beat another school?

At the community level where a parent at Rocky Sage talks to Robert about the position that Rocky Sage is in regarding high-stakes testing.

> Robert: Well one of the things that they indicated was that they have a challenging goal or a challenging deadline. A parent actually told this to me once after we share data to the whole school on one of the curriculum nights and said "Well, why are you more like SESD's school? Shouldn't we be comparing ourselves to east-county and Inland Schools?"

Schools are positioned on two different scales at the state level both of them using 1 as the lowest possible and 10 as the highest. The State Wide Rank positions schools based on their test scores. Here Rocky Sage is ranked as 9. The other measure is Similar Schools Rank where each school's test scores are compared with the test scores of schools with similar demographics. Rocky Sage has a Similar Schools Rank of 5. While educators may be aware of the significance of Similar Schools ranking the wider public is primarily aware of the API score where the higher score the better school.

Summary. The discourse of high-stakes testing provides the context for all other conversations at Rocky Sage. There is ambiguity for both teachers and administrators as to how linked authentically engaged instruction is with high test scores. Teachers clearly identify their belief that it is possible to teach to the test and improve test scores. Further, they identify that teaching to the test is not authentically

engaging instruction. Teachers view accomplishing both as "kind of like a catch-22."

The principal at Rocky Sage and the superintendent of the district want authentically

engaging instruction and link it to achieving high test scores. Robert says, "You've got

to work on instruction. You've got to measure whether it works." The measure of how

instruction works in SESD is the results of CST testing. The discourses of high-stakes

testing and authentically engaging instruction boundary the conversations of the ILT

but allow for significant changes to the discourses.

Achieving Charter School Discourses on High-Stakes Testing

High-stakes testing is not a primary issue of any of the ILT meetings that were

recorded at ACS. High-stakes testing was mentioned in two of the four ACS ILT

meetings. In the two meetings where it was discussed it comprised 13% and less than

1% of the meeting time. It was around this time that ACS had an ILT meeting

specifically looking at CST test scores and I was asked not to attend. I was told that

test scores for specific grades and teachers were being discussed and there was too

high a degree of confidentiality for the meeting to be recorded. This meeting was

connected to a cohort meeting where the ILTs of all the schools spent a day

considering data of which CST scores were a part. Seven teacher meetings were

recorded after this meeting and high-stakes testing was discussed at all but two of

those meetings.

Discourse of high-stakes testing scores positioning a school and its instruction.

CST testing came up in one ILT meeting at ACS during the discussion of sending two

primary and two upper grade teachers to a math institute for training. The teachers

were then going to return to the school and provide training for the entire staff. The

resource specialist, Olivia, responds to Dr. Monroy introducing the training.

> Olivia: I agree I mean I know what you're saying of these when we've
> heard in the last couple of years but looking at the history, we built
> math to be the number one program in this district. Now we built the
> capacity of new teachers whether it was Brian and you and Stacey, we
> just felt that I think that you guys are so strong and could lead in so
> many ways and we still when we're looking at yeah, local measures we
> took a dip and we're noticing that, yeah, math is now going like this, it's
> going lower and our literacy is going higher but if you look at CST,
> you're still surpassing us [literacy] beyond so we know we're doing
> things right and we wanna keep your confidence and that building
> capacity level up but we realize we do need you know—that you guys
> are asking for professional development.

Olivia first responds to the principal's announcement of training for the math

teachers in a new program by noting "we built math to be the number one program in

this district." The evaluation that the math program is number one in the district is

based upon CST tests scores where ACS had the highest math test scores on the CST

for the last couple of years. Each cohort of schools in SESD comes together to look at

the data when CST test scores are released. The test scores in every subject area for

every school are looked at even to level of classroom scores. The "capacity" of the

new teachers is their training and skill in math instruction. The expertise of these

teachers has enabled them to take leadership in math instruction. The three teachers

referred to, "Brian and you and Stacey," are all members of the ILT. Brian and Stacey

are relatively new teachers while the teacher referred to, as "you" is Ryan a teacher

who has been at the school for a number of years. Olivia notes that the "local

measures" tests in math are showing lower scores than in previous years while literacy

scores are going higher. The "local measures" being discussed are benchmark type

tests created at the district level that are given three times during the year in math and language arts. These "local measures" are composed of free response type of questions unlike the CST tests that are solely multiple-choice questions. She compares these scores with data from the CST testing that showed math scores were above language arts scores. Olivia balances the "local measures" scores in math that are going lower with the CST test scores that continue to be high and notes that "we're doing things right" in math instruction. The proof of successful instruction these scores provide should "keep your confidence and that building capacity level up."

The power of high-stakes testing is demonstrated in two places. First when the statement is made, "we built math to be the number one program in this district." Since the district has schools look at CST results at the cohort level there is bound to be comparisons of who is at the top and who is at the bottom. Secondly, the declining "local measures" math scores are balanced against the CST scores that by showing "we're doing things right." The way Olivia positions CST scores indicates that for her they have a higher value, position, than the "local measures."

Just as Olivia positioned ACS as number one in the district compared to other schools, teachers make the same comparisons in relation to other teachers. The following conversation during a grade level meeting illustrates how teachers use test scores to position themselves in relation to other teachers at their school and in the district.

Maria: Well I hope you do, because we are ranked on that and we were at the bottom.

Arturo: No, I was number 2 in the district. I was.

Maria: Oh, Eladia's was the bottom.

Arturo: Yeah, Eladia's was the bottom. So now I got—yeah.

Maria: He was at the top with the CST.

One of the results of high-stakes testing in this era of accountability is that

schools and teachers position themselves on the basis of student test scores that are

readily accessible to staff.

Ryan, an experienced math teacher at ACS, challenges Olivia when she values

CST scores above "local measures." He addresses the issue not in terms of how CST

test scores position teachers and schools but rather in terms of learning.

> Ryan: Can I, you know to me I think I value more the local measures
> because it's more of an open ended [than CST testing] do you know it
> or you don't know or am I making a lucky guess. And I think it's more
> challenging and personally I take the local measures more seriously
> than the CST for that reason because I know that if these kids can pass
> this exam I think it helps them for the next year. You know I think I did
> my job and they haven't been jipped out.

Ryan notes that students on a CST are showing "do you know it, or you don't

know, or am I making a lucky guess." An open response test does allow students to

show partial understanding of a question without getting it right. However, as a

mathematics teacher, Ryan's claim that CST results are because of "a lucky guess" is

disingenuous. Statistical averages eliminate "lucky guesses" in test scores and Ryan

says this as a way to marginalize CST testing. Ryan values doing well on the "local

measures" since it prepare students for success in the coming year. The "local

measures" tests are better suited to get an accurate measure of problem-solving and

higher-order reasoning skills. Ryan contrasts this with students who are "jipped out" if

all they are capable of is doing well on the CST. Olivia agrees with Ryan as she notes

that the Algebra CST test scores are not as strong as the test scores in the lower grades. She identifies that the Common Core Standards that ACS is implementing place a higher value on the "local measures" type of tests over multiple-choice tests.

> Olivia: And now we're seeing Algebra tests and where we need a lot of help with. So I think if we're moving towards Algebra and if Common Core is more—the algebraic thinking and we need learning in that area.

This narrative that CST testing does not fully measure student knowledge on a subject is a common one that will be seen again. The portrayal of merely doing well on high-stakes testing as being "jipped out" is another narrative that occurs in the teacher dialogue.

Discourse of teachers being defined by student test scores. The only Language arts department meeting that was recorded was held shortly after an ILT meeting on CST test scores. Three of the five teachers at the Language arts department meeting are also members of the ILT. The three ILT members are Laura, Maria, and Denise. It is this meeting of the five teachers with a visit by the resource specialist that provides the largest amount (14%) of conversation around high-stakes testing. As the teachers are discussing independent reading time Denise, a member of the ILT, starts this conversation on CST test scores.

> Denise: They were reading *Cinderella*. Okay, I would say we need more independent time, but I'm gonna say this; in fourth grade, I had that independent time, the kids were independently reading, supposedly for 30 minutes, and my reading comp scores, as you saw them, went down.

> Susan: You guys got to see the break down?

> Maria: Yeah.

> Denise: Because we went to ILT meeting.

Laura: The cohort.

The discourse at ACS shows that teachers are aware that school administration and other groups are looking at the scores for their students. Denise, when she says "my reading comp scores" went down indicates the relationship she has with the CST test scores of her students. Almost every time test scores are discussed the language used is that of individual ownership of the scores by the teacher. The teacher did not take the test and attached to the scores is a student name but appositionally the teacher indicates ownership of the scores. In order to consider the discourse here it becomes necessary to adopt the discourse pattern the teacher's are using. The discourse is that teachers have CST scores that place them in power and position relationships with each other. This socially constructed reality is not logically sustainable since test scores are contingent on a variety of factors and not just the teacher. Part of the ownership may be part of the "no excuses" discourse that is present at ACS but another part of the ownership is how the educational community has structured the discourse around test scores.

CST scores aggregated by teacher and class are provided by the state to the district. Some districts enable teachers to access their student's scores immediately upon receiving them from the state and other districts release student scores at a later date. Susan learns here that the members of the ILT saw the scores for her students. A discourse of power and position continues to emerge. The ILT members are not breaking any confidentiality rules when they acknowledge they know their scores and the scores of the other teachers at the site. Knowing the scores before anyone else is a privileged position. The administrator shared the knowledge with them and they in

turn can share with others at the site. The power of this knowledge is seen in the following discourse.

Susan: You guys got to see the breakdown?

Maria: Yeah.

Denise: Because we went to the ILT meeting.

Laura: The cohort.

Denise: Cohort. You did really bad.

Susan: Where did I suck?

Denise: All of us did.

Denise intonation indicates that she intends for her comment, "You did really bad." to defuse the tension that she sees in Susan. Susan's response shows that she was unable to take the comment as a joke. Denise then attempts to reassure Susan by saying that "all of us did" bad. Maria joins Denise in identifying the areas in language arts that were the weakest. Susan is still focused on her test scores. Maria claims that Susan should not concern herself with the score since "it is not a contest." Later on in this conversation Maria identifies herself with her score when she says, "I'm 78." Seventy-eight has only positional meaning since it doesn't refer to any learning, content, or instruction. Maria's 78 is then compared to the scores of the other teachers. This comparison constructs the discourse of scores into a contest.

When Laura tries to reassure Susan by saying she is worried about her scores she actually is identifying with Susan. They are both worried about their scores. Laura knows her own score and Susan doesn't know her score. Foucault always associates power with knowledge. The ILT members here share in the administrator's power

because they have the same knowledge. The two members of the meeting that are not members of the ILT do not have the knowledge and that results in them being "powerless" in this area. The ILT members move the conversation along with Susan's final statement on the subject of her test scores being, "don't lie," indicating that she believes she did the worst. Maria acknowledges Susan's concern when she dismisses Laura's intended reassurance with a "screw you." Susan is still without knowledge of her test scores as is Claudia the other participant in the meeting.

Denise: All of us did.

Maria: Everybody was reading comp and writing strategies.

Denise: Strategies.

Susan: I did the worst.

Maria: I don't know. It's not a contest

Susan: Don't lie.

[Laughter]

Laura: I'm worried about my scores; I don't worry about your scores.

[laughing]

Maria: Screw you. Laura who?

Denise: So—

Maria: So, how do we improve those scores?

Denise: Yeah, how do we? How do we, Miss I have 83 percent?

Denise knows Maria's score because they had discussed the scores during an ILT meeting and there is a PowerPoint showing the scores. The following discussion shows the power that the numbers have for the teachers.

Maria: I don't have 83, I was corrected.

Denise: What are you?

Maria: I'm 78. I don't know where I got that from.

Denise: No, it was higher. We crunched those numbers.

Maria: Do you have that PowerPoint?

[crosstalk]

Laura: She just had it.

Denise: I only have that for my two grades. I don't have that.

Laura: We took the total, and we took the independent in the—

As Denise is looking at the PowerPoint she sees Susan's score and everyone looks at the screen of the laptop she has open. Susan has the highest test score. When Susan didn't know what her score was she said she had the worst score and it now turns out to be the best. Laura's statement of "that's impressive" should be taken in the context of the previous discussion when Susan was expressing her concern about her test scores. So the score many be impressive but Laura may also be remembering the "screw you," Maria gave her during the interaction with Susan. Susan says that the high score is due to her having the highest kids. This statement is contrasted with her previous statement that she had the worst scores. If she had the highest kids why would she have said she had the worst scores?

Here is the paradox that test scores have for teachers. Since many teachers identify with and are identified by the CST test scores of their students' low scores are connected with low performing teachers. When teachers consider other variables to explain the low score the discourse is that they are making excuses. However, if the

score is high there is another discourse that explains high scores as due to having "the highest kids." Denise and Maria encourage Susan by indicating that instruction did affect the test score. Maria's statement, "You obviously did something with them," confirms Susan's statement that she had the highest kids. Maria is reassuring Susan that even if she had the highest kids she must have done something with them so their scores didn't go down.

Denise: If you were 78, I'm higher. Oh, wait, Susan's highest.

Laura: That's impressive.

Maria: Just take credit.

Susan: It's because they gave me the highest kids.

Denise: No, it's not, Susan, [inaudible].

[crosstalk]

Maria: You obviously did something with them.

Laura: You only have yours?

As Denise looks at the PowerPoint with the scores for the fifth and a sixth grade she recognizes that she does not have the highest scores this year, those scores are identified as Susan's. Continuing to look at the test scores Denise sees that Laura's sixth grade students showed an improvement from the year before. The previous year's score are not on the PowerPoint so apparently Susan's fifth graders the previous year had their scores go down enough to be remembered. Denise asks Susan what the scores had been and Maria suggests 50, which would be a remarkably low score for this school. It is not clear whether Maria is joking or whether she actually believes the scores were that low. Susan corrects her and tries to remember the exact score, 62 or

68. The other fifth grade teacher, Claudia, says the score was 68 while Laura remembers the score to be 66. The significance of this event is highlighted by how every member of the team had clear recall of an event that had happened the previous year. Laura, who remembers Susan's score as a 66, recognizes that the scores went up but "not that much." So even though the exact score is not clear the teachers all remember that the fifth graders Susan taught a year ago had their scores dip. The low scores Susan had last year may account for her anticipation that her scores were the worst this year as well.

> Denise: But the year that she dipped, that went way down, those were your sixth graders, and they went up.
>
> Laura: Not that much.
>
> Susan: But they went up.
>
> Denise: What were they that year you dipped?
>
> Susan: Oh, my god, it was—
>
> Maria: 50?
>
> Susan: No, I think we were, like, 62, 68, 62. What'd you get?
>
> Claudia: 68.
>
> Laura: I thought it was 66, but—
>
> Claudia: 68. Something like that.
>
> Maria: See, the numbers fluctuate. I'm [inaudible]. I'm taking them with me.

The paradox is that teachers do not equate high test scores with good instruction but they do equate good teachers with high test scores. The teachers know that while their school, principal, and district may talk about good instruction

independent of high-stakes testing they are still going to be sitting in a room with the administrator looking at their test scores. The effectiveness of discourse to construct reality is nowhere more evident than how student test scores are transformed into teacher test scores. All the parties participating recognize the fallacy of attributing CST scores to a teacher and yet they discursively create that reality. Susan uses her student's test scores to answer the question, "Where did I suck?"

As the conversation shows teachers are aware of a variety of factors beyond their control that affect test scores. The very ambiguity that surrounds test scores makes them less statistical measures and more magical totems. As Maria's comment indicates, "See, the numbers fluctuate," even teachers who are members of the ILT do not have a clear sense of how test scores are arrived at. Defining teachers, and indeed whole schools and districts, by student test scores is one of the overarching discourses in education today. High-stakes testing establishes an essential perspective in understanding the teacher discourse at ACS.

Discourse of position vis-à-vis test scores. This next selection of conversation around testing shows how teachers are aware of their positioning regarding CST test scores. This conversation happens during a grade level meeting and Arturo and Maria are both ILT members. During a discussion of changing approaches to math instruction Arturo comments that "these kids did really good on it," it being the CST math test. Due to the new common core instructional approach Arturo wonders, "If I'm going to have time this year to do it," which was extra drill on fractions. Maria's response indicates that she knows how their grade level did in regard to other grades at their level throughout the district. For this section of the CST math test they were at

the bottom of the district. Arturo responds "I was number two in the district," and makes this emphatic when he adds, "I was." Maria either remembers or makes a deduction that if Arturo is number two then another team member, Eladia, was at the bottom of district scores. Arturo confirms that Eladia was at the bottom. Maria then remembers that Arturo is at "the top with the CST" math test scores for the district. Here we see that at least for ILT members they are aware of not only their position within the school but also their position within the district in regards to CST test scores. Norma acknowledges Arturo's CST test scores when she says about his students, "they know how to do it."

> Arturo: These kids did really good on it but it was a nightmare and I don't know if I'm going to have time this year to do it. It was a nightmare drilling them.
>
> Maria: Well I hope you do, because we are ranked on that and we were at the bottom.
>
> Arturo: No, I was number 2 in the district. I was.
>
> Maria: Oh, Eladia's was the bottom.
>
> Arturo: Yeah, Eladia's was the bottom. So now I got – yeah.
>
> Maria: He was at the top with the CST.
>
> Norma: Because they know how to do it. It goes back to this whole thing like, can you add fractions? Yes? Awesome. When do you use them, how do you use them, where do you use them? And then the math was—

This comment happens during a grade level meeting shortly after ILT members came back from a cohort meeting where CST scores were discussed. Brian notes that since there is only "a 7 percent mobility rate" at ACS "these are really our students, so they're a reflection of our teaching." Brian makes a causal connection between "our

teaching" and "our test scores." As a school with a high proportion of low-income and minority students ACS is identified as a school where traditionally CST test scores are not as high as scores from schools with different demographics. The argument Brian expresses here is that the teachers at ACS are accountable for closing the achievement gap since the students are the same from year to year and their test scores are "a reflection of our teaching."

> Brian: Okay. That's pretty much—let's see. Oh, one other fact that came up when we were talking about data was that ACS has a 7 percent mobility rate, and the purpose of mentioning this data was that in comparison to most schools in ACS, I mean schools in SESD who have higher levels of mobility, where students are moving out of the school, you know, our test scores are a reflection of the fact that these are our students. So there's no really excuses. They haven't been leaving, they haven't been coming in. These are really our students, so they're a reflection of our teaching. So that was just kind of a helpful fact that shows that these really are our kids, you know. But it was also very cool to hear that we're at 7 percent mobility and that they want to stay here. And we just kinda got into accountability and the fact that this achievement gap is our responsibility as teachers and just holding ourselves accountable. I think that's pretty much all I have.

Teachers are responsible for closing the achievement gap and there are no excuses. The rest of the team makes no comment on what Brian shares and the conversation continues looking at individual student needs.

Discourse of high-stakes test scores and student learning. In this section teachers recognize that CST scores and class grades are not always correlated. What correlates better than test scores with good grades is the effort and determination of the student in class. Here teachers recognize a level of student responsibility for test scores. What the teachers do not address here is the connection between good grades and good test scores. Also, interesting is how Laura uses the phrase "pass the CSTs"

as if there are passing and failing scores. What may be assumed here is that since the

expectation for all students is achieving Proficient or Advanced scores below this

could be considered "failing."

> Laura: But let me look—let's look at how this does—how this
> impacted that one particular child, who got a D plus. It's considered no
> credit. That's fine. In the high school, he would have had to retake it
> again for credit anyways. But when you look at his CST scores that
> came in, he actually did very well. So I have kids who—
>
> Jewel: [Inaudible] Math?
>
> Laura: Uh-huh. I have kids who did not pass my class, but passed the
> CSTs, and then, I have a number of kids who passed my class but
> didn't pass the CSTs.
>
> Jewel: But that has to do with effort, and we have a lot of kids like that
> that are highly intelligent but they don't put forth the effort. So we've
> gotta tell the parents it goes hand in hand. They've gotta use their
> intelligence, but they've gotta put the effort in. Otherwise, they're not
> gonna get anywhere. It's just like—gets you to procrastinate, you
> know?
>
> Maria: Well, that's what we talked about. At this point, we're all—
> they're all smart. So what does it take for you to stick out?
> Irresponsibility? Your determination? Your quality of work, that kind
> of stuff.
>
> Jewel: Exactly.

There has always been a tension in education between test scores and the

discipline required for getting good grades. Test scores indicate a level of student

proficiency that may or may not be reflected by their grade. As Jewel notes "highly

intelligent" kids that "don't put forth the effort" are going to earn low grades. The

problem confronting these teachers is that the importance of high-stakes testing is such

that grades are devalued in relation to "passing the CST." Students may feel that

putting forth the effort to get good grades is not worth it if they can wait till the end of

the year and then in a couple of days "pass the CST." Parents may dismiss poor grades when CST scores come in that show their child "actually did very well."

The teachers are caught in the tension between the two measures of student learning. They recognize that a procrastinating student who fails a high school class is going to have to retake the class despite high CST scores. Jewel also seems to indicate that a child's long term academic success is tied to getting good grades when she says, "Otherwise, they're not gonna get anywhere." The balancing of test scores and daily academic work has always been problematic. Test scores are balanced with other academic measurements when coming up with a grade for a class. High-stakes test scores are received weeks if not months after grades have been given. The discontinuity between grades and high-stakes test scores exacerbates the tension between the two. While it seems that there should be one discourse combining high-stakes test scores and student learning at least in this case it appears there are two separate discourses around different issues.

Summary. The one ILT meeting specifically on CST testing that was not recorded was referenced many times in later teacher meetings. The school draws its identity as positively addressing the achievement gap due to its API of over 800. Teachers, no doubt due to that early in the year grade level meeting with the administrators concerning the CST test scores for their class, were very aware of CST test scores. The teachers were concerned that the new common core initiative might not always be supporting student improvement on CST testing. This ambiguity produced tension in discourse and practice as it came to implementing common core initiatives while attempting to meet the CST test scores goal for the school. There was

another perceived discontinuity between grades and CST test scores that produced

further ambiguity between student learning and test scores. Brian expresses what is

common to the conversations recorded when he says, "this achievement gap is our

responsibility as teachers and just holding ourselves accountable." The dilemma is that

accountability is based on the results of high-stakes testing.

Rocky Sage Administrative Discourses of Power and Position

This section specifically looks how the principal's power and position are

expressed through discourse at Rocky Sage Elementary.

Two discourses—collaboration and compliance. Administrators in SESD

are responsible for regular observation and evaluation of staff members. The frequent

evaluative presence establishes a relationship of power and position. While there are

discourses of collaboration at Rocky Sage there is a somewhat hidden but frequently

acknowledge discourse of compliance. Speaking for her grade level Joyce asks for

clarification on exactly what the principal is expecting to see during walk-throughs.

> Joyce: I'm thinking a potential question that might come up is, "Do we
> all need to be doing the same thing?" Is that [inaudible] so when Mr.
> Davis walks in, is he expecting to see everybody doing this one
> particular structure? Or is there flexibility? I know we're all coming
> together and talking about what works for us. I'm just throwing it out
> there as something I might have to answer. So—

Dr. Robert Davis, the principal of Rocky Sage Elementary School, responds to

Joyce by saying he is not "expecting to see everybody doing this one particular

structure" during a walk-through. He says Joyce's question, "is a fair comment," since

his walk-throughs do have a level of ambiguity on what is being evaluated.

> Robert: Yeah, that's never been my MO. And that's why I get
> comments like hers, which is a fair comment, that if there's

ambiguity—because I really believe that, as a leader, I can get
compliance. I could come in with a list and make us all do it. But I'll
only get compliance, and I really want people to think and discuss and
have arguments at their grade level about what good practice looks like.
So it's purposefully ambiguous in that I want the structures to be of
high quality. I do think there's value in grade levels creating something
together that they all do. I do think in the end, it would be a great
school if it was the same on every page, every day, but only if it was
developed from the group's collaborative work. So an imposed
structure that becomes every class every day is like the Stepford Wives,
so we don't want that.

Here Robert identifies that he wants the school program to be "developed from
the group's collaborative work." What he doesn't want is "an imposed structure." He
acknowledges that he is "purposefully ambiguous" because "I want people to think
and discuss and have arguments at their grade level about what good practice looks
like." All of these statements support a democratic discourse about "what good
practice looks like." Mixed in with these statements are other statements that
demonstrate an exercise of power. Robert says, "I really believe that, as a leader, I can
get compliance. I could come in with a list and make us all do it." Robert's claim that
he can make all the teachers comply clarifies that he does have this power. Power that
is not used does not diminish the power. So while Robert wants the program to be
created together he also has a vision of a great school, "I do think in the end, it would
be a great school if it was the same on every page, every day." Robert is saying he
doesn't want this uniformity to be imposed but it also seems that he wants uniformity
to be practiced if it is self-imposed. This dichotomy raises the question of whether
there are two competing discourses or whether there is a prevailing discourse and a
token discourse.

During the same meeting Robert gives the ILT the task of figuring out "what we need to do to reach that" goal of having high quality structures in "every class, every day."

> Robert: So if we're trying to ensure that structure is our high quality, which means we're meeting our criteria in every class, every day, we need to—now, what I want you to think about is, so you said two things today that I want to think about. One is in terms of urgency, that you feel like we have a sense of urgency in our classrooms. And we do to a large degree. But we do have some pockets where there's not that sense of urgency. I can say that because I've been in more rooms than you have. So the phrase, "every class, every day." So we've seen some examples in your classrooms of structures that are solid and strong, and you all agree that are, on a [inaudible] test. But "every class, every day," is our goal. So think about that for a minute. I'll give you think time, and then we'll all figure out, what we need to do to reach that as our very next step goal.

At the start of a previous meeting the ILT read an article sent out by the superintendent on urgency. So when Robert says the ILT "said two things today" and "one is in terms of urgency," the language they are using is supplied by the administration. Through this process of relexicalization Robert now identifies the language of the article as what the ILT said. By identifying "urgency" as organic to the ILT Robert is attributing to the ILT language and content that did not originate with the ILT. Something similar is occurring when Robert wants there to be discussion about what "good practice looks like," and then identifies what good practice looks like. By talking about deciding upon good practice and then identifying good practice Robert legitimizes the district initiative of high quality structures in every class every day as a product of democratic discourse. However, Robert doesn't have the discretion to implement the results of the conversation that he says should happen. Ultimately,

Robert is responsible for the implementation of the district initiative. The task Robert

assigns the ILT is deciding upon process rather than product.

Discourse of decision-making. At Rocky Sage the discourse of high-stakes

testing and implementing district initiatives set the language and goals for the school.

In the midst of these prevailing discourses there are discourses where decisions are

made both collaboratively and by the administrator. The decisions do not introduce

alternative discourses but work to mitigate the full effects of the dominant discourses.

The following conversations look at how spaces are created in the implementation of

district initiatives.

This conversation considers the extent of the implementation of the district

initiative on developing structures for high quality instruction. The discourse is not

about alternative options but portrays implementation as incremental and differing

from class to class. The conversation starts with Alexis asking to review the

PowerPoint presentation on the district initiative. Alexis attributes the "directive" as

coming from Robert but the reality is that Robert received it from the district.

> Alexis: Can you scroll down? Can I see that up there? I know it's right
> here, but I want to see it on the big screen. Can we see it up there? In
> every class, every day. So that is your directive. Okay, how many
> structures every class, every day?

This is a reasonable question and it is on this level that the ILT makes

decisions. The decision is not on whether to have structures in every class, every day

but it can be on deciding the answer to Alexis's question.

> Robert: I don't have a number in mind. And I think – we need to talk
> about that.

Alexis: Yeah, I think your ambiguity sometimes—people get kind of wiggy with that because they don't know what you mean.

Robert: How do you propose coming up with a length of time for guided instruction, K-6? I'm open to that suggestion.

Alexis: I don't know. I just feel like it's kind of open-ended, and I don't really know. You're wanting it in every class. So [inaudible]—
Alexis is expressing a desire for clear expectations that is repeated numerous

times at Rocky Sage. At times Robert will give directives but most conversations

follow this pattern. Teachers ask for specifics and Robert asks for discussion and

consensus. After further discussion Robert acknowledges that now the staff is

responsible for implementing the district program they will want clarification on the

expectations. Robert makes the extent of the implementation of the district program

conditional when he says, "part of my decision is how much do we bite off at one

time." Here he gives permission for the ILT and teachers at the site to determine how

quickly they are going to proceed. He does not expect to see the entire program

immediately implemented. Alexis does want more specifics.

Robert: I know what you're saying. I know what the question—what comments people are going to make when they see that. And it's not a conversation we've had in terms of how much time you have during the day for guided instruction. It's a good question. But part of my decision is how much do we bite off at one time, too.

Alexis: Well, my grade level, it's like they just—I don't want it to sound like we're as Lincoln, but we just kind of want to know what your concise expectation is. I think that they get frustrated with the ambiguity. It's like, well, we kind of think this, but we kind of—and then we're all doing—I think if we said if we need to have maybe three structures, or three things in place, or one thing in place each day. And it can be for 30 minutes of your day, or something. I don't know. Does that sound bizarre or does it sound too closed in for

Alexis's need for clarity on expectations may relate to concern over evaluation procedures. If Robert is going to be involved in evaluation of teachers concerning implementation, the teachers need to know how they are being evaluated.

In the next conversation Robert acknowledges that there is going to be accountability, "when you do do it, and we come in and see it, it should be of high quality." Robert also says that "if you only do one a day, that's not enough." So what is "enough" needs to be clarified as well as what is "high quality."

> Robert: Well, I think you brought up a good point. And what I'm thinking is that when we move from structures to guided instruction itself, that probably needs to be a part of the discussion. And it would be a different answer for every grade level. Most people's guided instruction, really they're mostly thinking about language arts. In some cases they do some guided instruction, or they go in groups, after they've done the whole group instruction. But mostly we're talking about language arts groups. And I do think we should have a minimum number of minutes per grade level. But I think maybe it would come at that time. Right now, let's focus on when you do a structure, and if you only do one a day, that's not enough. But all I care about is, when you do do it, and we come in and see it, it should be of high quality. But your point is well taken, and I think when we go to guided instruction, that's a good time to address it. We should have some minimum standards at third grade for how many minutes you have for guided instruction every day. And maybe we all should decide that. Does that make sense Robin?

Robert identifies the answers to these questions are the purview of the ILT. So the pace of implementation of the district initiatives forms the substance of many of the conversations of the ILT. These conversations do not introduce new discourses but they do support the continuation of current practice and impede the implementation of the district initiatives. There is another conversation in the ILT concerning district initiatives. This conversation is regarding the range of implementation within the

school. Jared makes this comment regarding how structures are being implemented

within his grade level.

> Jared: Because in my grade level, there's two or three of us that do this.
> Or there's at least three of us that do this, what I was showing Alexis.
> But then there's some that we showed it to them, and then they kind of
> took away from it, and have stopped doing it, and haven't really done it.
> So what are they doing then, that's different from what we're doing? So
> yeah, it's how are we doing that? And what can we do to make either—

Since there are no specific guidelines or requirements for implementation some

teachers have not changed their practice or changed for a while and then reverted to

their previous instructional practice. Jared is expressing his concern over the

ambiguity of the situation when he asks, "what are they doing then?" His concern and

confusion is evident when he is unable to complete the question, "and what can we do

to make either."

Rebecca raises another issue regarding implementation. Here, her struggle to

find the right words reveals how she is uncertain about the situation. The situation is a

teacher or teachers who haven't started with implementation due to classroom

management issues. These are the spaces that Robert's approach to implementation

creates. The discourse of "no excuses" is never referenced at Rocky Sage and hence

there are many discussions about implementation at the ILT level. The teacher

Rebecca is talking about has shared that she is not ready to implement district

initiatives since she is struggling with classroom management issues.

> Rebecca: And what are we doing with the teachers that aren't keeping
> their—that need—because what we're talking about is the structures,
> but she just mentioned, there are some teachers that don't have the
> management yet. What are we doing to support the teachers that don't
> have the management yet? Because I was asked by my people, they're
> like I don't feel like I can focus on structures, because I still can't

manage my own class. And so those are the needs. How are we going to address those?

Jared: We're just giving them a guideline during that time.

Rebecca: Yeah, but the problem is, I'm going to share with you—she's like, "I can't get my kids to—I can't pull this small group. I'm constantly having to redirect my class." So for her, she needs—

At Rocky Sage the ILT changes the discourses of implementation of district initiatives and achieving high test scores. Change is seen as incremental and thus new discourses are always competing with established discourses. Due to the incremental view of change there is an element of syncretism where established discourses affect and merge with new discourses to create a discourse that is specific to Rocky Sage. Here Jared identifies a strategy for gradual implementation that might work for a specific group of teachers.

Jared: Yeah, but then maybe you guys talk about a whole group structure that works really well, or there's something that you do whole group, that's a structure that you do really well, and you come up with little things for that particular teacher, or as we've discussed, for her to implement and try. And that is one step closer for her behavior management and things. Just something small. Maybe it's a small step for her. Maybe you work small steps for people, and they take away something from it. But at least they tried one thing that they heard. Maybe it's not—we all have to discuss one common structure, and we all have to sit down with a standard and try. Maybe we're discussing all of us, or discussing our structures that we're all hearing and doing, and then each teacher's going to go back, pick something that they heard and liked, and they're going to try and implement that for the week until February 21st, or whatever. And then they're going to come back and report. Even if it's whole group and it's a small behavior management structure. At least they made an attempt to do that, and they're one step closer to moving on to a bigger structure.

These discussions help construct approaches to implementation. The assumption is that teachers have different capacities for adopting innovations. The ILT

has conversations like this where they are considering different ways to facilitate implementation. Alexis has another suggestion for how to introduce district initiatives. Her approach is to start specific structures with a small group of students and slowly integrate the entire class. The first statement Alexis makes is that "every class has that group" who can't work independently. This belief challenges the premise of the district initiative that almost every student can work independently and collaboratively. So, although Alexis quickly moves on to positive instances of working independently, her first statement creates ambiguity as to the extent of implementation of the district initiative. The gradual process Alexis suggests is in accord with Robert's understanding of how change occurs.

> Alexis: Top down.
>
> Robert: What do you mean top down?
>
> Alexis: Because every class has the group of kids that can't—every class has that group. Maybe it's only two kids, but they have a couple of students that can actually work independently. So you start with them, and that's where you introduce the structure. So that's what I meant by top down. So introduce it to them, and then, okay, they've got it. Now let's have those four that are right there. And so maybe it's from the top down, versus all at once. Like he said, so baby-steps. And you start with your top kids.

Rebecca agrees with Alexis but points out some teachers need to see actual structures operating within a classroom so there is a common vision of structures and how they work to improve instruction. Rebecca's suggestion is that teachers design structures together and look at effective structures being used in the classroom so that they have a common vision of "what it should look like."

> Rebecca: I just wish that we could do a combination of both. I totally agree that we need to come up with structures together. But I think

there's a lot of teachers that need a visual of what that looks like. So we've seen, if you think about what we've observed, people have observed one or two teachers and that's it, within their grade level. There are seven second grade teachers. We all do things very differently. And the more you see it, the more you begin to internalize what it should look like, and so you're going to be better able to do it.

Based on Rebecca's comments the ILT develops a program for all teachers to observe successful structures within the school through a process of videotaping classroom instruction. After viewing the teachers will discuss what makes effective structures and then collaboratively design structures for use in their classrooms.

Discourse of praise. At every ILT meeting, Robert is intentional in complimenting and encouraging team members. Besides identifying things that he likes or identifies as good he does go in-depth in identifying certain discourses as good. In this passage he is responding to Martin's statement that it "shouldn't really be the focus every minute of our day for a higher API score."

> Robert: I think that's a really—I like that question. Some people may not like that question but I do, because honestly my feeling is that when you teach in your class well, where kids are engaged in thinking deeply and love to be there, and want to read, like Stone's class, for example, where they read like crazy. Those scores will go up. That is a byproduct of good instruction and great relationships with your kids and their families.
> \
> Later in this meeting Alexis is talking about balancing teaching the whole child

with preparing them for taking the CST. Robert responds to her comments with this encouragement.

> Robert: Well, I like this discussion. I appreciate you guys just honestly sharing your points of view because it's important to have those, and there's two ways to create urgency.

Robert shows his support of team members in a variety of ways. In a

conversation on the implementation of the new district initiatives Joyce starts the

conversation.

> Joyce: I think that's where my grade level is feeling stressed, because
> we have taken on so many things—trying new things this year.

> Robert: People don't even know what you're taking on. The writing
> program, side-by-side.

> Joyce: And we're just loving it but exhausted.

> Robert: Yeah, they've got a couple big things on their plate that nobody
> else even has.

Robert affirms the truth in what Joyce is saying. As he tells the other team

members "people don't even know what you're taking on," he explains why Joyce

might feel the way she does.

Robert sets up conditions for other team members to share in the

complimentary discourse that he employs. One meeting starts with Robert dividing the

team into pairs where they share a structure in their class that is working. Then the

team gets together and each team member gives an appreciative sharing of what they

learned from their partner. Here is some of the discourse that occurred during the

sharing.

> Robert: Famous last words, I'm gonna trust you on that one. Okay,
> very good, thank you, Joyce. Give a big hand, great job. Now you can
> tell us about Danna and she praised through five minutes.

When Danna finishes sharing about what Joyce covered Robert again gives an

encouraging statement.

> Robert: Very good, all right. Give Danna a big hand.

Later during the sharing time Jared notes that Alexis is concerned about some

of the structures in her classroom and Robert interrupts with this comment.

Robert: Don't let her fool you, she's good.

When Jared finishes talking about what Alexis shared with him Robert makes

this comment:

> Robert: That's an example of why I want to get you guys out to see
> each other because he's really found in her I've got a system that is
> really very high quality and they had their kids in groups very early in
> the year. And so, well if a Kindergarten teacher can do it with half day
> Kindergarteners so quickly, I know all of us can, and so I think it's
> important that we go see that good work over there because it's
> awesome.

As the rest of the team share-out the tone of all the team members is positive

and complimentary. They identify the good practice that the other team member

shared with them and how they were going to implement that in their class or how

they thought it could be a good model for others in the school.

Discourses of power and position: An examination of linguistic details.

Robert intentionally works to use discourses of participation. These four selections

show how he changes his discourse to flatten the power structure within the team.

These changes to his speech pattern demonstrate that Robert is conscious of language

that establishes power relationships. They also demonstrate that even with this

understanding his speech patterns sometimes reflect the position of power that he

holds as the school principal.

In the first passage Robert realizes that when he says, "And I don't know that

we always are," he is making a statement that defines the whole group. If he is part of

the group he cannot speak for the entire team. So he clarifies his use of "we," and says

that it means, "me."

> Robert: So our next step, is where we're at. And before we go into our
> next step and start thinking about how to plan the next staff meeting,
> I've had to write this out for myself because I know that being clear
> about where we're going is always important. And I don't know that we
> always are. When I say we I mean me.

The next three passages are examples of how Robert changes his language to

make it more collaborative. In the first passage he starts to make a statement where he

would be speaking for the entire team. He stops himself from saying, "and we had a

reaction." This would be placing the other team members in a position where the

speaker is deciding their reactions, a power position. He pauses and rewords the

statement so he is not making an assumption for all the team members.

> Robert: And I think we want to balance they're at that extreme, that end
> of the gun in a year or two or whatever it is and we, some of us had a
> reaction to them saying things like 'just tell us what to do and we'll do
> it.'

In the next passage Robert again starts an imperative sentence, "we're going

to," and then recognizing the wording, apologizes for operating out of a power

position, and changes his language to be more participative.

> Robert: When you look at this though and those type of structures
> we're going to—I'm sorry—that we're trying to put out there and use,
> remember, this is replacing what traditionally was—here's the
> worksheet that everybody is going to do while I pull a group.

In the last conversation Robert starts an imperative sentence using, "we need

to," and then realizes that only individuals speaking from a power position can make

these types of statements. So he changes his language to "what I want you to think

about." This is a language of participation.

Robert: So if we're trying to ensure that structure is our high quality, which means we're meeting our criteria in every class, every day, we need to—now, what I want you to think about is, so you said two things today that I want to think about.

Robert uses the word "need" 18 times and uses it in the phrase "we need" eight times. One of the instances is given in the above quotation. Since an individual using this phrase does put him or herself in a directive position it is interesting how Robert uses the phrase. Three of the times "we need" is included in a question. In each of the questions "we need" is used in reference to a collaboratively arrived at decision. Although Robert is not personally saying the group needs to do something he does use his position as administrator to direct the conversation and to make summary statements like the ones below.

Robert: So anything else on today' agenda we need to uhh, nail?

Robert: Any other things you think we need to see at Rocky Sage?

Robert: What do we need to do next to get to that?

Three other times Robert uses "we need" again in reference to collaborative discussion. The "we" here refers to team discussion and not Robert making an individual decision for the entire group.

Robert: Uhh, depending on where we're at what we need to do next. I'll give you think time, and then we'll all figure out, what we need to do to reach that as our very next step goal. So ditto, we need to see models of the high quality of productive work.

The final use of "we need" is seen as part of a conversation with Alexis. Alexis asks him to clarify what he is expecting teachers to do in their classrooms. His response is to direct the team to have a conversation around the question.

Alexis: Okay, how many structures every class, every day?

Robert: I don't have a number in mind. And I think—we need to talk about that.

This next section looks at his use of "you need." None of the three uses of "you need" place Robert in a direct power position. Robert's sharing of the research finding is a common way he does exercise power. This exercise of power is not directly through his language usage.

Robert: Because you need both, right?

Robert: There's a good book here if you need it.

Robert: In fact research shows you need to have at least 85% implementation . . . .

Robert does have specific ways he demonstrates his power through words. His most commonly used word "think" is used the majority of the time in the phrase, "I think." While what an administrator thinks may have a position of power different than what other team members "I think" it is not directly an exercise of power.

Robert's use of pronouns is close to the use of pronouns of the group as a whole with the exception of the use of the pronoun you. Robert uses you about twice as often as the rest of the group. Based on Pennebaker's (2011) research Robert's pronoun usage shows a fairly flat social hierarchy during ILT meetings.

The second most commonly used word is, "good." Most of the time this word is used as a direct compliment. Robert tells team members, "that's a good example," "you're asking good questions," and "that's always a good idea." Robert uses his position of administrator to identify "good" conversations and practices. Value judgments given by way of compliments are a way Robert directly uses his position to exercise power. Robert's use of the word "good" and the use of compliments stand in

contrast to the discourse of the rest of the team. With less than third of the conversation Robert gives more compliments than the rest of the team combined. The team uses the word "good" fewer times than Robert, and most of the usage is not in the form of a compliment. The uses by the other team members are more commonly, "would this be a good definition," "they want to see the good, the bad," and "the structure that they feel really good about." Robert designates statements as "good" when there is not this designation then the statement has a different value attached.

Robert uses interrogatives to move the discussion along. "What" is the interrogative that he uses the most often. About half the time "what" is used in a sentence asking a question. The questions often deal with clarifying what was said.

Robert: What do you mean by that?

Robert: What do you mean top down?

Robert: Is that what you're talking about?

Robert's pattern of discourse is primarily interrogative and declarative. He starts and continues conversations using interrogative statements such as, "So what's your reaction to this is to say to you—should we not shoot to the Inland Schools? Is that a realistic goal? How do you react to it first?" Many of his declarative sentences are summaries and extensions of what has been said, "So not only give a good picture of what it looks like, but make sure that it's differentiated by grade level. It's not going to look the same in Robin's class as it will in Martin's."

Robert sets the agenda and sets much of the structure of the meetings. Meetings often begin with conversations around relational issues such as vacation plans and upcoming marriages. This establishes a mood with laughter and jokes.

Rocky Sage ILT conversations exhibit a variety of discourse genres from social to authoritative. At one meeting they watch a video provided by the district and respond to it. At another meeting they read an article recommended by the district superintendent and discuss it. One time they engage in a discussion around a PowerPoint presentation Robert made on CST test scores in Inland School District. At another meeting they watch videos that were filmed of teacher's during instruction. Each meeting has specific topics and the agenda always include team participation in developing programs, trainings, and implementation plans.

Most conversations use the present tense and Robert uses the modals "could," "may," and "might" fairly frequently. Robert uses the definite article, "the" a little more than he uses the indefinite article, "a." The discourses are constructed through carefully guided collaborative conversations. Robert gives the summary of almost every conversation that takes place while he is in the room. Even though Robert works to establish participatory discourses his position of power produces significant control of ILT discourses.

Summary. Dr. Robert Davis is "purposefully ambiguous" because "I [Robert] really want people to think and discuss and have arguments at their grade level about what good practice looks like." He clearly is committed to providing discursive spaces where teachers can creatively collaborate. His conversation patterns are designed to develop positive and non-judgmental interactions. Yet the teachers continue to ask for clarity, for expectations, and for limits. I believe that when they are pressing the principal to not be ambiguous they are identifying "a regime of truth" that Robert in the name of collaboration pretends doesn't exist. Robert does have a "truth," "I do

think in the end, it would be a great school if it was the same on every page, every day," which he concludes with his other "truth," "but only if it was developed from the group's collaborative work." Robert is depending on the instructional program emerging from collaborative work at Rocky Sage and the discourse shows that the program is not the same on every page or on every day.

Achieving Charter School Discourses of Power and Position

This section specifically looks how the principal's power and position are expressed through discourse at Achieving Charter School.

Discourse of non-negotiables at ACS. The principal of Achieving Charter School (ACS), Dr. Enrique Monroy, is responding to a conversation about math test scores on district benchmarks, which have been going down although CST tests scores have remained high.

> Enrique: And I would encourage, and this is what I'm saying, I'm encouraging the Math Department to come together and create your non-negotiables. And these are non-negotiables that need to be addressed and everybody needs to kind of live up to them because I think that one of our weaknesses, and I think it's one of our causes, for us not being, as that we kind of let go of those non-negotiables. And we didn't stick to some of the decisions that we made because we didn't have lao-dee-dow [nonsense word] or because we didn't have this or because we didn't have that. I think we need not just depend on the adult, we need to depend on the belief and the passion and that if we stick to something it's gonna happen, okay.

One of the principles of ACS is that the school has certain agreed upon "non-negotiables" that form the basis of instruction and educational practice. Enrique identifies what he believes to be the power of the non-negotiable when he says, "I think we need not just depend on the adult, we need to depend on the belief and the passion and that if we stick to something it's gonna happen, okay." Enrique establishes

several conditions for these non-negotiables. Non-negotiables are co-constructed by

the participants, "come together and create your non-negotiables." Non-negotiables

are more powerful than the individual, the adult, and "we need not just depend on the

adult." Adherence to non-negotiables produces the effect desired, "if we stick to

something it's gonna happen." Non-negotiables establish a "regime of truth" that both

constrains and empowers the participants at the school site. By taking away the

possibility of excuse non-negotiables constrain the actors at the school site. By

establishing a truth that "everybody needs to kind of live up to" they empower the

actors at the school site. Enrique uses the power of the discourse to construct a

"regime of truth." Foucault (1995) recognizes the positive force power can have, "In

fact power produces; it produces reality; it produces domains of objects and the rituals

of truth" (p. 194).

Enrique then switches from a discourse that is inclusive to a discourse where

he exercises direct power. The discourse at ACS is that the power of evaluation and

enforcement is not dependent on the adult but on the principle, the ideology.

> Enrique: I already told you guys that I was gonna do a walk through
> today and I expected to have boom-boom-boom's in my classroom. I
> was very disappointed with 5th grade. Fifth grade was teteteteetee and I
> was extremely disappointed. Again, 3rd grade, Spanish was horrible.
> No boom-boom, okay. I've already had a conversation with these
> individuals; I already had a conversation with this group. You need to
> understand that I was direct, I was firm, no emotion, okay, and you
> need to support me on that. And as a leadership team, you should not
> give an excuse if we spend four days talking about being boom-boom-
> boom and having all this other stuff okay, they should be asking for
> help.

There is a discourse of accountability at ACS. Enrique says that what was

expected was clear and what he observed did not match. Everyone on the ILT knows

who is teaching third grade Spanish but this did not stop Enrique from identifying the

class as "horrible." The "conversation" clearly was confrontative even though it was

with "no emotion." Enrique goes on to reference non-negotiables when he tells the

leadership team, "you should not give an excuse." Enrique recognizes that the power

of non-negotiables rests on them being truly, non-negotiable. Truth is no longer true if

other "truths" are considered. Enrique is not going to allow discursive spaces around

non-negotiables. He is clear about the purpose of the ILT at the very first meeting of

the year.

> Enrique: You play a very important role here at this school because
> you're part of what we call, The Leadership Team and your role, as the
> Leadership Team is to ensure that the vision and values of ACS are
> being carried through, okay?

Enrique is not asking the ILT to construct the regime of truth but to participate.

He recognizes the power of dialogue in establishing reality and "rituals of truth."

Shortly after Enrique made the statement scolding the fifth and third grade teachers he

follows up with this comment.

> Enrique: I leave this up to you guys because I don't want it to be
> imposed, Ooh, page two, I don't wanna impose this—I don't want to
> impose this on you guys okay. I'm giving you guys the word of my
> reality. Now you guys need to take the word and reflect on it, and
> create your own, okay. And then you guys try to see, yeah we're gonna
> disagree with each other and yes, we are probably gonna agree with
> each other, but that's the power of dialogue.

When Enrique says, "Ooh, page two" he recognizes that he is fact imposing his

vision and values. So he resets here and uses the discourse of participation. He

identifies the discursive nature of reality when he talks about "the word of my reality."

He invites them then to "take the word," and create their own reality. Ryan recognizes

that Enrique is opening up a discursive space that could change the "truth" and immediately leaps into the breach. Foucault (1998) writes that "Discourse transmits and produces power; it reinforces it, but also undermines and exposes it, renders it fragile and makes it possible to thwart" (pp.100-101). Ryan will have none of that and clarifies that "the power of dialogue" to create your own truth "has to . . . support what we all wanna do." So create your own reality but it must reinforce the present regime of truth and not challenge it.

> Ryan: But it has to be intentional to support what we all wanna do.

> Enrique: It's all what you guys wanna do. I leave that to you and you need to understand that I trust and I believe that you guys will carry that mission, okay. You were selected, you made the initiative to be like okay, I wanna be a part of this, you know what I mean. So I think that that's gonna help us out.

Enrique contradicts Ryan's statement and restates that it is "what you guys wanna do." He then makes these two power statements of "I trust," and "I believe." Trust implies that Enrique knows that the team members have a fidelity to "the vision and values of ACS." Belief means Enrique has confidence in the team members to "carry that mission." The team members who do not share Enrique's "word" do not merit the trust and belief that he is bestowing. You are on the team if you were willing and selected. Your willingness to be on the ILT indicates that you "wanna be a part of this." "This" is a pronoun used after the preposition "of." As used here "this" is defined as a specific thing. "This" is not something that is not yet determined rather it is a regime of truth and ILT members can be part of "this." What is "gonna help us out" is the distribution of leadership centered in a regime of truth.

In the next section Enrique specifies that members of the ILT's "job is to make sure that it's [GLAD] in their plans." "Their" is defined by Enrique as all the teachers. Enrique then says the task of ILT members is to "come up with the questions that we need to ask." But Enrique doesn't provide the space for the team to create questions since he immediately provides three questions. The questions he's come up with place the individual asking them in a position of power. The interrogatives of "how" and "what" used in this manner become instruments of control. The questions produce the effect that Enrique desires.

> Enrique: This is what I'm going to propose. I think we, as an admin team, need to come up with the questions that we need to ask them during planning, period. And we need to make sure, okay, how are you using GLAD, what are you processing, and how are you going to process, that's our job, to make sure that it's in their plans.

Here, Enrique identifies the Instructional Leadership Team as an "admin team." The relexicalisation of the ILT to an admin team clarifies Enrique's understanding of the power and position of the team. If the team is an administrative team it can participate in the hierarchical power of the administrative position. ILT members recognize the tension between being a teacher team and an administrative team. When Enrique asks, "how are we going to hold each other accountable" he is distributing leadership to construct a hegemony through appraisal and modeling. Foucault (1995) talks of this evaluative participation in terms of examination. "The examination combines the techniques of an observing hierarchy and those of a normalizing judgment. It is a normalizing gaze, a surveillance that makes it possible to qualify, to classify, and to punish. It establishes over individuals a visibility through which one differentiates and judges them" (p.175).

Marissa struggles with dual identity in the following section.

> Marissa: The other point I think is very important for us here in ILT is that we don't—we are not put in that position of having to tell a colleague that if you don't improve you will get fired. I was told by administration that if we—if this doesn't happen, you will get fired, because then we're not really—and this is another thing the teacher came and told me. And I was like, really, that person would tell you that? Yeah, she told me that. I'm like, okay, I don't know if it came from here, I really just don't—I'm not comfortable with that situation. I think that's only—Enrique is really the only one that should be doing that and we should talk about that to promote collegiality and trust.

It appears that Marissa is about to say, "we don't evaluate." She hesitates and says instead, "we are not put in that position" of evaluating. The dilemma Marissa is facing is that members of the ILT have been put in the position of holding others accountable to non-negotiables. As an admin team they are supposed to have a "normalizing gaze."

Participation in evaluation is usually paired with the power of enforcement. It appears that one of the ILT members shared with another teacher that "if this doesn't happen, you will get fired." This statement by the ILT member is the logical consequence of holding other teachers accountable. Marissa is "not comfortable with that situation." She is looking for a way to evaluate without being an evaluator. She recognizes that promoting collegiality and trust are difficult to balance with participating on an admin team.

Enrique responds to Marissa's concern by making it clear that he is "the one who evaluates." What he seems to have a problem with is defining what the ILT members are actually engaged in. He says of their behavior, "they're going around and they're kind of looking and stuff like that." So leadership is being distributed but it is

implementation rather than design that is being distributed. The ILT is to have a normative gaze. But the normative gaze is to be "supporting." However, given responsibility to ask question such as "how are you using GLAD, what are you processing, and how are you going to process," it is a very directive sort of support. Besides supporting the ILT is "doing all this other stuff." The other stuff will be considered through the analysis of the recorded discourse of the teacher meetings.

> Enrique: Because bottom line you guys need to know that the one who evaluates is me. Even if they're going around and they're kind of looking and stuff like that, it's like, you need to understand that they're going to support, and you guys are going to support. That's your job, you're supporting and you're doing all this other stuff. My job is that – to go in there and evaluate, that's—the teachers need to know that, we they see me in there, I'm evaluating. When you guys are in there, you guys are supporting, and I think that's one of the things that we need to make clear.

What Enrique makes clear is that his job is to evaluate. His presence in a classroom carries with it the power to punish or praise.

Discourse of praise. Enrique's positive comments about teachers and practice are infrequent. In the four ILT meetings Enrique makes only four positive comments about practice. Three of the positive comments are based on the perspective of other's that Enrique is sharing with the team. The next comment is the only one where Enrique shares his own evaluations. This compliment is balanced by some harsh words about practice he saw in a number of classrooms. Enrique is sharing with the ILT his impressions of a recent walk-through. He starts out saying that he "was so disappointed" by what he saw in some classrooms that he "was very angry." Enrique then identifies several teachers on the ILT that he also observed and praises them for the energy that he felt in their classrooms. Enrique then asks the team in Spanish to

essentially go see for themselves if what he is saying is true. Enrique said basically the same thing when he reported seeing very bad practice and said, "now you need to verify whether [what] I tell you is true or not." At that time Enrique said "it's important that you guys, we validate each other okay, because it's just my perspective." However, since Enrique makes it clear "that the one who evaluates is me," his perspective carries the weight of the evaluation. So when Enrique praises practice or teachers his perspective has the position and power of the principal.

> Enrique: That's it; you're saying it, monotone, mechanical, and this. And I gotta tell you, I was so disappointed, I was very angry. I am so glad I walked into David's classroom after I saw this because he's inspired me. That teacher, for being the first year impressed me, okay and it's not because Gustavo's in here. That guy impressed me too, okay and we weren't fortunate enough to go into 5th in math but we are going to do that. But like I said, we went into your guys' classrooms— you guys, there's energy. There is energy, you can feel the momentum. You feel it when you walk into 4th grade Spanish. There is some energy that I think that you guys need to a ver si Monroy esta diciendo la verdad [see if Monroy is telling the truth] you know what I mean?

> Olivia: What was the word, what were you saying when you walked into Scott's class.

> Maria: Exhilaration.

> Enrique: Exhilarating.

> Olivia: Or stimulating. Yeah stimulating.

Unscheduled walk-throughs by administrators are part of the management culture in the district and are mentioned by teachers both at ACS and Rocky Sage. He does not want his visits to only be seen as faultfinding missions and in this section Enrique frames his visits as positive, "we weren't fortunate enough to go into 5th in math." However, the team can balance his reaction to practice he did not accept and no

matter how positively he frames his visits teachers are going to feel some level of anxiety when they hear, "we are going to do that," visit more classrooms.

The other three positive comments come from outside the school and are shared by Enrique with the ILT. During a discussion about addressing the achievement gap he shares, "One of the biggest pats-on-the-back that we have here at ACS is that we are really being looked at as a site that is doing that." By using the positive perspective of others Enrique is giving validity to his praise that it wouldn't have if it were based on just his perspective.

In the next comment Enrique uses similar phrasing when he says "we have administrators wanting to come and see the school." ACS has a special program that they are implementing and the consultants for that program visit ACS. At the start of this comment Enrique recognizes that he has shared with the team a number of things that need to be changed. The problems were major issues when he shared them, but here he dismisses them as "aside from just those little things." They are little things in comparison to the innovation and rigor and all the other stuff that ACS is doing well.

> Enrique: Okay, before we move on, I just want to let you guys know that we—we had STEM today visit and just got to tell you we look really good. I mean there is some amazing instruction going on in the classrooms and I think aside from just those little things, we look awesome to the point we have administrators wanting to come and see the school because they're hearing about the innovation and they're hearing about the rigor and they're hearing about all this stuff.

Enrique identifies that "it's just amazing, the things that you see" at ACS. There are "little things" that need to be improved but overall the ACS program is exemplary. When Enrique says this he then admits, "we're not there yet." This admission allows the team to frame Enrique's observation about his evaluative

practice, "And yeah it's intimidating, yeah it's kind of scary, but I gotta tell you, you

know what, we're not gonna move forward if we don't do anything like that." Enrique

believes that "we still need to feel that need to strive for our kids."

> Enrique: He wants to relocate his office here. I mean it's just amazing,
> the things that you see, but you need to understand that deep down
> inside there's this little feeling that we're not there yet and I think that
> that's, to me, the sense of urgency that we need to not feel comfortable,
> that we still need to feel that need to strive for our kids.

Enrique is intentional in how he delivers praise. His statements are usually

detailed so that the team can identify practice that is being praised. Enrique does not

make general statements that something is "good," but defines how and why a

particular practice or program is good.

As the conversations at ACS demonstrate this is a school where new programs

are being implemented and there is a discourse of evaluation and enforcement.

Teachers refer to practice that has been effective. Administrative discourse is normally

about evaluation and enforcement. Enrique's discourse demonstrates "this little feeling

that we're not there yet." However, as Ryan shares about this visitor's reaction to

program implementation by ACS it reveals the school does have deep coordinated

practice. There is a discourse of "we're not there yet," but they do recognize that ACS

is considered a great school.

> Ryan: One of the statements that stayed with me yesterday, I shared
> with some of you that at the end of the—was it the last classroom, this
> lady approached me and say she—she was almost in tears she was,
> "I'm sorry," she said, "So this can be done." So I think that's the
> message that, yes, this can be done, but we need to continue. It has to
> be done for – the newcomers are coming to our school, the new
> generation of students are coming next year.

Enrique's limited discourse of praise shows his focus on the "need to strive for our kids." There is an implied discourse of praise at ACS that Enrique references but does not often employ. He has put up a larger banner in the school office that reads, "SUPERMAN IS HERE."

Discourse of traveling and coaching. The next excerpt comes from the first ILT meeting where Enrique is sharing his vision for the ILT.

> Enrique: To me support from a grassroots level has to come from the Instructional Leadership Team. You, the Instructional Leadership Team are insuring that teachers and building those relationships between yourselves is really carried through without, with the specific grade levels, okay. That's what I want to convey today and I wanna make sure that we spend some time discussing this and how we're gonna go about doing it. I ask for the sub-availability calendar because I do want you to spend some time okay, traveling and coaching, traveling and coaching, traveling and coaching, okay.

One of the leadership roles for members of the ILT is "traveling and coaching." What they are coaching is a fidelity to the academic program at the school. Here Enrique uses the language of "grassroots level" to give legitimacy to the implementation and enforcement of ACS's instructional goals. The ILT is "insuring that teachers" carry through with what is expected. What is grassroots about it is that ILT members, not only administrators, are ensuring fidelity to the instructional program. Enrique notes that ILT members need to build relationships at their grade level. Enrique said that the relationships were to be supportive not evaluative. The conversations around "traveling and coaching" will help clarify the nature of the relationships. Since ILT members include both brand new teachers as well as seasoned veterans their "traveling and coaching" does not depend on expertise in pedagogy or subject matter.

The next excerpt is taken from a discussion of the implementation of an instructional program, Guided Language Acquisition Design (GLAD) that has been part of the ACS program for a number of years. The GLAD trainers had given Enrique some negative feedback on the consistent implementation of the program.

> Enrique: I mean we're spending a lot of money with these consultants to come in and give feedback to you and if it's not being done, then I think we need to do something about it.

The ILT team members are told, "if it's not being done, then I think we need to do something about it." Enrique repeats this discourse pattern over a number of issues during ILT conversations. First there is an expected level of accountability by all staff. What they are accountable for is full implementation of non-negotiables. The non-negotiable here is the GLAD program. Enrique's position is that every individual should be the enforcer of non-negotiables. If they are to ensure "it's being done" then they are also evaluating whether it is being done. So ILT members do have an evaluative function at ACS. Next, if something is not being implemented then, "we need to do something about it." Enrique is asking the ILT to be the ones who are ensuring "that all teachers are following what we say we're going to do." So ensuring fidelity to "what we say we're going to do," is part of their traveling and coaching.

The discourse around how they are coaching is considered in this section. ACS hires subs to come in during the day and take ILT members' classes to free them up for visiting other teacher's classrooms. This is not a full day out of class but selected periods. In the next selection Enrique is giving some guidelines on use of the sub time.

> Enrique: Just want to know that when you guys chose to do this you let Olivia know because she's in charge of subs. Let Olivia know the time that you're going to go but I'm going to encourage you to please use

the time when the kids are working independent, they're working
independently so that anybody can come in and give direction or
something like that. But don't—make sure the person comes in and
they're going to have to teach, I think you should use it during your
down time where the kids are working like in groups or something,
they already know what to do.

In order for this to disrupt student instructional time as little as possible the

class periods when the teacher is out of the class should be times where "students are

working independently." Various ILT members can set-up a schedule so that the sub

goes from class to class freeing up that teacher for visitation time.

In the next selection Maria is asking a clarifying question.

Maria: Do you want us to pick someone that we would like to work
with or do you want—well there are two parts right, the one part is that
you want us to get a sub to go look at some of these people that are
extremely stimulating and inspiring and the other part is that we need
support for these teachers.

Maria has no problem identifying that one part of their assignment is to visit

"people that are extremely stimulating and inspiring." The words Maria uses

emphasizes that she expects to visit the rooms of exceptional teachers. The next part of

the sentence at first doesn't seem to make sense. Is Maria saying that the other part of

their assignment is to support these exceptional teachers? Looking at her comments in

context Maria is framing two different types of teachers. She is clear when she

identifies the exceptional teachers but the second group of teachers is so problematic

to Maria that she doesn't clearly define that group beyond calling them "these

teachers." Maria then is saying that the two parts are to visit the classes of one group

of teachers who are exceptional and another group of teachers who "need support."

Enrique gives an affirmative to Maria's question. The following discussion shows that

there still is confusion on the part of ILT members as to the process of selecting

teachers to observe. Do they select the same grade or the same subject? Do they

remain with their selected teachers for the duration of the year or do they observe a

variety of teachers? This is Enrique's response to their questions.

> Enrique: I'm going to leave this up to you guys because I think you guys need to have the experience of observing other people and I think you guys need to just kind of move around. I don't want to direct it to you guys, I think it needs to come from within.

Here the process is completely open with Enrique's encouragement to "move

around." What is not left open is how to perform the observations. Enrique models

how to do an observation. Here Enrique is reflecting on a number of observations he

had just completed.

> Enrique: That's it; you're saying it, monotone, mechanical, and this. And I gotta tell you, I was so disappointed, I was very angry. I am so glad I walked into David's classroom after I saw this because he's inspired me.

Enrique saw both classes that "disappointed" him as well as classes that

"inspired." He shares this with the ILT and then makes the following comment.

> Enrique: I'm giving you the sub availability calendar because I want you guys to spend time getting a sub and going and seeing these classrooms because this is just one person telling you what he saw, now you need to verify whether I tell you is true or not. Okay it's important that you guys, we validate each other okay, because it's just my perspective. And yes, we've had other team members that went you know what I mean and I think that if you speak to them, they could probably tell you the same thing. But today, before the end of the business day, I called in these individuals and I gave them all verbal warnings. I'm not playing.

Enrique says that the ILT members "need to verify whether [what] I tell you is

true or not," based on doing their own classroom observations. He goes on to say, "it's

important that you guys, we validate each other, okay, because it's just from my

perspective." This statement could have two meanings. One meaning is that you guys

validate my observations by concurring with them. The other meaning is that only by

having multiple perspectives can we determine what is actually occurring. He then

goes on to say that other team members participated in the observations and "they

could probably tell you the same thing." Is he here explaining what he means by "we

validate each other" when he points out that what was true for him was also true for

the others. Enrique is clear that even if it is just from his perspective, that perspective

carried immediate and serious consequences. Those teachers who "disappointed"

Enrique were given "verbal warnings."

The ILT members discuss what Enrique has said and Brian asks the following

question.

> Brian: Now during these observations, do you want us to instantly
> isolate on the spot, give them the feedback to make those corrections or
> should we like, later on in the day when we see them hold a conference
> with them or how would you want us to, like. When you guys walk in
> you guys right away say—

Brian sees that "you guys" immediately make corrections to the teachers being

observed. He wonders if they are to pattern their own approach after Enrique and

Olivia, the principal and resource specialist. Enrique responds with the following

statement.

> Enrique: We need you to turn that back okay and bring it to yourself.
> Answer those questions to yourself.
>
> Maria: I think that's very important.
>
> Enrique: Do you feel you going into the classroom, you turn it back on
> you okay, because I have my system and I think it seems to work, you
> know what I mean. And yeah it's intimidating, yeah it's kind of scary
> but I gotta tell you, you know what, we're not gonna move forward if

we don't do anything like that so I think you need to practice what you feel comfortable with.

Enrique challenges Brian to answer the question himself. Would Brian do it differently than Enrique? Enrique makes it clear that he knows this type of immediate correction is "intimidating" and "kind of scary." Enrique then seems to answer Brian's question about how he thinks feedback should be given. When Enrique says, "I gotta tell you, you know what, we're not gonna move forward if we don't do anything like that," he is saying his way is the way to move things forward. So the concluding remark of "you need to practice what you feel comfortable with" is to be alluding to the discourse of participation while operating within the regime of truth. The entire discourse centered on teachers doing or not doing what was expected. Then Enrique says that in order to "move forward" you need to do what he just did, give immediate corrective feedback. So if you as a member of the ILT don't give immediate corrective feedback because you are not comfortable with it then you are not helping the school move forward.

After some more discussion Enrique gives a directive on how to provide feedback.

> Enrique: Yeah and I think what you guys need to do is as you look at the calendar, is like try this, try this, try this and then say, I'm gonna come back. So I think that you need to give the feedback and then come back but you need to comeback the same day. You can't come back three weeks later, you know what I mean. We need to make it like immediately.

Here he is not telling the ILT members to do what they feel comfortable with but to provide immediate feedback in the form of suggestions on what could be improved on. The implementation of those suggestions should be immediate and

observable the same day. Enrique makes it clear in the following section that what

they are to observe is what is "expected and intended" by the instructional program.

Here he is talking about a number of observations, probably not of ILT members, but

he personalizes his comments by repeatedly saying "you" which makes it immediate

to the ILT members.

> Enrique: You need to see my point, okay. You need to see my point
> and you need to understand, this is a slap. This is like [slap] because
> you were given, you were paid, you were compensated, okay. You
> were valued and you were given something—for you on the first day of
> school not to do what was expected and intended to do—to me that is
> disrespectful because you still get paid. But you know what, our kids,
> they lost a day and that sucks. (Pause 11 seconds) Hmm, on that note,
> sub availability calendar for you guys to look in the month of October
> okay.

Enrique uses the word disrespect to identify the behavior of the teachers who

did not "do what was expected and intended." Before that he slaps the table and tells

them "this is a slap." Enrique seems to be the one who is disrespected and slapped.

Through relexicalisation Enrique transforms the paradigm of not meeting professional

expectations to that of a personal attack. This attack is intentional, "you did not do

what was expected and intended." A slap is not the absence of a behavior rather it is

an intentional action. The consequence of the action is that "our kids, they lost a day

and that sucks." After using the pronoun "you" to identify personal responsibility

Enrique then uses the pronoun, "our," and not "your." Your action affected our kids.

The long pause of 1 second is not filled by any teacher comments. Enrique has set up a

dichotomy with him on one side and "you" teachers on the other. David, one of the

members of the ILT, had been praised for his class that day but still participates in the

holistic "you" that Enrique uses here. The teachers share in a corporate guilt through

this phrasing clearly establishing the power and position of the administrators in contrast to the teachers.

The discourse around how the ILT members are to coach is very specific. Enrique has given them a pattern. Coaching is to be looking for specific behaviors and is to immediately correct instruction when those behaviors are not present. Further, there is an assumption that the absence of the required behaviors is intentional on the part of the teacher being observed. Enrique says at the same meeting that those teachers who did not do what was expected "should be asking for help." Again Enrique implies a level of awareness on the part of the teachers who are not doing what is expected. By constructing this paradigm Enrique makes the lack of the expected behaviors on the part of some teachers into a personal attack, "this is a slap."

The ILT members who are traveling and coaching are doing this within the paradigm that Enrique has established. This paradigm establishes corporate guilt that "our kids" are not receiving the best education they deserve because some teachers are not doing what is expected. This paradigm establishes intentionality on the part of teachers who are not doing what is expected. ILT members who are traveling and coaching are to identify the deficit when they see it and then returning to see that it has been remedied the same day. The behaviors that are expected apparently can be integrated into the teacher's instructional repertory merely by noting their absence. This paradigm makes traveling and coaching to be a method of ensuring program fidelity both for the teachers being observed and for the teachers who are charged with traveling and coaching.

Discourses of power and position: An examination of linguistic details.

There are specific grammatical devices revealed by Enrique's discourse patterns. Some of the pattern is seen through the use of certain discourses and some of the pattern is seen through the absence of certain discourses. For example, Enrique makes four complimentary statements during the four meetings. All four statements are in-depth and mention several specifics that are being complimented. In a word search of his top two hundred words used only one of them, like, has a complimentary meaning. However, like was not used as a compliment in any of his conversations. Now the presence or absence of a particular word has little meaning. The absence of words or phrases giving a compliment or acknowledging something as positive does indicate a certain discursive style.

"Need" is the most used word by Enrique at ACS where it is 3% of the total words he uses. Enrique uses the phrases "we need" 31 times and only once is it used in a sentence that is asking a question. The other 30 times he uses the phrase it is an imperative, "we need to not feel comfortable," or "I think we, as an admin team, need to come up with the questions that we need to ask them during planning period." Enrique uses the phrase "you need" 32 times and every use of this phrase is also part of an imperative statement. In addition he used the phrase, "you guys need" 12 times also as an imperative. When we have a person in an administrative position with implied power the statements to the effect that "we need to" or "you need to" are not up for discussion.

Enrique's use of pronouns in relation to the use of pronouns in the group fits the pattern of people higher in the social hierarchy (Pennebaker, 2011). Enrique uses

the pronoun I almost as often as would be expected in the group which is not predicted

by Pennebaker. His use of I seems intentional as a way to provide a normalizing

statement. Enrique used first-person plural pronouns (we, us, our) more than twice as

often as would be expected in the group. Pennebaker identifies this as a sign of an

individual with higher status. Pennebaker addresses the use of we, the pronoun most

often used by Enrique. "On the surface we-words sound warm and fuzzy and should,

in theory, be related to feelings of group solidarity" (p. 175). However, the word we

can be used at least five different ways. As referenced when looking at the word need,

Enrique used the phrase "we need" in what Pennebaker identifies as "the we-as-you

we." Here Enrique makes a we statement but is telling the teachers what they need to

do. Enrique's use of pronouns, unlike Robert's, is indicative of an individual higher in

the social hierarchy.

After Enrique used the word "need" not once was he questioned about whether

there really was a need. There was discussion about what needed to be done or how it

should be accomplished. This sentence is the only use of "I need," "I need to remind

you that the conversation that we choose to have behind closed doors, when the door

is closed, stays here."

"Think" is the third most used word by Enrique. Every time the word is used it

is in the phrase, "I think." Enrique uses the interrogative "what" more than all the

other interrogatives combined. About one third of the time it is used in this phrase,

"know what I mean." There are quite a few more uses of "know what" to the extent

that "what" is used with "know" in all but three occasions. So most of the time

Enrique is not using "what" to inquire information from other team members. Rather

Enrique is using "know what" referring to what he means or to shared knowledge. Of the 54 times Enrique uses the word "what" only three times is it used in a question without the word "know." The first time Enrique uses it without "know" he is asking the process server for the meeting if he knows what he is to do. "You reiterate that, what does that mean?" The next time Enrique asks the question, "What is the achievement gap?" The final use is when Enrique asks, "What's your question."

Enrique's discourse is primarily declarative and imperative. The declarative nature of his discourse is exemplified in passages like this, "I'm giving you guys the word of my reality." The example of his use of "need," typifies a discursive structure where he gives directives to the other team members.

Enrique sets the agenda and gives the final answer to many of the conversations during meeting times. So while there is significant amount of discussion by team members Enrique controls the topic, "I'm telling you right now, we're off topic, but that is self-imposed." Enrique often sets the mood of the meetings through his use of emotionally charged discourses, "I'm getting sick and tired of hearing that from that individual, that there's this fear thing or that there's this thing." The mood is not always combative. Enrique can set a mood of challenge through sharing vision, "The purpose of our ILT is to look at the causes and effects in closing the achievement gap. One of the biggest pats on the back that we have here at ACS is that we are really being looked at as a site that is doing that." Most conversations use the present tense with little use of modals like "may, might, "or adverbs such as "possibly, hopefully." Enrique uses the definite article, "the," three times more frequently than the indefinite article, "a." There is little uncertainty in the discourses. Interrogatives are not

frequently used and when they are generally they are looking for a specific answer. Through renaming he is able to transmute the ILT into an administrative team and teacher practice in the classroom into an assault on his person.

Summary. The previous section has looked at various administrative discourses within the context of ILT meetings. The central discourse is that of non-negotiables. The power of non-negotiables is that "we need not just depend on the adult" to affect their actualization. This discursive construction works to eliminate discursive spaces since there is a priority of ideology over the individual. Individual discourses that are not in support of the ideology become subversive. The enforcement of non-negotiables is extended to the ILT when Enrique says, "your role, as the Leadership Team is to ensure that the vision and values of ACS are being carried through, okay?" Two other administrative discourses are "no excuses" and "normalization" that support the rigid structure of non-negotiables. What was expected was not seen during visitation and there were immediate consequences. The consequences were immediate because there are no excuses. There was no space for conversations around why what was expected wasn't seen, there are no excuses. The discourse of "no excuses" establishes that there is individual accountability for any deviation from the expected behaviors. The discourse of traveling and coaching works to establish the discourse of normalization. Enrique shares with the ILT when he visited classrooms and didn't see what was expected this was the result, "But today, before the end of the business day, I called in these individuals and I gave them all verbal warnings. I'm not playing." These discourses have the hegemonic affect of

subsuming the ILT into an adjunct of administration. Leadership is effectively

distributed through the ILT as they are given administrative functions.

Enrique is not unaware of "the power of dialogue." He tells the teachers, "I'm

giving you guys the word of my reality. Now you guys need to take the word and

reflect on it, and create your own, okay." But how much space is given to other

realities? Foucault (1984) observed that, "Truth is a thing of this world: it is produced

only by virtue of multiple forms of constraint. Each society has its regime of truth, its

'general politics' of truth: that is, the types of discourse which it accepts and makes

function as true" (pp. 72-73). The discourses of non-negotiables, no excuses, and

normalization that Enrique establishes using his administrative power constrain the

other types of discourse within the ILT and at ACS.

Achieving Charter School Language Arts Meeting Discourses

This section looks at the conversation at one teacher meeting at ACS. There is

not a similar chapter in regards to conversations teachers have without administrators

present at Rocky Sage. The reason for this is that teacher conversations during Rocky

Sage ILT meetings are similar to teacher conversations when the administrator is not

present. During Rocky Sage ILT meetings teachers regularly challenge the word of

Dr. Robert Davis' reality. This is due to a variety of differences. One of the primary

ones is that Rocky Sage has an API of around 900 every year that gives them a similar

school ranking of around 5 placing them in the middle of schools with their

demographics. Success on high-stakes testing is measured if the school has an API

score above 800. When Robert notes the demographics of Rocky Sage and says, "of

course it's 900." The urgency of test scores is much diminished at Rocky Sage since

the school is assured of achieving at least an 800. Another reason is that Robert regularly shows that he does have a vision for the school but believes that it will succeed "only if it was developed from the group's collaborative work." At ACS teacher conversations without administrators present are significantly different from when administrators are in the room.

Discourse of teachers. The discourse of distributed leadership in SESD has created a variety of spaces for discourse. Some of the spaces are the teacher meetings that are held regularly throughout the year. As Spillane pictures the interaction of leaders, followers, and situation enacting leadership practice it should be no surprise that teacher meetings distribute leadership practice. If we look at the leader position in Spillane's model as the position of power, then during teacher meetings this power is available to the attendees of the meeting. The following section is taken from one language arts department meeting. Three of the five teachers at the language arts department meeting are also members of the ILT. The three ILT members are Laura, Maria, and Denise. Near the end of the meeting the resource specialist Olivia, a person in a leader position, visits the meeting.

Discourse of working together. The issue here is a curriculum the school bought and the teachers use, or used, that is now considered to be a "wrong" thing to use for instruction. The reason seems to be that "worksheets" are not to be used in class and the Write Source bases instructional delivery on worksheets. The teachers indicate it is a valuable part of their instructional toolbox. In this section teachers come up with a way to use the Write Source given new instructional methods. The conversation starts when they address the question, "what's working?" Denise

immediately starts to identify a curriculum at the school. She stops herself in mid-

sentence to clarify that they are focusing on the academic. They all identify "using the

resources we have" as something that is working.

> Maria: So, we can start filling out our chart here. So, what's working?

> Denise: So, what works was the Write—Are you saying the academic
> worked for you last year as a—

> Maria: Using our resources.

> Claudia: Resources.

> Maria: Using the resources we have.

> Denise: As a building block.

> Susan: Um-hum. I think that's key.

> Maria: Resources, right?

> Laura: Um-hum.

> Denise: I think—Well, I personally feel almost like I'm doing
> something wrong if I pull out the Write Source.

Denise makes the statement that using the Write Source makes her feel almost

like she is doing something wrong. All the teachers on the team agree with this

statement. Maria's comment, "its taboo or something," is significant here. Taboo is

defined sociologically as a prohibition resulting from social conventions or ritual

restrictions. Foucault defined "taboo" as prohibitions that make it difficult to talk

about certain subjects. These prohibitions participate in establishing a culture's

structure of knowledge. The structure of knowledge is itself defined by the centers of

power within a culture. At ACS there are prohibitions against using certain terms and

talking about certain subjects. The whole "discourse of no excuses" prohibits

conversations that could be construed to be "making excuses." Here "truth" is

discursively established as not using worksheets (wrong) during instruction.

> Susan: Totally.
>
> Maria: Yes.
>
> [Agreement by others]: Um-hum
>
> Maria: It's taboo or something.
>
> Denise: But then you think did we—but, why did we buy it then?
>
> Laura: I don't know, but I retype it.
>
> Denise: Why though? I know, that's the thing, why should I have to go retype the whole page so it doesn't look like it came from the Write Source?
>
> Laura: I don't know.
>
> [crosstalk]
>
> Denise: Because we all feel that way, and why do we all feel that way?

Denise is the only one who is questioning the paradigm. Her question, "why

should I have to go retype the whole page," is a legitimate question. Her follow up

question is just as significant, "why do we all feel that way?" The other teachers' lack

of engagement with these two questions may reveal some of the structure of their

thinking. The answers to those two questions may not be significant given the lack of

power that the teachers have. If they were to decide it is silly to retype the pages it

doesn't solve the problem of not being allowed to use worksheets. The following

conversation shows the dynamics of circumventing the prohibition.

> Maria: The Write Source, just as a sign up, does come with a CD, and you could put it in your computer—

Susan: And cut and paste?

Maria: You could cut and paste it.

Susan: No way.

Maria: If you want to, into a work sheet, and make it more like a teacher created it. It's not a worksheet.

Laura: You're so wrong.

Denise: Smart.

Claudia: Note to self

Susan: This is why I miss planning with English language arts.

Susan interrupts Maria by anticipating what Maria is going to propose. Her question, "And cut and paste?" demonstrates she understands and relishes the process. Susan's comment of, "No way," and Laura's comment of "You're so wrong," acknowledges the taboo nature of using worksheets. Yet Laura's, "You're so wrong." statement is made in such a way that you know she is going to cut and paste. Denise abandons her questions that involve power relationships with her comment of "smart." It appears that when the process of reformatting the Write Source material is now fairly simple, challenging the underlying paradigm is no longer an issue. Claudia's "note to self" show that all of the teachers present have decided that this technique is a legitimate way to use the resource in their current instruction.

When Susan makes her statement, "This is why I miss planning with English language arts," she identifies a much larger discourse of distributed leadership. In the previous conversation we see teachers collaborating with each other, creating organizational learning, and developing trust. Even though three of the five members

of this meeting are ILT members all of them share the interpretation of how to

circumvent the prohibition of worksheets. When Laura says, "You're so wrong," she

is identifying that what they are sharing is counter to the paradigm created at the

administrative level. Conversations like this build trust within the team as they co-

construct counter narratives to the dominant narratives.

Something else is informative here. All the teachers are familiar with the Write

Source curriculum materials but believe that a simple transformation in the

presentation of the materials will be enough to make them no longer taboo. Implicit to

their assumption is that the centers of power are apparently focused on appearance

rather than process. For a worksheet by another name, teacher created materials is still

going to function as a worksheet. So a retyped Write Source page that now looks like

the teacher created it is accepted for use during instruction. The admiration and

acceptance of the manipulation of the process may demonstrate their relationship to

the centers of power at the school.

Discourse of prior knowledge and conceptual change. Many teacher

conversations reveal how prior knowledge affects the conceptual change that new

programs and learning require. As the previous conversation demonstrates,

implementation of new programs, the introduction of new discourses, are susceptible

to counter narratives introduced by the participants. This may be particularly true in

education where reform efforts produce constant change in programs. Each program

has its own discourse that is uniquely different than the previous ones. Often,

however, those introducing the new program, a different discourse, spend no time on

addressing how previous discourses are integrated or affected by the new discourse.

All of these new discourses are presented based on the same premise that they now represent the best of best practice. In the discourses here we will see how a teacher team does not replace previous discourses but amalgamate the new discourses with prior ones to create a discourse that is their own.

Foucault (1980) theorized that regimes of knowledge, "truth," are established by rules that govern what can and cannot be said and by whom and in what contexts. Laura and Maria are discussing the emphasis at ACS on the Common Core Standards rather than the previous practice of looking at the California State Standards. Laura notes that she is using previous knowledge to help understand the Common Core Standards that they have just learned. Laura also notes that although they are now using Common Core Standards, the sources, the instructional material they have are based on the previous standards. Maria notes that at their school there is a new language, discourse that they are supposed to use for understanding what children are to learn. When Maria makes the comment, "They can't control my mind," is she acknowledging that they can/do control her language and the appearance of her classroom instruction. However, they can't control the context Maria is using to understand the new discourse. Since discourses are not immutable, Maria can set the new discourse in a familiar context.

> Laura: For vocabulary, for the academic language, I'm making the connections between what I remembered about what I have for the other ones to the new ones, what academic language am I gonna use.
>
> Maria: Now, is the—not that we're not allowed to do that, but if they wanted us to veer off from the old standards and just focus on Common Core, right, that's the understanding?
> Laura: Yeah, but then all of our sources—

[crosstalk]

Maria: They can't control my mind. They can't see inside my mind when I'm trying to connect.

Laura: But, that's just the thing is as humans, or as English teachers, you make a connection to what you know to what you're learning, and I just feel like these are more general, but they've obviously encompassed the prior standards.

Laura expresses her reality of program implementation, "you make a connection to what you know to what you're learning." Here Maria and Laura share with the others a common experience of how they change their practice. As leaders in this situation they are developing a discourse for the team that allows them to talk about assimilate new learning and behaviors.

Another conversation from the same meeting is dealing with the same issue. The teachers are discussing how to engage students in what they are reading. Denise identifies Claudia's model as being very effective and results in the highest CST test scores in language arts. It is at this point Susan says that they have already had this conversation. The team saw Claudia's test scores, "you did awesome," and then modeled their instruction around hers. Susan and Laura recall that this structured approach to reading was at first accepted by administration, "she was, like, yeah, this is awesome," but as new instructional practice was introduced at the school and district level "now there's just supposed to be reading, and having dialog about it." Claudia's model that they had all adopted was no longer allowed. Susan doesn't understand the reason for changing the model since their test scores had been higher when they used that model. Susan and Laura are also confused by the dissonance between what was at first encouraged and then latter prohibited apparently without

any explanation. Susan and Laura use language that indicates the power relationship

between the teachers and the administration. Susan says, "we got chewed out for that,"

while Laura says they were told, "I don't wanna see a packet."

> Laura: It's kinda like that. It's like you're using your reading strategy to set—to explicitly tell them what they are doing, and then they are trying to not only identify or analyze, or whatever, that reading comp standard, but they're incorporating that too.

> Denise: Well, I think that's what Claudia's good at when she does—she takes the text, and she does those questions along the side where she's got the, before you read, the identify, she'll have the analysis, she'll have a level working.

> Laura: So then that's what's working right there.

> Denise: Because she's got the highest scores.

> Laura: You're doing your own meaning making.

> [crosstalk]

> Susan: Okay, wait, back to that. Remember, that's how we started out. We all, like—you did awesome, so then I started pulling that idea, you started pulling it, we started doing that during the guided time. You're gonna read it, but you're also gonna be analyzing, figuring this all out. Well, then towards the end of the year we got chewed out for that because, wait, they just need to be reading.

> Laura: At first she was, like, yeah, this is awesome. She showed us your [Susan's] packet; it's, like, you need to have this, and you wanna see this. And then after she was, like, I don't wanna see a packet.

> [crosstalk]

> Susan: So then it went back around. Okay, no, now there's just supposed to be reading, and having dialog about it. But, that's what—

> Maria: I think it just depends on your kids.

> Laura: But, what's working for you is your dialog.
> Maria: What's working for me might not work for you, though.

Susan: But it was working. That's what I'm trying to say. That stuff works in your scores.

At the end of this meeting the teachers are setting up an independent reading program and Susan recalls how they had used packets the previous year. That started this short conversation. "Shh, don't say that word." In any society there are discourses that are not allowed, taboo subjects. The question is how the rules that establish this are constructed. It appears by the secretive nature of this comment that teachers in this meeting participate in discourses that covertly challenge the centers of power. The teachers have not abandon the concept of packets they have just adopted a new vocabulary for old constructs. They did this when they retyped the Write Source curriculum and they are doing it here with a new construct, "the P word." Claudia's observation, "Forgot he was there," acknowledging my [the researcher] presence was problematic is further recognition that the conversation was recognized as subversive.

Susan: [Inaudible], last year you guys did—So, let's say, you gave a packet—

Denise: Shh, don't say that word.

Susan: I know.

Denise: The P word.

[crosstalk]

Susan: I know. You gave work, activities, you gave—and then he would just do a reading log, and then you would flip flop it?

Claudia: Forgot he was there. [refers to researcher]

These conversations show that the spaces created by the discourse of distributed leadership actually produce leadership distribution. As teachers have time

to dialog they socially construct a discourse that is similar, but not identical, to the prevailing discourses. In fact in the spaces provided by teacher meetings the participants, based on prior learning and experience, alter all of these "non negotiable" discourses. The theory-in-practice at the school site are the discourses that are created during these times.

      Discourse of silence. The resource specialist, Olivia, checks in with the group for about 10 minutes near the end of their hour-and-a-half meeting. Olivia is enquiring about how they are implementing the district initiatives. From the directive nature of Olivia's questions and comments it is clear that she has specific expectations. Previous to her arrival the team had been working on how to fit all the expected activities into their schedule. They had decided to have a 2-week rotation since they couldn't figure out how to do every activity required in one week. One of the reasons for a 2 week rotation is based on this comment Denise had made earlier, "Why do you think we need a Week B? Because we need to do guided reading?" So when Laura says, "that's what we're trying to figure out," she means that they are trying to figure out how to fit sustained independent reading on a regular basis into the already crowded day. Laura notes, "we really want to have guided groups." Olivia responds "it doesn't need to be guided group at this point. I think it needs to be independent reading." Laura then asks "what about the struggling kids?" To Laura and the other teachers Olivia's response appears to be that with those kids you have a guided group. Laura starts to continue the conversation, then stops herself and says, "that's what I mean." Olivia's comment about not needing guided groups is not addressed by any of the teachers even though

as Laura said, "we really want to have guided groups." This is significant and becomes

more revealing in the conversation after Olivia leaves the room.

> Olivia: When do they read? When are your kids reading?

> Susan: For homework.

> Olivia: And how can they have dialog if they're not reading?

> Laura: They're reading for homework, and they're coming back and collaborating the next.

> Olivia: You can't have it all be about homework either.

> Denise: No, I'm not saying—

> Laura: That's what we're trying to figure out. Sorry. We're trying to figure out—we really want to have guided groups. Not for us with our kids.

> Olivia: I think, in upper grades, it doesn't need to be guided group at this point. I think it needs to be independent reading, or—

> Laura: What about the struggling kids?

> Olivia: Then that's where you pull those kids.

> Laura: Right. So, for those—that's what I mean.

> Olivia: Yeah. Exactly.

Olivia leaves the room after a couple more minutes of conversation. A minute

after her departure this conversation occurs. The conversation shows that Laura had

concerns over asking what Olivia meant about not needing guided reading groups. To

Laura it appeared that Olivia first said not to have guided reading groups. Immediately

after this she said there should be guided groups, "Then that's where you pull those

kids." This was not a discussion that any of the teachers wanted to have since we see

that they disagree with Olivia's position about not having guided groups. However, no

matter how "absurd" an administrative position is teachers do not overtly question those positions. Teachers do not overtly question but covertly continue what they believe to be essential practice.

> Laura: What was she [Olivia] saying about when I said the guided reading groups, and she's, like, you don't need guided reading groups.
>
> Denise: We don't need guided reading groups.
>
> [crosstalk]
>
> Unknown: You just need it for all your kids that are struggling
>
> Laura: Am I using the wrong terminology then?
>
> Maria: No.
>
> Laura: Okay, I'm just checking.
>
> Maria: No, you're not.
>
> Laura: Okay. I'm, like, I thought that's what they were for.
>
> Unknown: Yes.
>
> [laughter]
>
> Laura: I'm so confused. [laughing]
>
> Susan: No, you were right.
>
> Laura: Okay, it's your—
>
> [crosstalk]
>
> Unknown: It's your groups. It's your low kids.
>
> Unknown: Yeah.
>
> Laura: That's what a guided reading group is, right?
>
> Maria: It's absurd.

Unknown: Might as well count for something.

Unknown: What. [laughter]

Unknown: I see the picture.

[Laughter]

Unknown: Good job.

Unknown: It means I don't trust you though.

Unlike most of the conversations, in order to fully understand this passage it is important to understand how the comments were delivered. As the researcher I am able to listen to the recording while doing analysis. As the reader it is possible to get some of the same context through Jeffersonian Transcription (Appendix G) and this segment is so transcribed in Appendix H. Laura has only been teaching a couple of years and is on the ILT. When she firsts asks the question to the group it is asked with a level of concern. Denise's response of "we don't need reading groups" is given ironically. Denise does believe they need reading groups but is imitating Olivia to point out the ridiculousness of that position. When Laura says she is "just checking" Maria's response is basically, no, you just want to make sure we all see how ridiculous Olivia was. The conversation then reviews what Laura and Olivia said. Olivia said, "no guided groups." Laura asked, "what you did with struggling kids?" Olivia said, "you had guided groups." Laura said, "that's what I mean." Olivia said, "Exactly." Maria summarizes what the team thinks about the conversation Laura and Olivia had, "it's absurd." Absurd or not, no one questioned Olivia at the time even though they apparently all saw the contradiction in what she said. Teachers are very careful in questioning what administration says. Understanding the discourse of silence is

essential to understanding how power and position affect discourse at ACS. In another conversation during department meetings, Denise, a member of the ILT says "I wish it was up for discussion, and I know it's not." Apparently what is not up for discussion is something they are being asked to do that they agree can't be done. They also agree that even though they are told not to divide certain standards they believe the standards actually are "completely separate standards." So they believe the premise is wrong and they believe the expectations are unachievable. Why does Denise say, "I hate to ask?" Hate is a strong word that indicates this is not something Denise is going to do. Again there is going to be silence.

> Denise: I wish it was up for discussion, and I know it's not, but I wish it was, of cutting the standards. Half go in theme one and half go in theme three. I know it's always been the thought of that you're just introducing them in theme one, but ultimately they're benchmarked in theme one, and if I just introduce them to them I can't expect them mastered.
>
> Maria: They're not gonna master it.
>
> Denise: I just—We used to divide the writing standards between grade levels, and that sort of thing, or between languages.
>
> Laura: Yeah, that's true.
>
> Denise: And I don't think it's up for discussion, and I hate to ask, but we're way behind, way behind, and when we broke them up we looked at them.
>
> Maria: What could go together?
>
> Denise: What goes together? But, ultimately, they're separate standards.
>
> Maria: They're completely separate standards.

The context of administrative power and position frame teacher discourses. The discourse of silence is in reaction to the discourse of "no excuses" at ACS. As shown in previous conversations when teachers feel strongly about a topic it is unlikely to be implemented as proscribed. This conversation does not produce a counter narrative but certainly creates a space for teachers to try different approaches since they believe that what is being asked for is impossible. The discourses of non-negotiables and no excuses does not allow for conversations with administrators around questions teachers have about program implementation but they don't prevent alternatives from being considered and likely implemented.

The following conversations connect teacher discourse to administrative response. The team is preparing a chart to use as part of a share-out with the entire staff. As they are filling in different topics they discussed Maria wants to know what they put in the middle of the chart. Denise's comment that "I don't think we can do concerns" shows that they anticipate that certain discussions on their part will produce specific responses by administration.

> Maria: What do we put in the middle, ELA? What do we put?
> Department meeting? What do we put? Concerns? Questions?
>
> Denise: I don't think we can do concerns because then we sound
> negative, and it is going to be "what did you guys do? Complain the
> whole time?"

Teacher meetings can be times where teachers just take turns complaining about problems they are facing. At ACS there are no excuses. So any discourse that questions the program or expresses concerns is not accepted. As the following discussion indicates stigmatizing these discourses means that they occur but not in the

presence of administration. Nor do the members of the ILT who participate or listen to these conversations report them back during leadership team meetings.

As the teachers are working to implement the new initiative they are struggling both with understanding the initiative and using specific strategies. Laura first says she "asked for help" and then realizes that she is admitting that she needs help. Needing help at ACS indicates that you are not doing what is expected. So Laura changes "ask for help," to ask for "feedback" which is permissible. She is told what to do and it makes sense but she still doesn't know how to do it. As Claudia exclaims, "how realistic is that?" Maria agrees and so the help Laura needed is how to implement a strategy that none the other two believe is practical. Maria and Claudia are experienced teachers while Laura is relatively new. It seems like all three are not able to use this strategy effectively. Laura is the only one who identified that she needed help. The other two put this strategy into the classification of "looks good on paper," make sure you can document its use, and move on with practical instruction. It appears the new teacher, Laura, is attempting to ensure fidelity to the program while the experienced teachers have techniques to achieve an appearance of fidelity. Laura's plaintiff cry, "I don't even know where I get my grammar in" makes one wonder what happens to teachers in an environment where there is high accountability for impossible programs.

> Laura: No, I was just wondering because it was—because when I had asked for help, or whatever, or feedback, it just was given like a kinda general structure. It was like, I don't know, engage this, dialog, journal. And then whenever you—or they learn a new concept, or a new idea, then they should always go back to journaling. Just saying.

> Claudia: How realistic is that?

Laura: Not very realistic, but I do understand the idea that because when you're journaling, you're reflecting, therefore it's metacognating.

Maria: Well, it looks great on paper. Like I said, it looks great on paper, but out of four weeks that we've been teaching, how many days have we really applied that model?

Laura: I don't know. I don't even know where I get my grammar in.

The discourse of distributed leadership has created spaces for teachers to have extended discussions around instruction. These times allow for discourses that are silenced at the administrative level by instance on fidelity to espoused theory. There is a level of trust within the practitioner group allowing them to express theories-in-use. This trust is not complete as illustrated in how Laura changes "ask for help," to ask for "feedback." Even in this group trust is conditional.

Discourse of appearances. This conversation takes place during the resource specialist, Olivia, visit to the language arts meeting. It was during this visit that the conversation on guided groups took place. While Olivia's directs the conversation, the focus in this section is on how the teachers respond. The teachers respond to Olivia's questions but do not raise any of the concerns they expressed before she arrived. As Olivia enters the room her very first words demonstrate how focused she is on the new programs. Her short visit is not to hear what the teachers were talking about.

Olivia: This is what Enrique just asked me, what he is asking, is remember not to be separating reading and writing.

No introduction, no socializing, Olivia makes an imperative statement coming from the principal, "remember not to be separating reading and writing." After some conversation Denise asks a question.

Denise: What I don't understand is how is it ever separate? Because if he's saying don't separate it, what did it look like separate?

Olivia: Because people would be in the writing process. Like, okay, we're going to write, and it was not connected to the reading.

Susan: So, if you were studying about frogs, were they writing about—?

Denise: Chimpanzees?

Olivia: They're gonna do a research report on the country.

Susan: Okay, that's what—got it.

Olivia: So that there's no connection, but you guys are on topic, connecting everything, at this point, right?

Susan: Right.

In response to Denise's question Olivia explains how writing might not be connected to reading and then asks a directive question. When she ends the question with "right," there are only two options, right or wrong. Susan chooses the correct option and says "right." This interaction typifies the process of the conversation during Olivia's visit. Following up on this conversation Laura asks for clarification on how connected the writing has to be with the reading. What Laura and the other teachers are asking for is to be told what is okay and what is not okay. The questions are not around instruction or learning but around what is acceptable to the administration. Instructional practice requires the imprimatur by administration

Laura: But if I want them to do an essay, can they have a choice of topic that does not relate with my thing? If they're doing researching reading—

Olivia: They're just gonna choose some random topic?

Laura: No, I have a list of topics that would be of interest to them. They might not necessarily fall under the umbrella.

Olivia: Kinda like what you used to do with persuasion, and they would just pick a topic for them to persuade with?

Maria: Yes.

Olivia: I would think that would be okay. I mean, now they're independent.

Maria: Because it's persuasive, yeah, it's independent.

Olivia: If it's guided, you're doing it with them. Then you're staying on the topic to show them how you would relate it. I think—

Maria: So, I'm thinking my guided, or even my modeled, would be on the topic that we're talking about.

Olivia: No, I think that would be okay.

These conversations usually are not subtle; they are discourses of black and white with little room for gray. You are reading about frogs and writing about chimpanzees. Writing is connected to reading or you can choose some random topic. It is okay or it is not okay. Olivia asks probing questions and corrects teachers on a number of issues in accord with her position of providing approval or disapproval. It is never clear whether the corrected teacher actually understands what Olivia is saying or just doesn't dare to ask a clarifying question. An example of this happens as Olivia is looking around Susan's room at several posters on the wall.

Olivia: I know they've taught you how to highlight key phrases, and—but where—and your model. I would say, where's your model? I can see a model up in his classroom. I don't see it all highlighted. I would say, there's my model right there, do you see it all highlighted? No. There's my note taking. So, there should be a model for them to see.

Susan does have models on the wall but according to Olivia they are not correctly highlighted. Olivia confronts Susan, "there should be a model for them to see." Susan doesn't respond since anything she could say would be considered an excuse. As they are talking about models Olivia asks a non-directive question.

Olivia: What are you doing?

Unknown: Making a schedule.

Maria: Because some things are not working.

While Olivia asked an open-ended question her next words show that she is still thinking about models. As Maria's response percolates to conscious thought for Olivia, she interrupts herself, and starts to ask "who" is it working for, or "who" is it not working for? She then switches to a general question of "is it working for anyone?"

Olivia: So they can see how you—Who—Is it working for anyone?

Denise: No, [inaudible].

Maria is immediately uncomfortable with the "no" and starts to give an example of who it is working for when Laura interrupts her in support of Denise's "no."

Maria: Well, Susan has 90 minutes of.

Laura: Yeah, that it's—we're struggling.

Susan then tries to explain why it is not working for her. The awkwardness of her phrasing shows that she realizes she is starting to make an excuse. Laura, reminds them all of the school's culture, "don't say, but." When you say "but" you are making an excuse at a school where there are "no excuses."

Susan: Because, even I was saying—Because Claudia isn't coming in this unit that, although I'm still supposed to be doing guided reading it's easier to fudge a little bit on times. You know what I mean? But I know that's not what you wanted to hear.

Laura: Don't say, "But."

Susan: It's, like, I need to just stick to it and be on it.

Susan accepts the correction and tells Olivia that she is going "to just stick to it and be on it," despite that it isn't working for anyone. The discursive pattern during this visit is that Olivia probes and teachers respond. If their practice is not okay Olivia is very clear with her disapproval.

Olivia: I will not accept. I will not.

By the end of the visit there is a tense and subdued atmosphere in the room. The teachers have not measured up. They have started to make excuses and they have changed the conversation from discussing instruction to seeking permission. The next conversation takes place as Olivia is leaving the room. In just a few seconds it goes from tense and quiet to hysterical and loud. The conversation is initially funny because of the incongruity of what Olivia says. The incongruity is recognized due to the low level of trust that Olivia has just exhibited. The degree of appreciation for the humor is largely determined by the level of emotional arousal caused by the feelings of guilt and shame that Olivia's scolding produced. The short moments of levity are immediately followed by a reflective emotional exhaustion as they contemplate performance within a discourse of no excuses.

Olivia gets up from the table and cautions the team that they are going to have "to share out what you've been strategizing." Maria teases the group about

accountability and the teachers laugh. Olivia looks again at the posters she had

previously criticized and makes the comment, "I like this," because "it does look like

they're reading." The level of trust expressed by Olivia during her visit is epitomized

by the comment, "it looks like they're reading." Olivia was not questioning whether

Susan's students were actually reading but her manner during the entire visit was

questioning whether the teachers were doing what they were supposed to be doing.

Susan's comment is perfunctory, obviously students in elementary school are reading.

> Olivia: I keep butting in so I'm gonna go, but at 3 o'clock we're all
> gonna come together, and I think Dr. Monroy wants everyone to share
> out what you've been strategizing.
>
> Maria: Oh, I told you there was gonna be some kind of accountability.
>
> [Laughter]
>
> Olivia: You know it, I like this, though, Susan. [Thank you] It does
> look like they're reading.
>
> Susan: Yeah, they are, they are reading.

As Denise and Olivia talk quietly at the door the conversation at the table

becomes immediately hysterical. In a teasing response to Susan's comment that "they

are reading," Laura identifies the incongruity of Olivia's words, "look like" and says

that it only "looks like" they're reading. Implied is that they aren't reading at all.

Susan is still in the mode of responding to Olivia and doesn't quite get the joke when

she responds the second time, "they are reading."

> Laura: Yeah, it looks like it.
>
> [Laughter]
>
> Unknown: It looks good.

Susan: They are reading.

Maria immediately identifies the incongruity that results from the situation where Olivia had clearly delineated their many failings. They might "look like" they were doing what they were supposed to but they really weren't it only looked like they were. They have already discussed how to turn worksheets into teacher-made curriculum by putting them in a different format. They have already said that having students journal whenever they learned a new concept wasn't "very realistic." They wished it was up for discussion to divide the standards since they knew their students are "not gonna master it." They have already admitted that it wasn't "working for anyone," and then tried to tell Olivia what was working without identifying all the things that weren't working. They are very aware of the difference between something looking like it is happening and it actually happening. So when Maria is laughing and shouting, "all of it she made it up" it is exactly what they have been doing in many aspects of their implementation. At this point the four around the table are laughing hysterically and making comments about how the poster on the wall that made it "look like they're reading" was a fake. Susan now gets into the spirit of the conversation and says that the poster was not the product of class-work but rather two of her strong students did the work just so she would have something to put up. This is not true but it is in the spirit of "she made it all up."

Maria: She made it all up. All of it she made it up

[crosstalk]

[Laughter]

Susan: I had Omar and Geneva highlighting it.

When someone shouts, "quick put it up," they are talking about getting ready for a visit by administration. Then looking at the posters previously criticized by Olivia, Laura compliments them. The other teachers come out in support of Susan, aware of how badly Susan may feel about not having posters that are appropriate models. At this point Laura connects the incongruity of looks "like they're reading" to the articles on the posters. They look like they are Susan's but are they really? Laura is dying laughing and can barely get out her comment, "are they yours."

[laughter]

Unknown: Quick put it up.

[laughter]

Laura: I like your articles.

Unknown: Yeah.

Unknown: Yeah.

Laura: Right, are they yours? [laughter] Because I totally

[laughter]

[crosstalk]

[Olivia leaves sound of door closing]

As Olivia leaves the room and Denise returns to the table the loud, hysterical conversation lapses to utter silence. One of the teachers is looking through a book lying on the table. The conversation here is very quiet. One of the teachers says in an intense manner, "very interesting." Maria's "Okay," and Susan's deep "sigh" are expressing the same sort of sentiment. The teachers are exhausted from Olivia's visit. They have been talking about how to implement the programs Olivia expects to see

and wrestling with how to do it. They are trying hard but right now some things "look good on paper" but are not working in practice. In answer to Olivia's questions they have shared some of this but instead of discussion Olivia restates expectations. The program is a non-negotiable. Olivia expects to see the program fully implemented. Their concerns about certain aspects of the new programs, their inability to successfully use part of the new programs, and their frustration with the new program not preparing students for the CST are their problem. As Denise said earlier, "I wish it was up for discussion, and I know it's not." At ACS conversations that question any part of program implementation are considered subversive.

Susan: That's a good book.

Unknown: It is.

Unknown: Very interesting.

Maria: Okay.

Susan: [sigh]

The teachers understand that they are responsible for implementing all of the programs and ask for clarification of what is acceptable and what isn't. They want Olivia to tell them what is okay and what isn't okay. However, the perception that they cannot discuss difficult issues with administration creates a culture where teachers have a public discourse and a personal discourse. They want their instruction to be "okay," but are not always committed or even understand the principle behind the practice. There is a perception that the administration advances programs that "look good on paper" but are not practical. There is another perception that some of the expectations of administration are "absurd." They feel that administration is

disconnected from actual classroom practice. This perspective constructs a reality out of shadows where things are not always as they appear. It may only "look like they're reading" and they actually aren't. Appearances are often deceiving and this is exacerbated by constraints to an open discussion of issues.

This same constraint raises the level of program fidelity at ACS since everyone is evaluated on implementation. The discourse of no excuses at ACS limits discussions that create ambiguity since most of those discussions would be classified as finding excuses. This culture creates practice that is more tightly coupled to program than at Rocky Sage. As seen above it also creates an environment where teachers are psychically exhausted by trying to perform what they believe is impossible.

Summary. The context of administrative power and position frame teacher discourses during teacher only meetings. The discourse of non-negotiables and no excuses do not allow for conversations with administrators around questions teachers have about program implementation. Teachers do not connect new program implementation with raising test scores, which is equated with closing the achievement gap. These questions and perceived misalignments create tensions for teachers in their daily lessons. The accountability both from test scores and the culture of traveling and coaching facilitates conversations with administrators over what is acceptable and what isn't. As the discourses show while teachers want their instruction to be okay, they are not always committed or even understand the principle behind the practice. There is a perception that the administration advances programs that "look good on paper" but are not practical. There is another perception that some of the

expectations of the administration are "absurd." These perceptions are revealed and remedied during teacher meetings.

As teachers have time to dialog with each other they socially construct a discourse that is similar, but not identical, to the prevailing discourse. Through the use of prior knowledge and shared experience teachers construct the theory-in-practice at the school. Due to constant reform efforts new programs with new languages are often introduced with no time spent on addressing how previous discourses are integrated or affected by the new discourse. The discourse of this teacher meeting shows how a teacher team does not replace previous discourses but amalgamate the new discourses with prior ones to create a discourse that is their own. Their discourse intentionally mirrors the new initiative in appearance but not in substance. During the meeting teachers turn worksheets that are forbidden into teacher-made curriculum and eliminate the "p word [packets]" from their vocabulary but not their practice. These subversive conversations include three teachers who make-up about a quarter of the ILT membership. They are fully committed to the vision of the school and without the presence of administrators they work hard on developing an instructional program that "works in your scores."

The discourses of silence and appearance have a psychic cost. When Maria comments, "They can't control my mind" she is acknowledging that they do control her language and the appearance of her classroom instruction. The teachers have found ways to make things appear and sound as they should but know that it only "looks like" they are doing what is expected. The counter narratives the teachers construct in support of the vision and values of the school are emotionally exhausting, as they exist

in relation to that powerful and non-negotiable regime of truth constructed by

administrative discourse at ACS.

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

Introduction

The *Coleman Report* in the 60s, *A Nation at Risk* in the 80s, and in the new millennium *No Child Left Behind* have all highlighted patterns of inequity in student academic achievement that continues to this day. Reform is constant but there is little or no change in the achievement gap. As the nation begins yet another reform effort, the Common Core State Standards, the question initially proposed in this study is even more pressing. Are we seeing real reform or is it that underlying these many reform efforts are unchallenged and unchanged epistemological assumptions that nurture existing theories-in-use despite whatever is the current espoused theory.

Summary of the Study

Through the use of discourse analysis and the lens of micropolitics, administrative and teacher conversations have been examined for how they have constructed the social reality of the school site, the regime of truth. What emerged from the data is the remarkable way the macropolitical reality of high-stakes testing and school accountability worked to establish the overriding discourse of power and position within the learning community. At both sites the discourse of high-stakes testing had the priority of position and exercised the most power on how leadership was stretched over leaders and followers at a school. At both schools the results of high-stakes testing has now become the way instruction is quantified. The implications of this finding is how the Common Core State Standards influences 21st century learning will be much more around the construction and implementation of the assessment tools than around the accompanying rhetoric. The epistemological

assumption, the results of instruction can be quantified will still define the context of the Common Core for conversations around learning. As the conversations at the schools site show, the context sets the boundaries for discourse.

Another question for this study was what the discourse of administrators reveals about distributed leadership practices at the school site. The study findings are in accord with Spillane's (2006) comment about distributed leadership, "what is likely to be most salient is not the fact that leadership is distributed but how leadership is distributed" (p. 102). Conversations at both sites showed considerable distribution of leadership but in different ways. Using Blasé and Anderson's (1995) Micropolitical Leadership Matrix neither principal operated primarily from the quadrant associated with democratic, empowering leadership where power is expressed primarily as power with. The conversations at both sites show that leadership is distributed and how it is distributed.

Another purpose of this study was to identify what Foucault (1988) calls the "spaces of freedom we can still enjoy and how many changes can still be made" (p. 11). Distributed leadership theory itself established "spaces of freedom" where there were conversations that challenged and changed the regime of truth at the school.

Review of Methods

The setting for this study was two elementary schools in South East School District. A total of 18 meetings were audio recorded during the 2010-2011 school year. There were six ILT meetings and one teacher meeting at Rocky Sage elementary. There were four ILT meetings and seven teacher meetings at ACS. All of the audio

was transcribed and used for analysis. Both of the schools had comparable API scores but significantly different demographics. Rocky Sage elementary was located in a high socioeconomic neighborhood with about half of the students from Hispanic families. ACS is located in a low socioeconomic neighborhood with a student body almost entirely Hispanic.

This study looks at naturally occurring discourse at school sites in settings where leadership practice might naturally be distributed. The premise of the study was that by looking at enough conversations the actual dynamics of whether and how leadership was distributed might be gleaned. Discourse analysis claims to be able to see beyond what people say they believe to uncovering what people actually believe and how it is expressed in practice. As uncovering how leadership practice is distributed is central to the study the additional framework of micropolitics was included to more thoroughly examine the politics of leadership distribution.

All of the data was entered into NVivo 10 as audio and text. The conversations were then looked at to see if leadership practice was distributed and how it was distributed. Discourse analysis is a repeated process of analysis, involving iterative coding and re-coding of the data. Fairclough (1995) presents three aspects of discourse that are interdependent: text, discourse, and the sociocultural. While the three need to be considered together for the best analysis of the conversations, in practice they are often considered independently and then holistically.

This study designed and used a rubric to help guide the analysis of the data. To help inform how the methods of discourse analysis have been applied to the data each section of the rubric will be reviewed.

Discourse Analysis Research Rubric (Methods and Interpretation)

1. What are the research questions? There are five questions that have guided the research.

2. How are they matched to an analysis of discourse? All of the questions concern discourse and how power and position affect the conversations. The fifth question on the usefulness of Micropolitical theory in the analysis of discourse is different from the other four. Since discourse analysis is designed to look at power relationships the use of a theory of micropolitics specifically based on educational research should provide an additional structure for discourse analysis. The use of Micropolitical theory is seen in the analysis and findings.

3. How are texts selected? This study used the conversations of teams of administrators and teachers meeting at two schools as the discourse for analysis. The schools were selected as being possible excellent sites for looking at how leadership practice is distributed. The schools both had high API scores and were located in a district that had endorsed distributed leadership both in training and in providing structures for leadership distribution.

4. How are texts matched to the research question? The research questions address how power and position affect the distribution of leadership practice and the meeting where the conversations were recorded was designed to facilitate the distribution of leadership.

5. What is the interpretative paradigm (theoretical position)—ontological and epistemological positioning? The use of Critical Discourse Analysis for this study sets the ontological basis where such things as school systems have a "materiality which is not conditional upon the fact or the nature of human knowledge of them. Critical Discourse Analysis also holds that reality is nevertheless socially constructed, that social objects and social subjects are co-constructed, and that discourse contributes to their construction" (Fairclough, 2006, p. 12). Fairclough combines this with a realist epistemology that holds while reality is socially constructed as we experience it there is an external reality beyond words.

6. How is the interpretative paradigm connected to the data gathering and analysis? The decision to use audio only in a naturalistic setting over an extended period of time was done to preserve as much as possible "the natural world which is regarded as taken for granted by the people we research" (Holdaway, 2000. p. 165). The extent that this approach succeeded is seen both in the frankness of the conversations and comments such as the one during an especially revealing meeting, "Forgot he was there."

   How the texts are considered for their (a) linguistic features (b) discursive practices (c) social practices? Fairclough's framework shows how analysis occurs, from linguistic features to social practice and then from social practice back to reframing the linguistic features. The model (Figure 3.1) was designed to look at these three dimensions of analysis and

has been adapted to illustrate how they interacted at Rocky Sage in Figure

5.1. The text consists of teacher and principal talk that generated the

discourses in the middle box. The discourses emerged from the text and are

located in their sociocultural context. The list of discourses is not meant to

be exhaustive but illustrative.
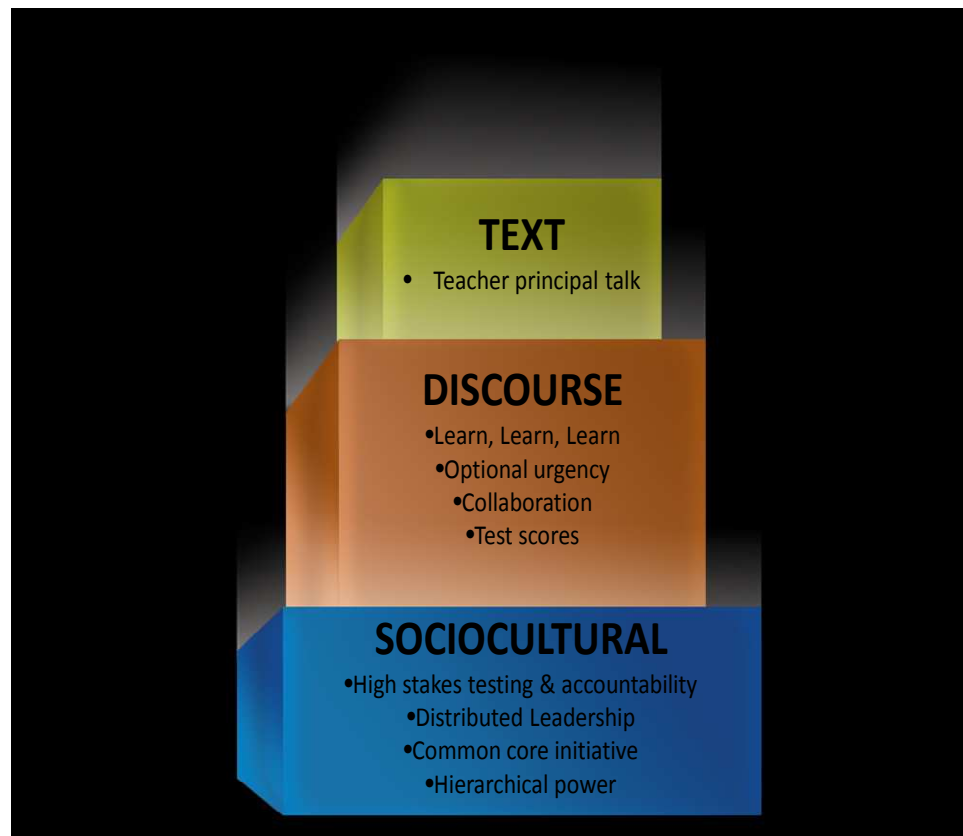
Figure 5.1: Dimensions discourse analysis at Rocky Sage Elementary

In this study linguistic features such as the use of specific words like

"taboo" were considered in the context of social practices. How both

principals' use relexicalisation to support their position is another example

of how specific linguistic features are considered. Enrique identifies the

ILT as an "admin team" which clearly changes the position of the team and

co-opts its power for administrative purposes. When Robert says the ILT

"said two things today" and "one is in terms of urgency," the term

"urgency" never occurred during the ILT meeting but came from an article

supplied by the superintendent. When considering discursive practice the

study identified discursive practice difference between the two ILTs and

the difference in discursive practice between ILT meetings at ACS and

teacher meetings. The social practices, especially the macropolitical ones

were identified and considered as to how they constrained and determined

linguistic features and discursive practice.

Discourse at ACS was analyzed in the same way as Figure 5. 2.
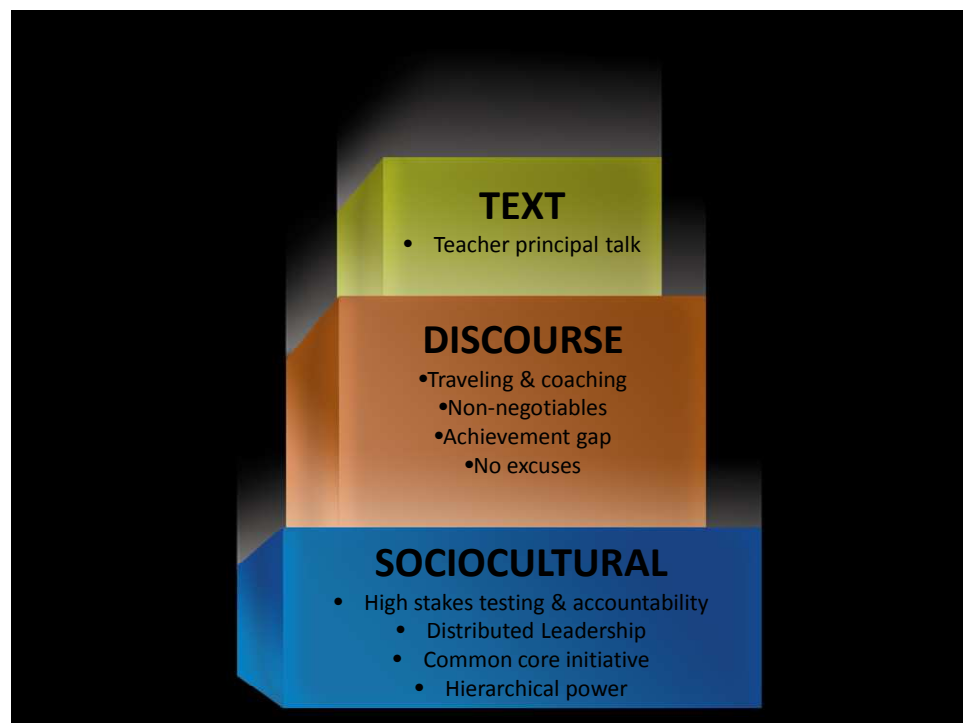
Figure 5.2: Dimensions discourse analysis at Achieving Charter School

The models show how the text established different discourses at the two

sites within the same sociocultural context. The research showed the

sociocultural context affected the construction of the discourses at the sites

in different ways. At ACS the principal used power in a hierarchical

manner while at Rocky Sage the principal refers to his hierarchical power

when he says, "I really believe that, as a leader, I can get compliance. I

could come in with a list and make us all do it."

7. How does the study include (a) convergence (b) agreement (c) coverage?

Convergence: The main findings of the study, such as the impact high-

stakes testing had on the conversations was shown through a variety of data

points and was recognized theoretically as a "substitute for leadership."

Agreement is largely addressed through the careful presentation of the

verbatim text along with the explanation of analysis. The findings of this

study depend largely on the extent the reader has agreement with the

analysis of the text. Coverage was facilitated through the inclusion of two

elementary schools and the discourse from many meetings. The coverage is

limited partially due to the selection of the schools being in the same

district that used distributed leadership and both schools having API scores

around 900. The purpose of the study was to look at schools likely to be

using distributed leadership in an effective manner as exhibited by their

scores so coverage to schools not meeting these criteria is unknown.

Micropolitics and discourse analysis provided some clear findings about

how leadership was distributed at the schools and it is expected that these

findings might be predictive of leadership distribution at other schools. For

example, the finding that the discourse of high-stakes testing determined

the context for conversations around learning at both sites is predicted to apply to other schools. Also, the finding that distributed leadership did not predict how leadership is distributed is expected to applicable to other schools. The coverage of the findings of this study will depend on their explanatory power.

8. How does the study address intertextuality within social and discursive practice? Discourse occurs in the context of the current regime of truth but offers possibilities for new truths to emerge. This is intertextuality, where the flow of conversation has the possibility of creating texts challenging the normative. This study has looked at the normative functions of discourse at the two schools and identified spaces of freedom. For example, the discourse of distributed leadership may have been theoretically associated with participative and democratic discourse while the conversations at both sites show how leadership was distributed primarily hierarchically. At both sites there were conversations where power relationships were challenged. At Rocky Sage the principal compared their school with a similar school and the teachers constructed a counter narrative where the schools were not similar since their community was semi-affluent compared to an affluent community. At ACS teacher were forbidden to use worksheets so they cut and paste from the CD to make teacher created materials, which are encouraged.

9. How is transparency in analysis methods and application of theory to the analysis achieved? In Chapter 4 significant portions of the conversations

recorded at the two schools were included to facilitate the reader's ability to read the excerpts, follow the analysis, and make their own interpretation.

10. What is the context of the study? The context of the study is first appreciative. Effort was made to find schools where there was a high likelihood of finding distributed leadership practice. Further, these schools should be successful as measured by test scores. It is interesting that schools were selected for inclusion because of their test scores and the study found that the discourse of high-stakes testing was the most powerful discourse at the two schools. Perhaps schools with low test scores might have had other findings although a school with very low test scores was cited and they seemed the most extreme about teaching to the test. Next, discourse analysis was both method and theory for the study and provided another part of the study's context. Micropolitical theory and distributed leadership theory were another part of the context of the study. Finally, the person of the researcher who has been both administrator and teacher for over thirty years was the final and certainly critical part of the context.

11. How are the linkages between the discourse and findings described? Chapter 4 documents how short passages were given and then considered using discourse analysis and the lens of micropolitics. An attempt was made to show the interpretive steps leading to the findings.

12. How much verbatim text is given? Chapter 4 is over a hundred pages and large parts of this chapter consist of verbatim text.

13. Does the analysis critique itself? Clearly, another individual considering the same texts would come to some different findings. The question is whether the careful reader of Chapter 4 agrees with the key findings of the study. Taking hundreds of pages of conversations and selecting less than 5% of the content certainly controls what the reader can access. However, each finding had multiple texts that seemed to support the same propositions. The many verbatim texts within the study help the reader critique of the analysis.

14. Does the researcher reveal personal bias? The bias of the researcher is revealed in how the reader considers the same texts and comes to similar or different conclusions. Not just because of the bias of the researcher but also due to the bias of the reader. It is the presupposition of the study that despite individual bias discourses such as this dissertation in interaction with the reader and the reader's community socially constructs education theory and practice.

Discussion

The following sections present a discussion of the key findings of the study. The discourse of high-stakes testing is considered first as it established the context for the other conversations. The discourse of distributed leadership is considered next as it is here we see how the language of participation creates the context for participation. The discourse of the two principals is considered next within the context of the previous two discourses. The discourses of the ACS language arts meeting is considered next as an example of how the language of participation creates spaces for

new truths to emerge and how they exist in tension with the regime of truth. The initial research questions are addressed in these sections as how power and position affect individual discourses, how administrative discourse affects leadership distribution, how discourses vary between the two schools, and how micropolitics is used in assessing power/knowledge patterns in discourse.

Discourse of high-stakes testing. This dissertation's first research question is "what are the individual discourses of power and position vis-à-vis members of the Instructional Leadership Team." What was not expected, but emerged from the data, is the remarkable way the situation of high-stakes testing worked to establish the overriding discourse of power and position within the learning community. At both sites the discourse of high-stakes testing had the priority of position and exercised the most power on how leadership was stretched over leaders in a school. There are significant differences in how this discourse interacted with the leaders and followers at both sites, but there is no difference in the priority of this discourse in establishing the context and content of much of the conversations. This section examines the conversations at both sites to see how the discourse of high-stakes testing is constructed. Further, the conversations will be examined to provide insight into why this discourse has such priority and power over the other discourses.

South East School District has placed schools geographically in cohort groupings of four to six schools that participate in shared staff development activities. One of the first activities of the year for all the cohorts in the district is to look at the California Standards Test's (CST) data from the previous year. The test scores are considered at all levels of the district, the school, the grade level, and the classroom

teacher. The individual classroom data is associated with the elementary school teacher who had the primary responsibility for the instruction of the children in that class. Due to the sensitive nature of these discussions none of the conversations from these meetings were observed or recorded for this study. At both sites the conversations and data from these meetings is referenced in meetings that were recorded.

  Different paradigms. The discourse of high-stakes testing did not originate in a movement to have teachers "teach to the test." The current tests are standards-based which had the purpose of being able to measure teaching and learning. As the conversations show teachers do not believe that this is what the tests actually measure. As test scores become more important to the school, using what works to raise test scores becomes more important to the teachers. Even at Rocky Sage where a 900 API is assumed, the principal regrets starting a meeting with a review of test scores since the rest of the meeting revolved around how to teach to the test. Principals are one step removed from the test scores, which apparently allows them to hold the position that test scores are an indicator of good instruction. This may not be because they actually believe it to be true but rather it may be the only available public discourse given the current regime of truth. Teachers are aware that the shortest distance to the goal is a straight line and identify "that stuff works in your scores."

  At Rocky Sage there are significant conversations around high-stakes testing during ILT meetings as well as conversations around the district Common Core State Standards. While the principal, Dr. Robert Davis, seems to have the paradigm that good instruction leads to good test scores this connection is not clear in the teacher

conversations. It is difficult for teachers to feel that there is something more important than test scores while the valued measurements are standardized tests scores.

At ACS the recorded ILT conversations are not about high-stakes testing but are centered on the Common Core State Standards. While ILT conversations are minimally about test scores the administrative paradigm remains the same. Dr. Enrique Monroy wants the ILT at ACS to focus on closing the achievement gap and he tells the teachers ACS is "being looked at as a site that is doing that." Test scores identify ACS as a school that is closing the achievement gap. Like Rocky Sage the administrative paradigm is that good instruction results in good test scores. The constraints on discourse at ACS prevent this paradigm being challenged during conversations between teachers and administrators. The conversations during teacher meetings show that the teachers do not have this paradigm. In conversation they both identify practice that they believe raises test scores but is not acceptable to the administration and they identify practices required by the administration that they believe will not raise test scores.

Starting with test scores. Timperley (2005) in a related study looks at the influence of test scores. She defines test scores directly connected to individual students as an artifact and notes that "the artefacts constrained the meeting activities in the sense that they focused on students, their achievement, and the teacher's actions associated with that achievement" (p. 21). Test scores directly connected to student and teachers produce conversations around improving student achievement. These conversations she goes to note "could reasonably be associated with improvements in

student achievement" (p. 21). Since her study looked both at leadership practice and student achievement she was able to make this connection.

Timperley's study also documents other teacher meetings where test data was presented in summary form with no connection to either students or teachers and "the teachers' primary interest of 'my students in my class' was lost and no relationship was made" (p.22). The conversations around improving student achievement in this situation did not produce improvements in achievement. Timperley's conclusion was that the form of artefacts such as test scores determines how effective they are influencing educational outcomes.

Substitutes for leadership. Spillane (2005a) considers how "aspects of the situation define and are defined by leadership practice in interaction with leaders and followers" (p. 147). The importance of high-stakes testing makes it an aspect of almost every situation where there are interactions that distribute leadership practice. Spillane does not identify testing as a way leadership is distributed but the discourse at both schools demonstrates that it is one of the key ways leadership is distributed.

The conversation at both sites demonstrates the discourse of high-stakes testing is an essential part of the context for discourse around learning and instruction. The context of discourse is not merely a box in which discourse is analyzed but establishes the conditions of possibility for the discourse. Kerr and Jermier (1978) recognized that there are "substitutes for leadership" that can nullify, substitute, or render irrelevant the leadership of an individual. This study shows how the discourse of high-stakes testing serves as a substitute for leadership.

One of the ways Kerr and Jermier proposed that substitutes for leadership work is to provide subordinates feedback and rewards from sources other than their managers. The discourses at both sites show the power of the quantitative scores provided by high-stakes testing. That the district starts the year with a look at the results of the previous year's test scores show how important scores are in providing feedback. Since both administrators identify that good instruction leads to high scores the scores work to reward or punish the teacher.

Firestone (1996) refers to Kerr and Jermier's work on substitutes for leadership when he writes that "regulation of instruction" through high-stakes testing "substantially reduce teacher autonomy without enhancing principal leadership" (p. 400). The conversations show how this happens at both sites. Teacher autonomy is reduced and administrative leadership is not enhanced. Robert tries to use conversations around test scores to provoke conversations around good instruction and finds it leads to conversations around teaching to the test. Enrique sets test score goals and then focuses on Common Core implementation and the teachers have conversations around teaching to the test. Distributed leadership is still conceptualized using Spillane's model of the triangular interaction of leaders, followers, and the situation. However, assessment data, specifically high-stakes test scores, substitute for leadership practice over time.

One study (Dionne, Yammarino, Atwater, & James, 2002) criticized Kerr and Jermier because their model did not consider the moderation or mediation affects of individual leadership. Spillane notes that there are affects of individual leadership when student assessment data is used as a leadership tool. He notes that test scores

"framed leadership practice in a particular way"; however, it "was transformed differently in and through leadership practiced at each school" (p. 148). This study shows that individual leadership does moderate and mediate these effects as can be seen in the different ways this discourse affects the two schools.

 Power of test scores. The power of high-stakes testing rests on its ability to make concrete what otherwise is abstract. This can be seen in how exact a goal is set. A goal for the coming year in high-stakes testing is set at 83% for math. The power and control that the discourse of high-stakes testing exerts at both sites is clear through the many conversations. ACS is closing the achievement gap, according to high-stakes tests. Based on test scores one teacher identifies himself as number two in the district while another teacher identifies herself; "I'm a 78." The superintendent wants kids to grow and learn and "he's definitely still going to want to see evidence that kids are learning by whatever measures we have," which is primarily high-stakes test scores. One of the teachers identifies the essential power of high-stakes testing in establishing Truth in the way Foucault defines it, when she says: "But it was working. That's what I'm trying to say. That stuff works in your scores." High-stakes test scores establish value and identity; there is no other power greater than that in the conversations recorded.

 Shohamy (2001) writes about the power of tests. "Here the power is not Gramsci's coercive civil power, egemonia of the barrel-of-a-gun variety, more the insidious consensual power, akin to Foucault's capillary power, or Bourdieu's symbolic power, whereby the powerful and authoritarian captivate and in-corporate the less-than-powerful into an acceptance, and indeed support, for particular modes of

action" (p. xxiii). The discourse at both sites shows how high-stakes testing spreads power in a capillary fashion in the teacher talk around teaching to the test. The discourse also showed that that due to NCLB regulations high-stakes testing also has coercive power. A school with scores far below 800 is referred to during a discussion around test scores where the teachers there were saying things like "just tell us what to do and we'll do it." The principal of Rocky Sage identifies this school as at the "end of the gun." At this school the whole conversation is around how to raise test scores.

   Unequal affects. This highlights another aspect to high-stakes testing that is evident in the conversations; the lower the school's test scores the more important they are. The teachers at Rocky Sage, a school with high demographics and test scores, often reflect Danna's view, "a standardized test is not necessarily a true view of the student and their capabilities." When the principal of Rocky Sage accurately compares them to schools with similar demographics the teachers come up with a variety of excuses for not have similar test scores including the marvelous concept that their parents are only "semi-affluent." At ACS the conversations during teacher meetings show that the teachers are very concerned with "what's working" to achieve the high test scores goals of 83% in math and 90% in language arts. The teachers at ACS are also aware that there will be no excuses if those test scores are not met. No matter what the intentions of the Common Core Initiative being implemented in these two schools the only language to discuss success or failure in education has been established by high-stakes testing and accountability. The test then will still largely define the context for conversations around learning. How the Common Core State Standards affects authentically engaging instruction will be much more around the

construction and implementation of the assessment tools than around the accompanying rhetoric.

Micropolitics. While the effect of the discourse of high-stakes testing was not anticipated based on distributed leadership research it was predicted by authors in the field of micropolitics. In the section on micropolitics in this paper a number of authors anticipated this finding. Flessa (2009) notes that despite distributed leadership's and micropolitics' focus on the same things distributed leadership makes little or no reference to micropolitics. Malen and Cochran (2008) attribute the depoliticizing of distributed leadership theory to "how actions taken at higher levels of the systems are permeating, if not dominating the micropolitics of schools" (p. 168). As discourse analysis must consider the context of the discourse, any study of leadership practice at the school site necessarily requires the consideration of the macropolitical and micropolitical dynamics at that site. Distributed leadership research also requires the consideration of the macropolitical and micropolitical dynamics.

Discourse of distributed leadership. South East School District has encouraged distributed leadership within the district for a number of years and that was one the reasons for choosing the district for this study. The formation of Instructional Leadership Teams at each school and time set aside during the week for teacher meetings is partly due to their understanding of how distributed leadership works. The most powerful affect of distributed leadership theory at the two schools is in establishing time and space for discourse. As people talk they socially construct their reality.

Spaces of freedom. It should be no surprise that the theory of distributed leadership and the vocabulary resulting from the theory works to form a discourse where leadership practice is distributed. Anderson (1998) in his critique of discourses of participatory reform writes, "I will argue, however, that such approaches to participation should not be dismissed as mere instruments of domination and co-option but should rather be seen as contested sites of both discourse and practice that contain transformative possibilities for the creation of more authentic approaches to participation" (pp. 573-574). The discourse at both schools showed that spaces for discourse produced spaces of freedom where the normative power of discourse was transformed during the flow of conversation and created "more authentic approaches to participation."

Spaces of freedom at ACS. The micropolitics of distributed leadership at the two sites are significantly different. However, even at ACS where discourse is more constrained, the varieties of spaces for discourse provide places where counter narratives are constructed. An example of this is when at the language arts meeting teachers take the injunction against using worksheets and share how to transform worksheets into sanitized teacher created materials. During these meetings teachers clearly share in leadership power as they take espoused theory and turn it into theory-in-use. The meeting time allows for discourse and discourse then allows for the social creation of reality, their reality.

Many of the conversations at teacher meetings appear subversive in nature constructing counter narratives. This is particularly noticeable at meetings like the language arts meeting where three of the five teachers are also members of the ILT.

Enrique is clear about the purpose of the ILT, "You play a very important role here at this school because you're part of what we call, The Leadership Team, and your role . . . is to ensure that the vision and values of ACS are being carried through, okay?" The vision of ACS is to close the achievement gap and the conversations that the teachers have away from administrators are focused on just that. The teachers share a perception that some of the expectations of administration are "absurd." The expectations and process is absurd but not the vision. The constraints Enrique puts on discourse limits the conversations that go on during ILT meetings but these conversations do occur during teacher meetings where teachers wrestle with what espoused theory looks like in practice.

Spaces of freedom at Rocky Sage. At Rocky Sage conversations are far less constrained and reality is socially constructed where all can see. An example of this is when Robert, in an effort to get Rocky Sage to have some urgency about raising test scores, starts a meeting with a presentation on a nearby district with similar demographics but significantly higher test scores. The teachers then construct discourse that establishes their truth that despite the demographic similarities the two communities are significantly different. Robert is committed to collaborative work and to accomplish this he is "purposefully ambiguous." It is not just his desire for collaboration that creates ambiguity but rather creating spaces for participation creates spaces for power to be distributed through discourse.

How leadership practice is distributed. The discourse of distributed leadership is not proscriptive in how leadership is distributed at the sites. What this study found was that leadership distribution requires discourse. Without discursive space Enrique

would have a more difficult time implementing his vision for ACS through the distribution of responsibility. It may be just the opposite at Rocky Sage where Robert is constrained from implementing his vision by conversations that construct acceptable alternative visions for the school. At ACS teachers participate in leadership distribution by ensuring fidelity to the vision of the school. At Rocky Sage teachers participate in leadership distribution by co-constructing the vision for the school. At ACS the vision is clear and there is the appearance of full implementation. At Rocky Sage the vision is fragmented and the resulting implementation is partial.

 ACS principal discourse. This dissertation's first research question is "what are the individual discourses of power and position vis-à-vis members of the Instructional Leadership Team." What was expected is that the discourse of the principal would be instrumental in how leadership was distributed at the site. What was not expected was the extent the discourse of high-stakes testing established the context of discourse at the school site. The discourse of high-stakes testing and others such as distributed leadership and the Common Core State Standards mitigate the effect of the individual discourses at the site.

 The vision and values. The principal of ACS, Dr. Enrique Monroy, clearly holds the power and the position of control. However, distributed leadership has a very elastic definition that places his leadership practice as distributed leadership. The leadership practice at ACS is that the responsibility for ensuring the vision and values of the school is distributed. Enrique has a moral imperative for the "vision and values of ACS," closing the achievement gap. The discourse of closing the achievement gap has been subsumed by the discourse of high-stakes testing at ACS. Closing the

achievement gap is the goal but the measure is higher test scores. High test scores then serve as a substitute for closing the achievement gap in ACS discourse. The students at ACS are lower income, second language, minority children who generally do not do as well on high-stakes testing as students with different demographics. Due to their high scores ACS is viewed as a school that has closed the achievement gap. ACS has closed the achievement gap but they have not closed it by merely teaching to the test. There is a rich curriculum at the school and the administration's use of power over produces a high degree of program fidelity. There could be another just as successful school based on test scores that could have a significantly different learning environment. The problem is not test scores per say but rather test scores are the only text available in education to identify closing the achievement gap.

Enrique accepts that fulfilling the vision and values has a cost and he says, "I have my system and I think it seems to work, you know what I mean. And yeah it's intimidating, yeah it's kind of scary but I gotta tell you, you know what, we're not gonna move forward if we don't do anything like that." This greater discourse, closing the achievement gap by raising test scores, brings urgency to all of the discourse at ACS.

Non-negotiables. Enrique establishes closing the achievement gap as a non-negotiable. From this non-negotiable stream other non-negotiables that "everybody needs to kind of live up to." These non-negotiables empower and constrain everyone at the school site. Enrique's use of language constrains power while distributing leadership practice. He recognizes that the power of non-negotiables rests on them being truly, non-negotiable. Truth is no longer true if other "truths" are considered.

There are no discursive spaces around non-negotiables. The language of non-negotiables results in there being no excuses. Enrique says about non-negotiables, "we need not just depend on the adult, we need to depend on the belief and the passion and that if we stick to something it's gonna happen, okay." Bridging the achievement gap is going to happen, it is evaluated by test scores, it is non-negotiable, and there are no excuses.

Enrique controls specifically what the non-negotiables are by using nonsense words; "I expected to have boom-boom-boom's in my classroom." Even though Enrique is unclear about what he expects to see he is very clear that where there was "no boom-boom, okay. I've already had a conversation with these individuals." High accountability with unclear expectations gives all the power to Enrique. When one of the teachers in a round-about way asked what "boom-boom-boom's" are, Enrique responds, "I'm giving you guys the word of my reality." He concludes the comment by saying, "that's the power of dialogue."

The power of dialogue. Enrique is fully aware of the power of dialogue and he uses it to establish a regime of truth that controls and directs the distribution of leadership. If Enrique only had traditional hierarchical models of leadership there would be less support for ensuring the "vision and values of ACS" are realized. Enrique's discourse illustrates that times set aside for dialogue, when the leader constrains and directs the discussion, can work to concentrate power while sharing responsibility.

The discourse of high-stakes testing empowers Enrique's discourse around closing the achievement gap. Without a concrete, quantifiable, measure of what it

means to close the achievement gap Enrique could not claim that ACS is "looked at as a site that is doing that." Since there is unassailable evidence that they are closing the achievement gap Enrique can insist upon program fidelity.

What Enrique does not realize, since discourse in his presence is so constrained, is that teacher discourse reveals that the program fidelity the teachers understand is achieving high test scores. When Enrique asks the ILT "how are we going to hold each other accountable" he is thinking of specific programs and not test scores. In the conversation at teacher meetings we see that teachers are working towards program fidelity except where it seems the program is not aligned with raising test scores. When there is this perceived misalignment teacher discourse shows that they align their instruction to raising test scores.

This does not diminish the power and position of Enrique's dialogue rather it shows how participants in the discourse can understand the essential truth of the discourse despite other 'truths' being put forward. Enrique is constrained by the context of high-stakes testing at a school where closing the achievement gap is measured by test scores. This behavior on the part of teachers to ensure that high test scores are achieved, sometimes despite administrative directives, shows that there is a pattern of deeply distributed leadership at ACS. The non-negotiable of closing the achievement gap makes it so the teachers "need not just depend on the adult," in this case Enrique, "to ensure the vision and values of ACS are being carried through."

Constraints on conversations. Enrique has helped foster an environment where there is a high level of program fidelity but also an environment where teachers are psychically exhausted by trying to please two masters, the administration and the

non-negotiables. Enrique has established that any discourse that questions the program or expresses concerns is not accepted. Denise expresses this paradigm when she says, "I don't think we can do concerns because then we sound negative, and it is going to be 'what did you guys do? Complain the whole time?'" The discourses at ACS show that the discourse of no excuses had the powerful affect of directing conversation towards program implementation and creatively working around obstacles to implementation. However, the interpretation of this discourse also prevented conversations that teacher meeting conversations show needed to happen.

Leadership models at ACS. Alma Harris has a model of distributed leadership practice (Figure 2.3). The model has two axes, tight to lose coupling of program and diffusely (uncoordinated) to deeply (coordinated) distributed leadership. Clearly there is a tight coupling of program at ACS and there is also deeply distributed leadership practice. This would place the leadership practice at ACS in the additive distribution quadrant. The misalignment of practice is due to a misalignment between administrative paradigm and teacher paradigm. Enrique sees the Common Core State Standards and other school programs aligned with raising test scores while the teachers see significant parts of the program not aligned with raising test scores.

Blasé and Anderson's Micropolitical theory provides another lens to consider the leadership style at ACS. Enrique's leadership style fits the upper left quadrant of their leadership matrix (Figure 2.4). This quadrant is titled "Adversarial Leadership" and corresponds to a closed leadership style and a transformative leadership approach. With this leadership combination a leader promotes their moral vision resulting in a power over and power through dynamic that is dominated by power over. Part of the

power of Enrique's moral vision, closing the achievement gap, is that it is a vision

widely shared by the staff at ACS. Enrique's power over extends from his moral

vision to all aspects of the program. Earlier we identified leadership at ACS as deeply

distributed and we see here that Adversarial Leadership has a power through dynamic

that works to distribute leadership.

In a 2009 article on micropolitics the authors, Smeed, Kimber, Millwater, and

Ehrich, drawing on the work of Blasé and Anderson (1995), designed a new model of

micropolitics including the macropolitical context. The authors designed this model

both to show how the context of macropolitics contributes to the micropolitics of the

school and how most individuals exercise power in all three domains. They write,

"This macropolitical context is likely to be a strong force impacting upon the range of

micropolitical strategies used by school leaders as it defines their contractual

accountability" (p. 34). This model is presented as Figure 5.3.

MACROPOLITICAL CONTEXT

External pressures such as accountability requirements mandated by governments and interest groups
(e.g. parents, community members), as well as the changes stemming from globalization and technological change.

POWER WITH

Trust – close relationships
Empowering
Shared leadership
Supportive of staff,
Open Communication
Collaboration

POWER OVER

Dominance,
Control,
Authoritarian,
Closed

POWER THROUGH

Transactional,
Facilitative,
Negotiation,
Cooperation
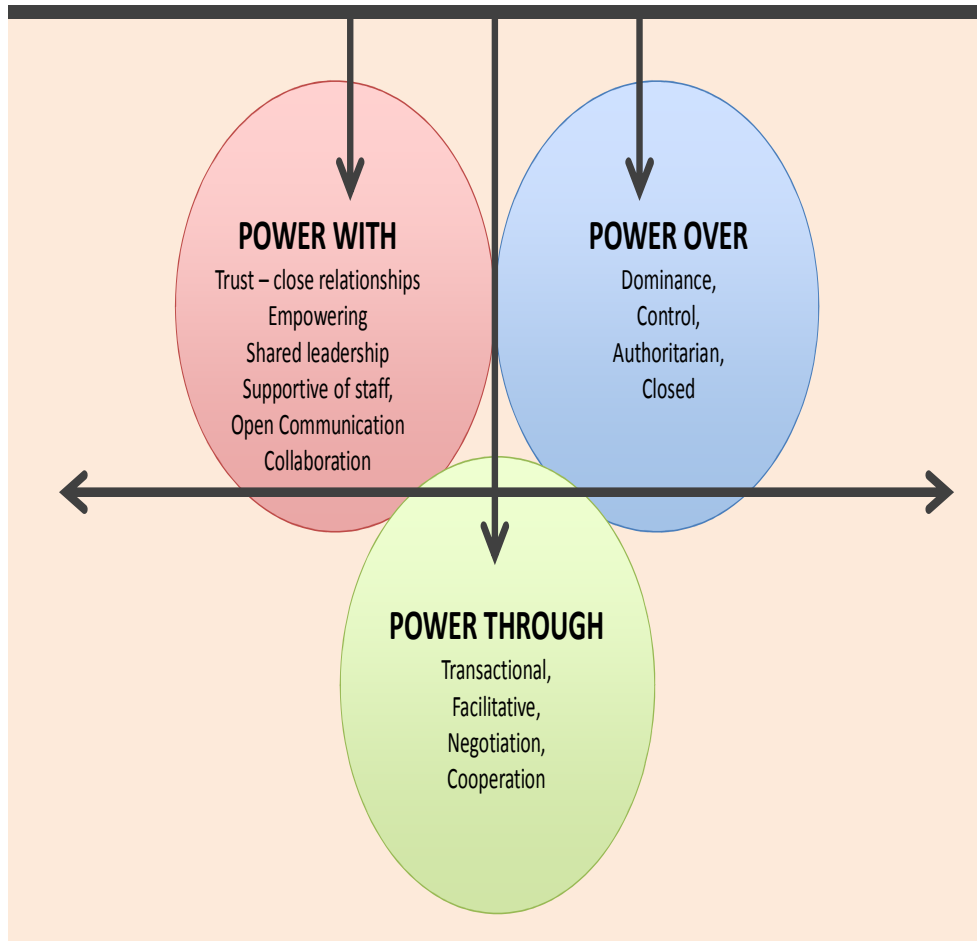
Figure 5.3: A New Model of Micropolitics. From Power over, with and through: Another look at micropolitics (p.35) by J. Smeed, M. Kimber, J. Millwater, and L. Ehrich, (2009). In *Leading & Managing*, 15(1), 26-41. Reprinted with permission.

This model can be reconfigured to represent the uses of power by a specific individual and is presented below in Figure 5.4. to roughly match the leadership practice of the principal of ACS.

MACROPOLITICAL CONTEXT

HIGH-STAKES TESTING AND ACCOUNTABILITY, DISTRIBUTED LEADERSHIP, AND COMMON CORE INITIATIVE

POWER WITH
Trust – close relationships
Empowering
Shared leadership
Supportive of staff,
Open Communication
Collaboration

POWER OVER
Dominance,
Control,
Authoritarian,
Closed

POWER THROUGH
Transactional,
Facilitative,
Negotiation,
Cooperation
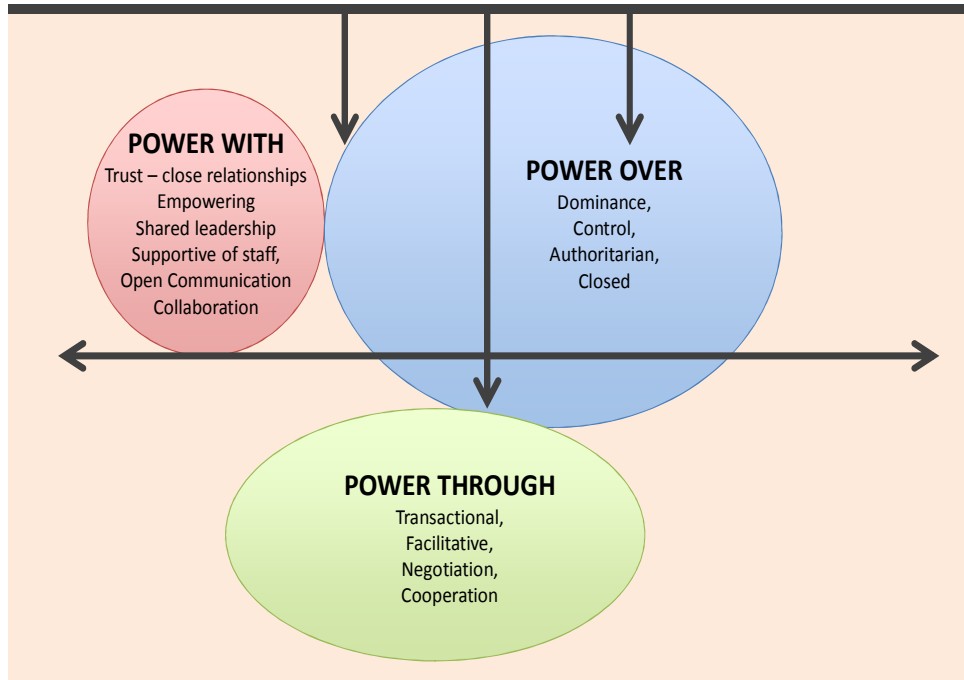
Figure 5.4*: Principal Micropolitics at Achieving Charter School.
Adapted from A New Model of Micropolitics (Smeed, Kimber,
Millwater, and Ehrich 2009, p. 35)

The key is not how much the size of each domain has changed but rather how

the model shows the individual's dominate domain of power and how it affects their

use of power in the other domains. The macropolitical factors listed are not supposed

to be exhaustive but rather coming from the findings of this study. There certainly are

other macropolitical factors impinging on the micropolitics of the school. As the

model shows the principal's main use of power at ACS was power over. The model

also shows there were times that power through and power with were used. Blasé and

Anderson (1995), like Foucault, identify Enrique's moral vision of closing the

achievement gap as how power is expressed in a capillary function of a shared moral

vision leading to consensus. Consensus can be developed through democratic

participation or consensus can emerge through the dominance of certain discourses.

Like the macropolitical power of high-stakes testing this requirement to "ensure that

the vision and values of ACS are being carried through" is an example of power over.

Distributed leadership theory is not able to identify this difference due to the lack of

attention to micropolitics.

How leadership practice is distributed. A research question of this paper was

whether Micropolitical theory would assist understanding teacher and administrator

power relationships as evidenced through discourse. Maxcy and Nguyen (2006)

criticized "distributed leadership frames" for their "depoliticized, administrative

characterization of leadership distribution." Exactly as they predicted the language of

distributed leadership masked a highly political environment that is revealed through

the theoretical frame of micropolitics. Micropolitics helped explain how the discourses

at the school site interacted in terms of power and position. The macropolitical

conversation on closing the achievement gap forms the vision of the school while

another macropolitical conversation of high-stakes testing establishes whether the

vision has been achieved. Understanding the interaction of politics at the micro and

macro level is essential in understanding the distribution of leadership through the use

of discourse analysis.

Helen Timperley (2009) warns about the limitations of the concept of

distributed leadership and remarks that the micropolitics of the school often confound

the theoretical assumptions of how leadership is distributed. Alma Harris's model of

distributed leadership practice provide a theoretical framework to understand the

extent leadership is distributed and how coupled the distribution is with espoused

theory. Her framework does not address the dynamics of power and position at the

school site. The lens of micropolitics reveals that leadership is indeed deeply diffused

at ACS based on the principal's power over the staff. The next most used domain of

leadership was power through and resulted in leadership power being distributed

through the staff. It is important here to emphasize the clear difference between

collaboration and cooperation.

Robertson (2008) records what one principal said about collaboration:

When you have a situation in a school district that requires a combined
input of many individuals to resolve a problem, there are several facets
of the process that need to be considered. First of all, the problem needs
to be identified. Secondly, the desired outcome needs to be identified.
And third, the process for getting to that desired and outcome needs to
be worked through and identified. From my very simplistic perspective,
those three issues needed to be dealt with (p. 131).

The three facets given here for collaboration are identifying the problem,

selecting the desired outcome, and achieving the desired outcome. If one or more of

these facets are missing then the combined input of many individuals cannot be

identified as collaboration. At ACS leadership was usually distributed only for the

third step of how to achieve the desired outcome. Collaboration implies that the

participants built the vision they are performing, cooperation means only that

participants carry out the vision. Without looking at the micropolitics of the

"combined input of many individuals" this crucial differentiation might not be

identified.

Spillane's (2005c) emphasis that "distributed leadership is first and foremost

about leadership practice" results in a focus on the interaction between leaders and

followers and not on how power and position influence the interaction. Leithwood, building on Gronn's holistic forms, structures the performance of leadership as different kinds of alignment. Again distributed leadership is focused on the interaction, the activity of distributing leadership, and not the position and power of the participants. By using the lens of micropolitics to look at ACS principal discourse the exercise of power and position in distributing leadership is revealed in ways that are not accessible through the use of distributed leadership theory.

Rocky Sage principal discourse. Two things stand out in comparing the principal discourse at Rocky Sage with principal discourse at ACS. One is that the discourse of high-stakes testing has far less power at Rocky Sage. The other is that the principal is firmly committed to collaboratively constructing the vision and program at Rocky Sage.

Collaboration. The principal of Rocky Sage is conflicted about the power and position he wants at the school. He points out to the ILT, "that, as a leader, I can get compliance. I could come in with a list and make us all do it." But he says all he will get is compliance and he wants to have buy-in through collaboration within the ILT and within the larger school community. He constructs the discourse of distributed leadership at Rocky Sage around collaborative conversations. Here leadership is distributed in determining the very vision and values of the school. Robert has a vision in mind, "it would be a great school if it was the same on every page, every day." He hopes that this vision can be constructed through "the group's collaborative work." However, most of the conversations we see at Rocky Sage work to affect a much different vision.

When Robert has teachers look at a school with similar demographics the teachers create a new term, "semi-affluent." Teachers create a new term to create a new paradigm so the comparison to the nearby affluent district was inappropriate even though their statistics were nearly identical. Robert stayed quiet during this entire conversation and when it was over moved on to another topic without addressing anything discussed during this time.

Timperley (2005) records a similar event involving a literacy leader sharing about a decline in test scores with a teacher team. The literacy leader was interviewed after the meeting and "she expressed her frustration that the discussion was dominated by these [no lunches and all that sort of thing] external causes" (p.20). When the researcher asked why the literacy leader had not challenged the teachers she replied, "'Well that's where they're at at the moment.' I'm hoping that people will come to a natural conclusion of getting past that" (p.20). Timperley notes that distributed leadership has changed "the analysis of power relationships" and this situation "left the leader in a position of being led by the followers. How she acted was determined largely by the teachers' responses and she felt powerless to change their thinking or actions until they were ready" (p.20). Since this study used only naturally occurring discourse the researcher was not able to ask Robert the question asked of the literacy leader. Robert's lack of participation in the conversation does make it clear that sharing the test scores did not produce the conversation he desired.

Leadership models at Rocky Sage. Using Alma Harris's model of distributed leadership the ILT discourse showed that there was a loose coupling of the program. The ILT conversations usually did collaboratively design a plan but the exact nature of

the plan was problematic since there were conversations around that plan during grade level meetings. At ACS ILT members were responsible for ensuring the vision and values of the school were carried through. At Rocky Sage Robert said that they were responsible for "grade levels creating something together that they all do." Leadership is distributed at Rocky Sage and ACS. At Rocky Sage what was distributed was the power to create something that they had the option of doing.

Robert has a transformative approach to leadership but somehow the conversations within the ILT seemed to be much more transactional with teachers focusing on the status quo and meeting expectations. One of the problems confronting Robert and the other team members was that the macropolitical realities would always trump the programs developed collaboratively at the site. Robert introduced high-stakes test scores to start conversations about learning and the teachers had conversations about teaching to the test. The teachers' reality is that teaching to the test raises test scores. Robert introduced "structures," an element of the Common Core Initiative in the district and the teachers asked how many and how soon they needed to implement the structures. The teacher's reality was that the district mandated walk-through constituted what Foucault described as a "normalizing gaze, a surveillance that makes it possible to qualify, to classify, and to punish." The teachers knew the walk-through was an examination and they wanted to know the expectations. It is these reasons, based on macropolitical discourses that Robert was never able to get across his transformational approach.

Using Blasé and Anderson's leadership matrix Robert's discourse appeared to fit his leadership style to the upper right quadrant of their leadership matrix that is

identified as "Democratic, Empowering Leadership." This is the one they identify as

the most desirable and it is typified by a "willingness to share power," and have "goals

achieved through collaboration." Power is exercised with the followers. Directly

below this quadrant, in the lower right, is Facilitative Leadership. This open leadership

style encourages dialogue and the voicing of an individual's own goals and desires

seemingly establishing a positive environment. The problem Blasé and Anderson

identified is that the reality of the situation does not respond to the dialogue that's

been fostered. Flessa (2009) identifies this reality when he comments, "When policy

directions for schools are set far away and further up the hierarchical chain of

command, local micropolitics can be seen solely as managerial obstacles to be

overcome" (p. 346). Is the leadership style identified in the upper right quadrant of the

Micropolitical Leadership Matrix accessible in the education environment today? To

the extent it is accessible Robert's leadership style fits this quadrant. To the extent it is

not accessible, Robert's leadership style fits the lower right quadrant where leadership

often runs the risk of manipulating others. Considering this, many of Robert's

discourses that appeared to be promoting democratic leadership now seem

manipulative and coercive. The new model of micropolitics is employed here in

Figure 5.5 to show how discourse revealed Robert's exercise of power at Rocky Sage.

MACROPOLITICAL CONTEXT

HIGH-STAKES TESTING AND ACCOUNTABILITY, DISTRIBUTED LEADERSHIP AND COMMON CORE INITIATIVE

POWER WITH
Trust – close relationships
Empowering
Shared leadership
Supportive of staff,
Open Communication
Collaboration

POWER OVER
Dominance,
Control,
Authoritarian,
Closed

POWER THROUGH
Transactional,
Facilitative,
Negotiation,
Cooperation
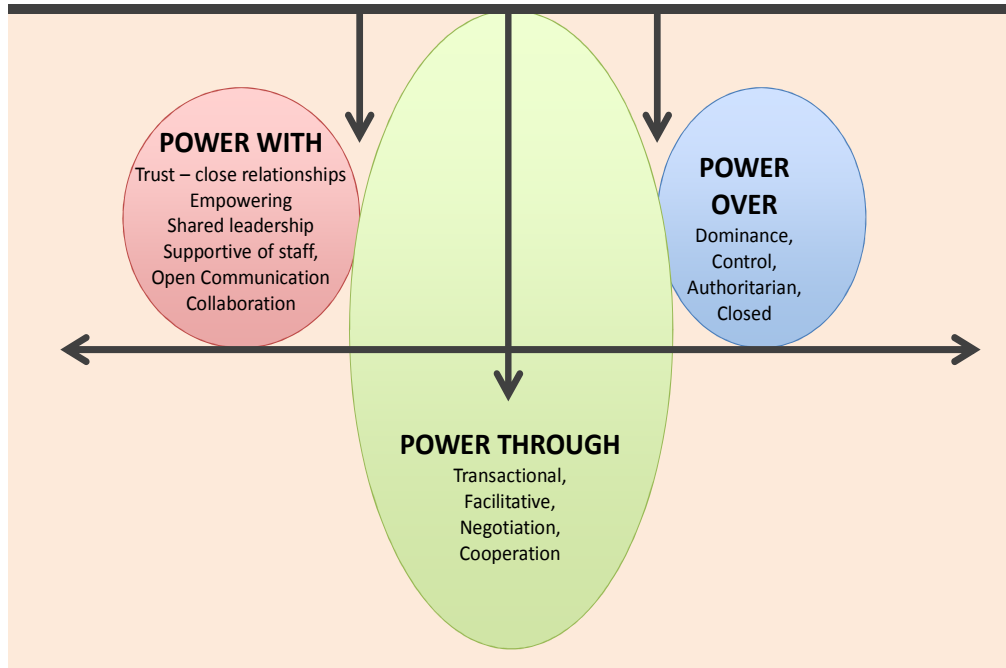
Figure 5.5: Principal Micropolitics at Rocky Sage Elementary. Adapted from A New Model of Micropolitics (Smeed, Kimber, Millwater, and Ehrich 2009, p. 35)

Robert's apparent struggle to operate primarily using power with but ending up using power through identifies a challenge to everyone in education. The effect of macropolitics so constrains the use of power that the quadrant Blasé and Anderson identify as Democratic, Empowering Leadership is not available to most administrators. The question is not whether Robert was genuine with the teachers but whether he had fully considered the ramifications of the macropolitical realities. The work of Anderson (1998) and Arnstein informs this study on participative discourse. Arnstein (1996) writes, "There is a critical difference between going through the empty ritual of participation and having the real power needed to affect the outcome of

the process" (p. 216). The teachers understood that no matter what the conversation there was still going to be accountability for test scores and program implementation.

The situation was further complicated at Rocky Sage in that Robert, more than the teachers, was responding to the pressure of high-stakes testing. Some of the empowering and shared leadership discourse that was an expression of power with accomplished what Robert wanted, democratic, empowering leadership. It may also have accomplished lower test scores.

ACS language arts teacher discourse. Several of the key findings from the language arts meeting are discussed in the section on distributed leadership. The discussion in that section covered how teacher meetings are a place where counter narratives are constructed and how teachers work to align their instructional program with new program implementation and test scores. There are other aspects of the meeting that were in the context of distributing leadership practice and are pertinent to this study.

Discourses of prior knowledge and conceptual change. The discourse of prior knowledge and conceptual change occurred only at the level of teacher meetings at ACS. The assumption at the administrative level is that new programs replace existing programs. The teachers recalled how administration had at one time presented Susan's packet as a model of something "you need to have" and after the new implementation administration response to the same material was, "I don't wanna see a packet." This did not mean that teachers abandoned packets and during this meeting they were referred to as "the P word." The P word has the same discursive presence as semi-affluent did in the conversation at Rocky Sage.

Several of the discourses of the language arts meeting are about how to assimilate new learning and behaviors with existing ones. Since education is in a perpetual reform cycle with each new program introduced on the same premise that they now represent best practice these integrating discourses seem both practical and necessary. Laura points this out when she responds to Maria saying, " But, that's just the thing is as humans, or as English teachers, you make a connection to what you know to what you're learning." The conversations at this meeting demonstrate how teachers collaboratively construct organizational learning that makes connections between what you know and what you are learning. The teachers understand that what the administration wants is total fidelity to the new program and Maria speaks for all them when she says, "They can't control my mind. They can't see inside my mind when I'm trying to connect." These conversations also show a level of trust allowing them to express theories-in-use.

Discourse of silence. The trust that teachers exhibited without an administrator present disappears when the resource specialist visits the team. The specialist's very first words as she enters the room are, "This is what Enrique just asked me, what he is asking, is remember not to be separating reading and writing." This is typical of ACS where administrators have little genre switching and most of the time speak using the power of the administrative genre. The conversation then resolves into one where teachers are asking to be told what is okay and what is not okay. Power over is the primary way leadership is being distributed with the specialist in the room. Teachers did not ask clarifying questions, yet their conversation after the specialist leaves

showed they were confused. There was no evidence of teachers asking or answering questions honestly.

Leadership model for language arts teacher meeting. The new model of micropolitics is useful here to compare how power works within a teacher meeting and is shown below in Figure 5.6. During the meeting teachers exercised power with, but the meeting changed when the administrative specialist entered the meeting to one of power over.

MACROPOLITICAL CONTEXT

External pressures such as accountability requirements mandated by governments and interest groups (e.g. parents, community members), as well as the changes stemming from globalization and technological change.

POWER WITH
Trust – close relationships
Empowering
Shared leadership
Supportive of staff,
Open Communication
Collaboration

POWER OVER
Dominance,
Control,
Authoritarian,
Closed

POWER THROUGH
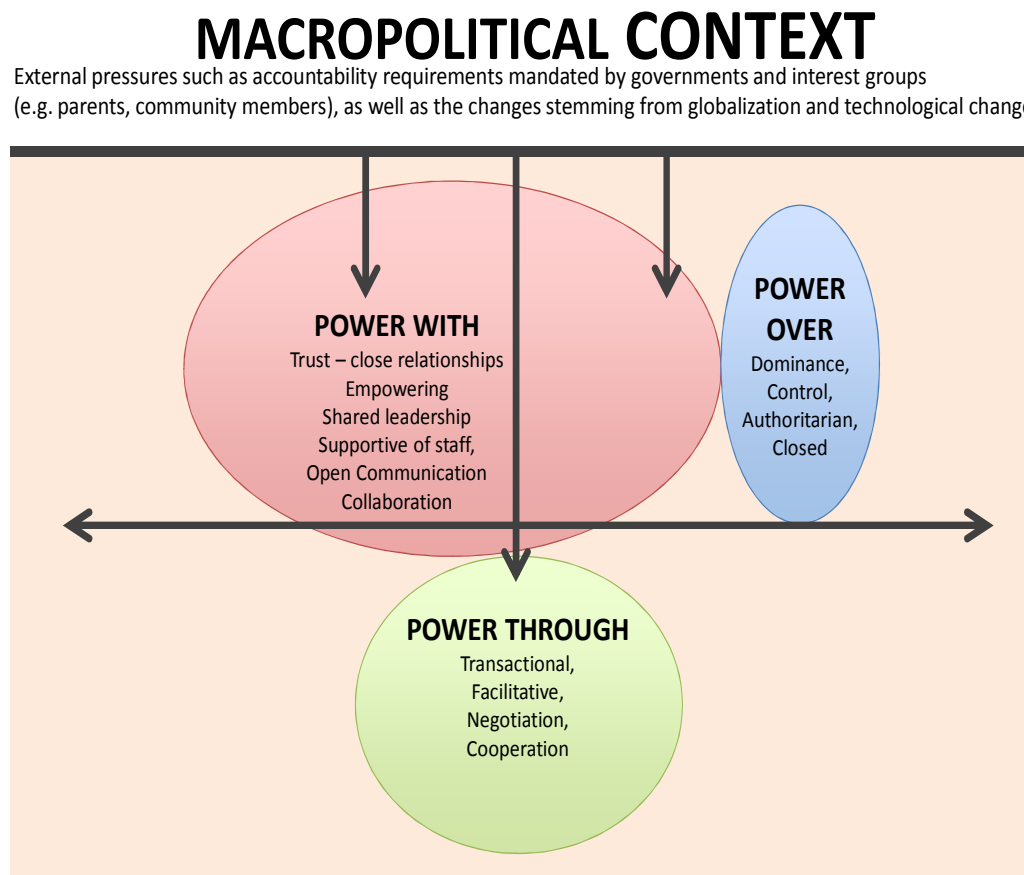Transactional,
Facilitative,
Negotiation,
Cooperation

Figure 5.6: Teacher meeting Micropolitics as Achieving Charter School. Adapted from A New Model of Micropolitics (Smeed, Kimber, Millwater, and Ehrich 2009, p. 35)

Although there were times that certain teachers were looked to for professional expertise the main difference in power between the teachers was expressed in knowledge differences and not position differences. The few times power over was exhibited in the meeting was on the basis of one teacher having knowledge, such as this year's CST results, that other teachers did not have. Power through was exercised more frequently through negotiation, cooperation, and facilitating. Teachers negotiated on topics such as how to construct their days to include everything required. Teachers cooperated in activities such as making the poster for sharing when the teams got back together. Teacher meetings exhibited most of the characteristics in the power with domain and this was the primary exercise of power during the meetings when only teachers were present.

Teacher meeting spaces of freedom. The discourse of distributed leadership provides significant space for discourse and has provided for power with leadership distribution at the level of teacher meetings. The macropolitical context, however, still establishes much of the context for the conversations. Further, the micropolitical pressures of power over and power through from administration form another level of constraint. Despite the limitations discourse at the meetings shows how dialogue can socially construct a discourse that is similar, but not identical, to the prevailing discourse. These discourses work to form a community of collaboration, organizational learning, and trust that reduce teacher isolation. The analysis of the conversations using Figure 3.3 shows the flow of conversation within many of the situations generated significant new truths to the point there was almost a subversive element to the discourse. The teachers share a paradigm that is different from the

public paradigm of the administration where new program implementation and raising test scores are equated. These teachers share common knowledge of past practice that they collaborative integrate into new programs and thus design their theory-in-use. These teachers share the experience of attempting to implement programs that "look good on paper," are not "working for anyone," are "absurd," and aren't "very realistic." So when the resource specialist tells Susan that "it does look like they're [her class] reading" the other teachers recognize the incongruity of her words, "look like." As the specialist leaves they share in hysterical laughter that things only look like they're happening and really aren't. The cause of the hysteria is that they realize how close to the truth the comment was, it only looks like they are doing what is expected.

Collaboration, organizational learning, trust. This shared experience develops close trusting relationships. It also empowers teachers in that they share a common bond of knowing they all feel like they are expected to accomplish the impossible. Without this knowledge isolation and guilt would grow over their individual felt incompetence when they fail. They are able to share leadership since it is knowledge based at the teacher meeting and all of them have "stuff that works" as evidenced by the school's high level of achievement. Collaboration is enhanced as they try to integrate new practice with old and find ways to look like they are doing what is expected. This leads to deeply diffuse distribution of leadership that is not as tightly coupled as it would be without the meetings but perhaps more practical. If Harris' model of distributed leadership practice was used for this teacher meeting it would show flexible structure and deep coordinated practice. The flexible structure

comes from the creative ways teachers adapt espoused theory to theory-in-use. The deep distribution comes from the collaboration, organizational learning, and trust that are evident. It is only in the context of power with that this study found the collaboration, organizational learning, and trust that Robertson (2008) held were required for distributed leadership to emerge as leadership practice.

Conclusion

This section is divided into five parts where the key findings of the study are reviewed and potential implications are considered.

Discourse of high-stakes testing conclusion. The power of the discourse of high-stakes testing comes first from how it shows that schools with high demographics achieve high test scores. Next it draws power from providing quantitative data for what is otherwise a qualitative environment. Finally, by acting discursively for bridging the achievement gap it provides a measureable way to show that the gap has or has not been bridged. Politically this discourse draws power from high demographic areas where their educational success is confirmed, from the larger society where numbers establish a scientific measurement of learning, and from low demographic areas where there is a measure that holds schools accountable.

Standards-based instruction and the high-stakes testing that drives it have changed the paradigm of learning. A finding of this study is that administrative discourse equated learning with test scores and teacher discourse equated teaching to the test to test scores. Raising test scores is not only the indicator of closing the achievement gap but discursively substitutes for closing the achievement gap. Thus there are few conversations around closing the achievement gap but many

conversations around raising test scores. Test scores act as a substitute for leadership by providing value and identity. The nearer an individual is to instruction the more their identity and personal value is determined by the results of high-stakes tests. The nearer an individual is to instruction the more they identify high test scores as a goal and less as an indicator of learning. The more significant the repercussion for test scores the more important the test scores become. Teachers at schools where high test scores are assumed are less focused on test scores and more focused on learning. The lower the test scores of a school the more they are seen as the goal and not the indicator. Students then at low performing schools have different instructional programs than students at higher performing schools. The Common Core Initiative continues this paradigm where learning is quantifiable and represented by the results of high-stakes testing. The dynamic that is in operation with standards-based instruction will continue with the implementation of the Common Core. The intentions of the Common Core Initiative, as were the intentions of standard-based instruction, are not and cannot be measured with existing or proposed tests. Students in low performing schools will continue to have different instructional programs. The question asked at the beginning of this study is still pertinent, are we seeing real reform. The answer is that it is hard to measure if the only measures are the results of high-stakes testing. The discourse at both sites shows the power and position of high-stakes testing and how the results have discursively substituted for bridging the achievement gap. As a measure of bridging the achievement gap this is such a limited measure as evidenced by how infrequently a study of discourse during team meetings

failed to reveal the richness of their instructional programs that was apparent through observation.

A finding of this study is that the discourse of high-stakes testing has increased hierarchical leadership and decreased the possibility of participative discourse.

Discourse of distributed leadership conclusion. Spillane (2005c) says that distributed leadership is the new flavor of the month in the education business (p. 2). One of the reasons for the appeal of distributed leadership is that "it can become all things to all people; various versions of distributed leadership have been associated with democratic leadership, participative leadership, collaborative leadership, and so on" (Spillane, 2006, p. 102). This association led South East School District to adopt distributed leadership within their district in the context of the discourse of participation. The most powerful affect of distributed leadership theory at the two schools is in establishing time and space for discourse. Leadership distribution required discourse since it takes place in the interactions of leaders, followers, and their situation over time.

The discourse at the two schools was significantly different. At Rocky Sage discourse was more democratic and participative. Although conversations worked to establish both ends and means of the program the vision was fragmented and the implementation was partial. The discourse showed that leadership was distributed largely by what Gronn would identify as numerical action. Numerical action is where there are multiple leaders and individual teachers or groups of teachers making leadership decisions for their students independent of the larger community.

At ACS ILT discourse works to distribute leadership through distributing responsibility for ensuring program fidelity to the vision and values of the school. At ACS teacher meetings discourse works to distribute leadership through the construction of counter narratives that adapt the instructional program of the school to the realities of the classroom teachers. The vision of closing the achievement gap is maintained and what is challenged is the instructional program. Teachers changed elements of the instructional program that they believed did not support raising test scores, which they equate with closing the achievement gap. So at ACS it is at the level of teacher meetings that leadership is distributed through numerical action. The key difference in the distribution of leadership between the two schools is that at Rocky Sage the vision and implementation are fragmented while at ACS the vision is intact while implementation is fragmented.

Robertson (2008) found that collaboration, organizational learning, and trust were required for distributed leadership to emerge as leadership practice. At both schools there was what might be called collaboration although the micropolitics of the collaboration were different. This study identified that collaboration, people working together to accomplish a task, was a bit like distributed leadership in that it can exist in different power relationships. Collaboration can occur in environments of power with, power through, and power over. Using the tools of micropolitics the power relationships of collaboration are revealed. The study suggests that where there is power over or power through collaboration would be better understood as cooperation. Robertson's study did not consider the micropolitics of distributing leadership and so collaboration is identified as occurring but without analysis of how it was occurring. A

finding of Robertson was that organizational learning enhanced distributed leadership

practice and this proved true in the current study. All the meeting times provided

spaces for conversations that assisted the participants to learn and adapt in a collective

manner. These conversations also generated organizational knowledge as the

participants shared organizational stories such as teaching to the test and turning

worksheets into teacher created materials. Trust was talked about at both schools but

had specific contextual meanings. Enrique tells the ILT, "I trust and I believe that you

guys will carry out that mission, okay." This is a conditional trust based on outcomes

and not persons. There is another type of trust Enrique talks about when he says, "I

think we need not just depend on the adult, we need to depend on the belief and the

passion and that if we stick to something it's gonna happen, okay." Here Enrique is

talking about non-negotiables where he believes the staff at ACS should place their

trust. Trust at ACS is not in persons but in a regime of truth. Teacher conversations

reflect this and as one teacher comments about the frequent classroom visits and

immediate feedback for program inconsistency, "It means I don't trust you though."

Trust, like collaboration, needs to be considered within the dimensions of power and

position that affect it. It is not enough to say that trust matters, but what the trust is in?

At Rocky Sage discourse is less constrained and teachers express their

opinions during ILT meetings. The contexts of high-stakes testing and administrative

walk-throughs are also present at Rocky Sage. This leads one of the teachers to tell

Robert that they do not trust what he says since they believe that he "wants these

scores." Trust, in the context of high-stakes testing and the accompanying

accountability is result oriented. Trust at both schools is in the context of our data is good therefore I trust you and not in the context of I trust you that our data is good.

The micropolitics of the sites were different. However, the time for discourse provided by the discourse of distributed leadership at the sites provided spaces of freedom where transformative changes in power relations between teachers and administrators were enacted. This makes the discourse of distributed leadership, by the terms of this study, an emancipatory discourse. To illustrate this envision leadership as the interactions of people in their situation. Discourse constitutes the interactions and by its nature those conversations construct the social reality of the school. As the conversations at both sites show the power of the normative is immense but not monolithic. In the flow of conversation there are space of freedom where new truths emerge that would not have been possible if those discourses had not occurred. As Enrique says, "I'm giving you guys the word of my reality. Now you guys need to take the word and reflect on it, and create your own, okay."

ACS principal discourse conclusion. Greenfield (1991) in his study of leadership in an elementary school says that the most "potent sources of power are the shared norms, values, ideals, and beliefs of the participants themselves" (p. 183). Enrique uses this power to establish a regime of truth at ACS. Blasé (1993) identifies this as normative power where "effective principals articulate their visions, set their goals, explain their expectations, and in large part, determine the means to achieve such ends. Teachers are normatively influenced to 'buy into the principal's agenda'" (p. 158). Teacher discourse at ACS showed that teachers had bought into the principal's agenda. Where there is an apparent misalignment it is because of

differences in paradigms. Enrique is focused on implementing the Common Core State Standards at ACS and assumes that test scores will remain high. Teachers are willing to implement the Common Core except when it conflicts with achieving high test scores, which they understand means that they have closed the achievement gap. Due to a discourse of no excuses the conversation around the Common Core and test scores never happens in Enrique's presence. Using Alma Harris's model of distributed leadership practice Enrique fits the lower right quadrant of additive distribution. Here there is deeply distributed leadership with coordinated forms of practice.

Enrique's leadership style fits the upper left quadrant of Blasé and Anderson's leadership matrix, Adversarial Leadership. With this leadership combination a leader promotes their moral vision resulting in a power over and power through dynamic that is dominated by power over. Without addressing the micropolitics of the school this study of discourse would have shown that leadership was distributed but not been able to address how leadership was distributed. Using the lens of micropolitics provided insight into the power and position of Enrique's discourse vis-à-vis the teachers at ACS.

Rocky Sage principal discourse conclusion. Two things stand out in comparing the principal discourse at Rocky Sage with principal discourse at ACS. One is that the discourse of high-stakes testing has far less power at Rocky Sage. The other is that the principal is firmly committed to collaboratively constructing the vision and program at Rocky Sage to the extent the macropolitical forces from beyond the school will allow.

Robert tries but is not able to access the normative power of shared moral beliefs. Students at Rocky Sage are expected to do well on tests and they do. When Robert tries to encourage teachers to see that they could do even better there is no moral argument to support his position. When Robert tries to engage the teachers in collaborative efforts to construct a vision for the school the macropolitical realities that boundary the construction of the vision causes the teachers to question whether he is authentic in his discourse.

Robert wants to be a transformative and open in his discourse but his situation seems to control him. He is open but boundaried by macropolitical realities, which establish norms that cannot be avoided. He attempts to be transformative but is unable to articulate his vision, set his goals, explain his expectations, and determine the means to achieve his ends. Enrique was able to use discourse to distribute responsibility for articulating the vision and values of ACS while Robert's openness to participation results in a fragmented vision and impartial implementation.

Robert wants to have a democratic, empowering leadership style but perhaps due to a lack of a moral imperative and normative macropolitical realities his leadership style best matches Blasé and Anderson's leadership matrix lower right quadrant. Here leadership is facilitative resulting in a power over and power through dynamic that is dominated by power through. Robert's open leadership style encourages dialogue and the voicing of the teacher's own goals but the reality of the situation does not respond to the dialogue. As Rebecca points out during an ILT meeting, "the big monkey [superintendent] we have is, like, we need to have the scores up."

Using Alma Harris's model of distributed leadership practice Robert fits best in the upper left quadrant defined as ad hoc distribution. Here there is flexible structure to the extent allowed by the macropolitical realities but uncoordinated practice. As at ACS the lens of micropolitics illuminates how leadership is distributed at Rocky Sage.

ACS language arts meeting discourses conclusion. Recent discourses around participative decision-making and specifically distributed leadership have resulted in SESD providing a variety of times for discourse regarding instructional practice. At ACS teacher conversations without administrators present are significantly different from when administrators are in the room. Teacher grade level and department meetings without administrators present have produced spaces of freedom where teachers socially construct new discourses. As previous research (Blasé, 1993, p. 154., Chrispeels & Martin, 2002, p. 360) has shown the introduction of shared decision-making structures actually increased teachers' involvement in decision making.

Teacher conversations allow them to integrate new learning with prior knowledge to construct their theory-in-practice. These same conversations allow them to express feelings and opinions about program implementation that reduces isolation and guilt over not being able to perform as expected. Using Harris' model of distributed leadership practice for this meeting, leadership practice was in the top right quadrant of autonomous distribution. The deep distribution of leadership found in this quadrant stemmed in part from the collaboration, organizational learning, and trust that were evident in the discourse. Robertson (2008) believed these were three features of distributed leadership practice. In this study they appear only as three features of

distributed leadership practice when power with is the main domain of power in leadership distribution. Organizational learning occurs when leadership is distributed by power over, through, and with. However, collaboration and trust do not appear to be necessary for leadership practice to be distributed.

The development by teachers of counter narratives is not necessarily because they question the vision and values of the school but they question the means to achieve them. Teachers at ACS are committed to closing the achievement gap but share with each other concerns about the alignment of the current Common Core implementation and the instructional approaches that facilitated the school doing well on the high-stakes tests. Teacher conversations construct counter narratives that support the vision and values of ACS but do not align with the powerful and non-negotiable regime of truth constructed by administrative discourse. This creates an environment where teachers are psychically exhausted by both trying to perform the impossible and by trying to appear to perform the impossible by meeting both Common Core and high-stakes testing goals. As Denise says, "I wish it was up for discussion, and I know it's not, but I wish it was."

Implications of the Study

There are several implications that can be drawn from this study. One implication is that leadership practice can be distributed by power over, through, and with. The effects of these different ways leadership is distributed will likely affect the outcomes of leadership distribution. So studies on how distributed leadership influences outcomes needs to consider not only if leadership practice is being

distributed but how it is distributed. Distributed leadership theory is able to consider

how power affects distribution if Micropolitical theory is included in its use.

What is true about leadership distribution is also true about collaboration and

trust, two elements that Robertson (2008) associates with distributed leadership

practice. This study suggests that collaboration that takes place in the context of power

over and power through would be better understood as cooperation. Without looking

at the political context of collaboration a study might infer collaboration is present

when it is not and thus confuse the results. Trust is a similar construct and this study

suggests that in conditions of power over and power through trust cannot be in persons

but in measureable outcomes or moral constructs.

Another implication is that many of the macropolitical influences exert power

over education which limits the extent power with can be exercised in distributing

leadership. The macropolitical discourse of distributed leadership produces spaces for

conversation where discourses that distribute leadership by power through and power

with are possible. The spaces of freedom occasioned by the discourse of distributed

leadership facilitated organizational learning and developed organizational knowledge.

It also decreased teacher isolation and increased the opportunity for new truths to

emerge that were subversive to the normative. These same spaces were used to

continue and enhance hierarchical leadership through consensual power that is similar

to Foucault's capillary power or Bourdieu's symbolic power.

As this study was focused on how conversations revealed the power and

position of the discourse it is not a surprise that perhaps the most significant

implication is based on the discourse with the greatest power and position at the

school site, high-stakes testing. The study found that test scores were more important

to the school where they were evidence of bridging the achievement gap than they

were to the school where high test scores were assumed due to demographics. If

correct, then students at low performing schools will have instruction that is more

focused on bridging the achievement gap which the study has shown means getting

good test scores. This focus will be maintained by the Common Core State Standards

that continues the paradigm that learning is quantifiable and represented by the results

of high-stakes testing. This may mean that at higher demographic schools the

Common Core State Standards will have a greater impact in instituting changes that

focus on student understanding and application of knowledge skills as opposed to just

recall of information.

The final implication is based on the finding that there is only one powerful

discourse around school accountability, which is high-stakes test scores. This means

the language for talking about the achievement gap and accountability is dependent on

these scores. This study has shown how teachers define themselves by the scores,

schools set goals based on the scores, and the scores discursively substitute for

bridging the achievement gap. The issue this study found is that there are no other

accepted texts and discourses used for accountability. There is a deficit in the language

available for discussing the achievement gap. This deficit impacts lower socio-

demographic schools by structuring conversations around bridging the achievement

gap to raising test scores.

This leads to the final implication that as Common Core State Standards are

adopted, there should be additional measures of teaching and learning. This will

produce a variety of texts and discourses with which to talk about these complex subjects. One of the difficulties of this is that the results of high-stakes testing are partially so powerful due to their ability to quantify teaching and learning. To balance this, approaches need to be developed for evaluating teaching and learning that will also produce quantifiable results. By introducing other measures of teaching and learning the discourse around these subjects will be more complete. Foucault (1977) notes that only by changing discourses can there be a change in the construction of knowledge and power.

It is beyond the scope of this study to suggest what these measures might be. Less than twenty years ago standards-based testing was being developed into its current form. It is possible to project twenty years from now, with the increased power of computing, that there will be measures of processes like cooperative learning, creative thinking, and student curiosity. By expanding the number of powerful discourses around teaching and learning the current condition of inequality has a much better chance of being addressed.

Recommendations for Further Research

For distributed leadership theory to be explanatory it will need to account for not only that leadership practice is being distributed but how it is being distributed. This is true also of some of the qualities associated with distributed leadership such as collaboration and trust. Collaboration and trust also seem to be different constructs if they operate with different dynamics of power. Research on a wide variety of discursive communities such a Professional Learning Communities and teacher teams

needs to account for differences in power between and within these communities since it is clear that interactions that on the surface look the same might be expressions of different micropolitical pressures.

The use of discourse analysis was shown to be able to explain how leadership was distributed in this small study. Other studies using the same methods to look at teams of administrators and teachers would be important to establish the convergence, agreement, and coverage that is necessary to establish validity in discourse analysis.

A purpose of this study was to demonstrate that discourse analysis in an educational setting could reveal discourses of power and position. The use of discourse analysis could be used in considering the discourse of parents and children with the educational community where parent participation is considered necessary. Like leadership distribution it is more likely how parents participate will be more important than the fact that parents participate. Like the discourse of distributed leadership it would be informative to see the power and position of conversations between professional educators and parents.

This study has observed that standards-based instruction and the high-stakes testing that drives it have changed the paradigm of learning. Raising test scores is not only the indicator of closing the achievement gap but discursively substitutes for closing the achievement gap. As the Common Core is put in place what will the conversations around learning be like at the level of teachers? What is the paradigm teachers have for the Common Core tests? Do they think that the tests are a measure of good instruction or do they think that good test scores are an indicator of good instruction? Are conversations around the Common Core the same before there are

scores from Common Core based high-stakes tests as they are after there are scores? Do conversations vary around the importance of testing between schools where high scores are assumed and schools where high scores are desired? This study noted the power of the discourse of high-stakes testing and this discourse is not replaced by the Common Core State Standards. What affects will the Common Core have on this discourse and perhaps another area of research would be what affect will this discourse have on the Common Core.

APPENDICES

Appendix A

Research Study Participant Consent Form

Project Title
Participative Discourse

Purpose
My name is Jerry Merica-Jones and I am student in the joint doctoral program at the University of California San Diego and California State University San Marcos. I am studying participative decision making at the school site by looking at the conversations and other discourses of School Instructional Leadership Teams. Your school has been recommended to me as a place that values participative decision-making. I am interested in learning about discourse patterns that facilitate or hinder participative decision-making.

Procedures
I am requesting permission to attend and audiotape all of the School Instructional Leadership Team meetings beginning in January. At the conclusion of the school year I would like to present a short paper presenting my analysis of the discourse at your school for individual or group discussion that I would also audiotape. In addition I would like access to materials used or produced by the team that support the meetings. These would include the meeting agenda, emails regarding the meeting, and documents that are discussed during the meeting or produced as a result of the meeting. I will be making transcripts of the audio recordings and combined with the other material collected I will be using discourse analysis techniques to look for how participation is facilitated or hindered.

Benefits
Although there are no direct benefits to you for participating in this study a hard copy of the transcript of your meetings will be available to the team within two weeks of the meeting. The research could be informative for the larger educational community in understanding the operation of distributed leadership at the school site.

Confidentiality
All information collected in this study is confidential. Audio files, transcripts, and written materials will be kept confidential through the use of pseudonyms for participants and all specifics will be deleted. All audio files, transcripts, and written materials will be entered into a computer file and both hard and digital (USB drives) copies will be stored in a locked file. This data will be maintained on two password

protected computers and an additional password will be required to open files. The researcher is the only individual with access to these files and computers.

Withdrawal &
Questions

By signing below you indicate that the researcher has explained this research study, answered your questions, and that you voluntarily grant your consent, which can be withdrawn at any time, for participation in this study. If you have any questions about this research, I will be happy to answer them now. If you have any questions in the future, please contact me at (619) 403-0918 or via email to jmericaj@ucsd.edu. Questions about the study can also be addressed to my advisor, Dr. Janet Chrispeels, at (858) 822-4253 or jchrispeels@ucsd.edu. If you have any questions about your rights as a research participant, you may also contact the Institutional Review Board at the University of California, San Diego Human Research Protections Program at (858) 455-5050.

_____   _____
Participant's Name   Date

_____
Participant's Signature

_____
Researcher's Signature

Appendix B

University of California, San Diego
Audiotape Recording Release Consent Form
Participative Discourse Study

As part of this project, an audiotape recording will be made of you during your participation in this research project. This is completely voluntary and up to you. In any use of the audiotapes, your name will not be identified and your identity will be kept completely anonymous. You may request to stop the taping at any time or to erase any portion of your taped recording. Please indicate below the uses of these audiotape recordings to which you are willing to consent by initialing the statements.

_____ 1. The audiotapes can be studied by the researcher for use in the research
Initial   project.

_____2. Members of the Dissertation Committee that is supporting the researcher
Initial   can review the audiotapes.

You have the right to request that the tape be stopped or erased during the recording.

You have read the above description and give your consent for the use of audiotapes as indicated above.

_____
Signature   Date   Witness   Date

Appendix C

Table A1: Linguistic Analysis Table
(Derived from Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar (1985)

Linguistic feature	Explanation	Comments
Lexicalisation Overlexicalisation Relexicalisation Lexical cohesion Metaphor Euphemism	The selection/choice of wordings. Different words construct the same idea differently. Many words for the same phenomenon. Renaming Created by synonymy, antonym, repetition, collocation. Used for yoking ideas together and for the discursive construction of new ideas. Hides negative actions or implications.	
Transitivity	Processes in verbs: are they verbs of: • *doing*: material process • *being or having*: relational processes • *thinking/feeling/perceiving*: mental • *saying*: verbal processes • *physiological*: behavioural processes • *existential*	
Voice	Active and passive voice constructs participants as *doers* or as *done-to's*. Passive voice allows for the deletion of the agent.	
Nominalisation	A process is turned into a thing or an event without participants or tense or modality. Central mechanism for reification—making something abstract material or making the human a physical thing.	
Quoted speech Direct speech (DS) Indirect speech (IS) Free indirect speech (FIS).A mixture of direct and indirect speech.Scare quotes or "so-called"	• Who is quoted in DS/IS/FIS? • Who is quoted first/last/most? • Who is not quoted? •Has someone been misquoted or quoted out of context? • What reporting verb was chosen? • What is the effect of scare quotes?	
Turn-taking	• Who gets the floor? How many turns do different participants get? • Who is silent/ silenced? Who interrupts? • Who gets heard? Whose points are followed through? Whose rules for turn taking are being used given that they are different in different cultures? Who controls the topic?	
Mood	Is the clause a statement, question, offer or command?	

Table A1: *Linguistic Analysis Table*
(Derived from Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar (1985)

Linguistic features	Explanation	Comments
Polarity and tense	Positive polarity (definitely yes) Negative polarity (definitely no) Polarity is tied to the use of tense. Tense sets up the definiteness of events occurring in time. The present tense is used for timeless truths and absolute certainty.	
Modality Degrees of uncertainty	Logical possibility/probability Social authority Modality created by modals (may, might, could will), adverbs (possibly, certainly, hopefully) intonation, tag questions.	
Pronouns	Logical possibility/probability Social authority Modality created by modals (may, might, could will), adverbs (possibly, certainly, hopefully) intonation, tag questions.	
Definite article ("the") Indefinite article ("a")	*The* is used for shared information – to refer to something mentioned before or that the addressee can be assumed to know about. Reveals textual presuppositions.	
Thematisation— syntax: the first bit of the clause is called the theme	The theme is the launch pad for the clause. Look for patterns of what is foregrounded in the clause by being in theme position.	
Rheme—syntax: the last bit of the clause is called the rheme.	In written English the new information is usually at the end of the clause. In spoken English it is indicated by tone.	
Sequencing of information. Logical connectors— conjunctions set up the logic of the argument.	Sequence sets up cause and effect. Conjunctions are: • *Additive*: and, in addition • *Causal*: because, so, therefore • *Adversative*: although, yet • *Temporal*: when, while, after, before	

From Language and the design of texts (pp. 101-102) by H. Janks, 2005,
English Teaching: Practice and Critique 4(3). 97-110.) Used by permission.

Appendix D

Rigour Framework I (Crowe, 2005, pp. 61-62)

Methodological Rigour

- Does the research question 'fit' discourse analysis?

- Do the texts under analysis 'fit' the research question?

- Have sufficient resources been sampled, e.g. historical, political, and clinical?

- Has the interpretative paradigm been described clearly?

- Are the data gathering and analysis congruent with the interpretative

paradigm?

- Is there a detailed description of the data gathering and analytical processes?

- Is the description of the methods detailed enough to enable readers to follow

and understand context?

Interpretative Rigour

- Have the linkages between the discourse and findings been adequately

described?

- Is there adequate inclusion of verbatim text to support the findings?

- Are the linkages between the discourse and the interpretation plausible?

- Have these linkages been described and supported adequately?

- How are the findings related to existing knowledge on the subject?

Appendix E

Rigour Framework II (Nixon & Power, 2004, p. 76)

1.   Clear research question: is it appropriate for DA?

2.   Clear definition of discourse and species of DA?

3.   Effective use of theoretical framework – clarity and explicitness in

epistemological and ontological positioning (parallel/replication perspectives).

4.   Transparency in analysis methods and application of theory to the analysis.

5.   Clarity in selection of talk/texts.

6.   Concepts/criteria/strategies to guide analysis.

Appendix F

Computer-Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software (CAQDAS)

Ian Dey (1993) in his book on qualitative data analysis wrote that "Computers can do many things, but they cannot think—and we can. Unfortunately, that also means the thinking is up to us. A computer can help us to analyse our data, but it cannot analyse our data. This is not a pedantic distinction: we must do the analysis (**?**)." Twenty years later this fact is still true for while qualitative software searches, organizes, categorizes, and annotates text making it more accessible to the researcher it does not actually analyze the text. So CAQDAS can replace scissors and paste, index cards and file cabinets, as a way to organize text for analysis but it cannot replace the actual task of analysis.

CAQDAS at its current level of development has the potential to enhance the transparency of analysis and to actually increase the accessibility of texts over previous methods. Fielding and Lee (2002) remark "Most important in terms of potential impact on methodology, the second generation (CAQDAS) made coding retrieval processes transparent" (p. 199). Beyond transparency they note that third generation software can "operationalize procedures and approaches to analysis whose logical possibility was identified but whose demands were entirely impractical before the computer" (p. 202). Now the researcher has the "the ability to search for co-occurring codes, and methods to construct complex networks linking categories, codes, memos, and text segments, provided facilities to support theory building and hypothesis testing (Fielding and Lee. p. 199)."

Fielding and Lee were writing this eleven years ago and CAQDAS software,

like many computer applications, has made significant steps forward in serving the needs of the qualitative researcher. Twenty years ago the practitioner for a specific research use wrote most qualitative software of this sort. Today most qualitative software programs are being continually refined by for profit companies that have teams of developers constantly on the job. The program this study will use, QSR NVivo 10, is a partnership company with Microsoft and user interfaces mirror those of Microsoft's Outlook. While there are advantages to the rapid development of qualitative software there is now a pressure to sell the programs. This means consumers of CAQDAS must be able to critically examine the actual performance of the software from the advertised performance.

In a survey of CAQDAS users Fielding and Lee (1998) identified a number of things that qualitative software does well: (a) encourages more systematic analysis, (b) procedures are performed identically, (c) every step of analysis is auditable by user or audience, (d) facilitates the analysis of much larger data sets. They also found that most users noted that the pace of their work did not allow them time to become proficient with the software and hence they were not able to fully utilize the software's potential. This was particularly noticeable in MacMillan's (2005) study of the use of CAQDAS in grounded theory. MacMillan reports the following experiences while using NVivo: (a) "the computer crashing at the end of the search" (p. 11), (b) "using the function froze the computer screen within a minute of activating the coding stripes, and lost all work on coding" (p. 13), (c) "part of this frustratingly time consuming process involved getting to grips with operating the software, and attempting to find solutions to a number of practical problems" (p. 13). What MacMillan reports about

NVivo (the version is not given) are familiar to any novice user of a new complex software application. In light of MacMillan's experience it is possible that some of the reported problems with CAQDAS by researchers may come from their lack of expertise with the program rather than the program's deficiencies or that the earlier versions of the software had significant glitches in design. Fielding and Lee (1998) found that for users who did not become proficient with the software CAQDAS was nothing more than an electronic filing cabinet filled with an overabundance of codes.

From this we can see that using CAQDAS effectively requires a significant upfront commitment on the part of the researcher to learn all aspects of the program. Beyond knowing how the program works users should learn the developmental history of the software that will identify ontological and epistemological assumptions embedded in the software. Mangabeira, Lee, and Fielding (2004) identify "critical appropriators" of qualitative software as individuals who:

> interacted with programs from within a comparative framework and were highly aware of epistemological and methodological issues. They explicitly adopted a critical stance toward developers' claims about program capabilities. Often they found creative and innovative ways of using the software based on understanding and thinking through of what the program could do for their data rather than the other way around (p. 170).

This emphasis on having the research questions drive the analysis rather than the software's capabilities is key in the appropriate use of CAQDAS.

Matt Stroh (2000) writes, "as a qualitative approach must acknowledge, language is imbued with meaning" (p. 237). Using discourse analysis on the term "Computer assisted qualitative data analysis software" reveals a definite positivist and qualitative identity. There is a power relationship established by the CAQDAS term

that endues the computer with analytical abilities. MacMillan and Koenig (2004)

coined the term, "the wow factor" to explain the position of power the CAQDAS

paradigm encompasses. Carvajal (2002) reports that when providing CAQDAS

training for researchers he asked "what they expected from this software and the

answer was very simple: 'to use the programme to analyse our data" (p. 4). As a

critical appropriator any researcher using CAQDAS most acknowledge that the ways

they are constructing their qualitative research is tangibly changed through the use of

computer software. Ian Dey (1993) sums this up when he writes of using a word

processor:

> The computer cannot think, but it can help me to think, and even to
> think differently from how I used to think. Some things I have always
> done, I can now do quicker and more efficiently such as correcting
> mistakes. Some of the things I now do, such as continually
> restructuring the text, I wouldn't dream of doing without the computer
> (p. 55).

Advantages and Disadvantages of CAQDAS

Garcia-Horta and Guerra-Ramos (2005) in their article on *The Use of CAQDAS*

in Educational Research present a table (Appendix I) that they adapted from Robson

(2002, p. 460). Their research used interviews for text rather than the naturalistic

conversations of team meetings as this study does. Also, they identified their coding

"to be basically grounded" (p. 155), which is a different approach to texts than

discourse analysis. For this study's purposes the table has again been adapted but takes

all primary categories from the Garcia-Horta and Guerra-Ramos table (Appendix I).

Data Overload

The most often mentioned strength of qualitative software is its facility with large

amounts of data. In preparation for this research project I attended a two-day seminar on using NVivo 8 with another student in my doctoral program and we both had that moment when we realized how powerful a tool NVivo could have been in facilitating our research. It is no surprise to find that universities are now advocating the use of qualitative data analysis software like NVivo for doctoral and other research projects (Davidson & Jacobs, Johnston). As the researcher conducts a literature review, takes notes, and collects other materials they can all be easily entered into NVivo. The only text that currently cannot be entered is text from books and as more and more books are accessible as eBooks (UCSD ebrary) they too can be entered into NVivo. Once entered into the software program texts and memos can be quickly and efficiently accessed and sorted. The Internet has changed the research paradigm for students and researchers and methods have not caught up the quantity of texts that are now available. It will not be long until qualitative software use is as prevalent as word processing for researchers and students as a method to efficiently access and organize what the Internet provides.

As the review of literature on studies using discourse analysis reveals many studies used a small amount of text for analysis. This is because texts that reveal the social construction of reality of the speaker need not be evidenced multiple times in order to be identified. How many times does the analyst have to record that a segment of the population is referenced as "retarded," that African-American men are called "boy," or that boys who cry are called "girly-men," to establish how these texts construct a social reality? It is on this basis that Teun Van Dijk preferred using a

smaller selection of text and performing "deep qualitative analysis (MacMillan 2005, p. 7)" than using CAQDAS to manage a large database.

The purpose of the current study is not to discover that indeed school administrators have discourses that establish hierarchal power and position relationships vis-à-vis teachers (divine orthodoxy). Nor is it the study's purpose to identify that administrators now participate in the hegemonic discourse of distributed leadership (explanatory orthodoxy). To accomplish this there would not be the need for an as extensive collection of data as being undertaken. The study is designed to see how discourses that occur naturally at the school site between teachers and administrators distribute leadership. Leithwood (2009) calls for this type of study when he references the social construction of reality and talks of the need to identify the language of distributed leadership.

To accomplish this purpose there are going to be data files where transcripts of the conversations are paralleled with audio files of the same conversations. As discourse analysis is the research paradigm the import of individual words need to be placed within the context of all the conversations. And all the conversations need to be analyzed for how they structure power and position within the leadership team. The import of specific discourses will need to be analyzed through the context of multiple discourses. For example, when an administrator refers to "my school" is that term used as frequently by teachers? How is teacher discourse affected by an administrator's use of "my school?" How is administrator discourse affected by a teacher's use of "my school?" Do the same discursive practices construct differing realities at different schools? Discourse analysis on small samples of discourse can provide a snapshot in

time of the construction of reality. Discourse analysis studies that focus on transitional environments where emancipatory discourses may compete with hierarchal discourses require both time and breadth to reveal the constructive processes.

First Impressions

An essential part of the NVivo package is how memos can be linked to every decision step such as coding and sorting. Memos can be searched, coded, and sorted in the same way as texts. As memos are attached to the initial analysis they are dated and are easily accessible for review chronologically. Also, a text that was coded one way can be coded differently latter in the analysis. As time, an accumulation of text is a critical part of the context of the study it is expected that the analysis of initial meetings will change over time. As Fairclough noted there are three dimensions of discourse. First impressions really focus on the inner box, text. What are the immediate linguistic features and meaning of the text? As the discursive practice and social practice emerge then the first impressions may change. Since all changes are recorded a strength of NVivo 10 is that it provides an audit of the data analysis process as a whole.

Information Availability

Here is an area where NVivo excels over manual methods of data access. Searches can be done flawlessly ensuring that all instances of a particular phrase or word usage are found. This does not mean that the researcher can rely only on the automated functions. The software cannot identify texts that may have the same meaning but use different words. Here it is critical that the researcher actually is immersed in the texts so that critical parts of the discourse are not missed due to

slightly different phrasing.

As text is coded NVivo uses colored vertical lines displayed next to the text identifying all previous codes assigned to the text. Coded text can then be identified as belonging to a larger category and connected nodes emerge. These nodes can have a branching structure that can be graphically modeled by the software. The researcher can then define relationships between categories and by clicking on any category all of the text contained within the category can be accessed. Some of these models can be extensive and researchers report that they print out portions of the model and then assemble them like a giant jigsaw so that the entire model can be seen and understood at one time.

The ease of coding in NVivo is akin to the ease of conducting research on the Internet. The researcher can be seduced by the process and can produce so many different codes and categories that even with easy information availability there is a lack of clarity. Finally, since information is so easily accessible the researcher may interpret sophisticated models and branching tree-diagrams as somehow validating the research process. The original developers of NVivo, Lyn and Tom Richards (1994), write that qualitative data analysis "is probably the most subtle and intuitive of human epistemological enterprises, and therefore likely to be the last to achieve satisfactory computerization" (p. 461).

Positive Instances

Since this study is looking for discursive practice that distributes leadership the danger is identifying texts as performing this function when they are not. Here the software does not have some intrinsic function that will prevent this from occurring.

While memos are helpful to follow the chain of reasoning they will not necessarily identify problematic analysis. For this study consultation with peers and professors will be essential to correcting misidentification of texts.

Internal Consistency

The coding process with the attached memos documenting the logic of the analytical steps that produced the coding can be done numerous times. As the text is displayed how it is coded is displayed next to the text. The researcher can see the variety of ways the text is coded and then compare it with all the other text coded the same way. Next the researcher can sort the memos and see if sections coded the same way document the same analytical steps. Finally, using the graphic modeling function can provide the researcher another access point to look for logical consistency. The NVivo program should help the careful analysis of novel or unusual discourses increasing the internal consistency of the study.

Development of Bias

This principle applies here when the discourse of an individual or a team places them within a specific theoretical frame. A portion of an administrator's discourse at one meeting might so perfectly match the qualities for a Facilitative Leader in the Micropolitics four-quadrant matrix that all other discourses of that same administrator will be interpreted through the context of that specific discourse. This could be an over-reaction to that text. At another meeting a teacher may respond to a seemingly neutral statement by an administrator in a very subservient manner and the discursive event is dismissed as a teacher misconstruing the administrator's intent. This could be an under-reaction to that text. The challenge here for discourse analysis

is to properly gage the interaction between text and context. Words create worlds and so the same text in very different contexts still has some of the same properties in both contexts. However, the properties of the same text are not identical in different contexts.

NVivo has the capability to group all of one administrator's discourses in one file and then expand the file so that the discourses immediately before and after the administrative discourses can be examined. Through careful coding all similar discourses can be grouped together and the researcher can see who said each text. Functions like these cannot stop the development of bias on the part of the researcher but can limit the extent that the bias corrupts the analysis of discourse.

Fictional Assignment

There are three theories used to frame this study, discourse analysis, Micropolitics, and Distributed Leadership. These theories provide the lenses that are being used to analyze the data. While lenses help to frame the analysis there is always the potential for them to determine the analysis. Dey (1993) comments on fictional assignment: "Our problem is to find a focus, without committing ourselves prematurely to a particular perspective and so foreclosing options for our analysis (p.64)." Qualitative software does not prevent miscoding data based upon researcher tendency to fictional assignment. NVivo does provide immediate access to memos attached to coding decisions that will provide an access point for others to enter into the chain of reasoning and assist in identifying misapplication or missed application of theoretical frames on the texts analyzed. Again outside help in the form of peer review, professional assistance, and checking with the participants at the end of the

study are necessary to limit the extent of fictional assignment.

Inconsistency

The NVivo software has several procedures that help mitigate this deficiency. As you read/code text on screen there appears to the right of the text coding stripes that show all the previous ways the text was coded. By clicking on a particular stripe you access all the text in that particular category. This function allows an easy iterative coding process that can decrease coding inconsistency. It is also easy to access and sort the memos that are written during the coding process that helps reduce the number of codes that are really just different versions of the same category. The ease of moving text back and forth between codes, having multiple codes for the same text, and the ability to graphically model the coded texts provides many access points to reduce inconsistent coding.

Confidence in Judgment

Confidence in judgment is not something can be remedied through the use of qualitative software and may in fact be exacerbated by its use. Several researchers (Carvajal. Garcia-Horta & Guerra-Ramos., MacMillan.) point out that the use of the computer can endow the analysis with an artificial authority. The impressive operations the software performs, the complex and professional looking tables and graphic models available can contribute to imparting a confidence on the part of the researcher that is not justified by the quality of the analysis. Here again consultation with others and a healthy skepticism with one's own judgments are appropriate to address this deficiency.

Appendix G

Jefferson Transcription Conventions (Based on Jefferson, 1984)

IDENTITY OF SPEAKERS

Dan: pseudonym of an identified participant

?:   unidentified participant

Joyce ?:   probably Joyce

PP: several or all participants talking simultaneously

SIMULTANEOUS UTTERANCES

simultaneous, overlapping talk by two speakers

Dan: [yes
Marlene: [yeh

simultaneous, overlapping talk by three (or more) speakers

Dan: [You just need it for all your <u>kids</u>]
Marlene: [I dont get it]
Joyce: [Am I- am I- am I using the wrong] terminology

INTERVALS WITHIN AND BETWEEN UTTERANCES

(.)   indicates a brief interval ($\pm$) 1 second within or between utterances

shows passage of 5.6 seconds

[1:00:2.5]   time of recording being transcribed
[1:00:08.1]   time of recording being transcribed

CHARACTERISTICS OF SPEECH DELIVERY

?	rising intonation, not necessarily a question
_____	vocalic emphasis
!	strong emphasis, with falling intonation
*	precede a 'creaky' or breathless vocal delivery
yes.	a period indicates falling (final) intonation
so,	a comma indicates low-rising intonation suggesting continuation
descr↑iption↓	an upward arrow denotes marked rising shift in intonation, while a downward arrow denotes a marked falling shift in intonation
go:::d	one or more colons indicate lengthening of the preceding sound; each additional colon represents a lengthening of one beat
no-	a hyphen indicates an abrupt cut-off, with level pitch
bec<u>au</u>se	<u>underlined</u> letters indicates marked stress
SYLVIA	large capitals indicate loud volume
SYLVIA	small capitals indicate intermediate volume
sylvia	lower case indicates normal conversational volume
°sylvia°	degree sign indicates decreased volume, often a whisper

˙hhh	in-drawn breaths
hhh	laughter tokens
$	said while laughing
> the next thing<	>. . .< indicates speeded up delivery relative to the surrounding talk
< the next thing>	<. . .> indicates slowed down delivery relative to the surrounding talk

Appendix H

Teacher Conversation from Language Arts Meeting
Transcribed Using Jeffersonian Transcription

Laura*: What was she [Kristen] saying about when I (.) said (.) the <u>guided reading</u>

<u>groups</u> and she's like (.) you don't need [guided reading groups?]

Denise*: [We d:on't need guided reading] groups::.

PP:

Maria?: [You just nee:d it for a:ll your <u>kids</u> that are <u>struggling</u>.]

Laura*: [Am I- am I- am I using the wrong] terminology then?

Maria*: No.

Laura*: (.) °Okay, I'm just checking°.

Maria*: Ha w- $No, you're not$ hhh

Laura*: Okay .hh (.) I'm like (.) I thought <u>that's</u> what they were for?

Denise?: Yes::

[Laughter]

Laura*: $I'm so confused$ hhh

Susan: No, you were right.

Laura: Okay: [1:00:02.5] its your-

Maria?: It's your groups. (.) It's your low kids.

Unknown: Yeah.

Laura*: That's what a gui:ded read:ing grou:p is, ↑right?

Maria*: >It's ↑a:b:s:u:r:d:<.

Denise?: >$[1:00:08.1]$ might as well count for something$

Susan?: $Wh:at$?   [laughter]

Laura?: $[1:00:11.4] [I see] the picture!$ hhh

[Laughter]

Maria?: <Good j:o:b:!>

Denise?: It means I don't trust you thou:gh!

Appendix I

Deficiencies of the Human as Analyst
(Garcia-Horta and Guerra-Ramos, 2005, p. 161)

1. Data overload. Limitations on the amount of data that can be handled (too many transcripts, codes, etc.).

2. First impressions. Impressions generated in interview interactions, by early data input or analytical steps which resist revision.

3. In formation availability. Information which is difficult to reach (interviewees' details, files or codes) gets less attention.

4. Positive instances. Information confirming the hypothesis is emphasized. Conflicting information is ignored.

5. Internal consistency. Tendency to disregard novel or unusual information.

6. Uneven reliability. Different levels of reliability in data sources are disregarded.

7. Missing information. Incomplete information is devalued and left aside.

8. Revision of hypotheses. Over-reaction or under-reaction to new information.

9. Fictional base. Tendency to compare with average or typical cases when there is no base to support it.

10. Confidence in judgment. Excessive confidence in a judgment once it is made.

11. Co-occurrence. Co-occurrence is interpreted as strong evidence for association or correlation.

12. Inconsistency. Different evaluation or interpretation of the same data on different occasion.

Appendix J

Copyright Permission for Figure 2.1: *Leadership from a distributed perspective*

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Appendix K

Copyright Permission for Figure 2.3: *A model of distributed leadership*

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Appendix L

Copyright Permission for Figure 2.4: Micropolitical leadership matrix

Fwd: Copyright permission
To: > Jerry Merica-Jones
<jerry.merica-jones@ofarrellschool.org> Fri, Aug 23, 2013 at
11:13 AM ---------- Forwarded message ---------- From: Joseph Blasé
<blase@uga.edu>
Date: Fri, Aug 23, 2013 at 10:24 AM Subject: Re: Copyright
permission
To: Jerry Merica-Jones <jerry.merica-jones@ofarrellschool.org

Jerry,
You have my permission to use the Micro Political Leadership Matrix
(1995) in your dissertation (Blasé and Anderson). Also, if possible,
please send me the New Zealand reference for the new matrix you
identified......
Best wishes,
 joe
Joseph Blasé, PhD
Professor Emeritus of Leadership and Administrative Sciences
The UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA
blase@uga.edu

Appendix M

Copyright Permission for Figure 5.1: *A new model of micropolitics*

Jerry Merica-Jones <jerry.mericajones@ofarrellschool.org>   Thu, Aug 15, 2013 at 7:31 PM
To: admin@acel.org.au

I am a doctoral student at University of California San Diego in Education Leadership. I am writing a dissertation titled Participative Discourse.
 I would like permission to use the New Model of Micropolitics as a figure in the dissertation.
Leading and Managing, 15(1), pp. 26-41
Figure 1: A New Model of Micropolitics (p. 35)
Authors: Judy Smeed, Megan Kimber, Jan Millwater, Lisa Ehrich.
Jerry Merica-Jones

Rhett Pearson <rhett.pearson@acel.org.au>   Thu, Aug 15, 2013 at 8:27 PM

To <jerry.mericajones@ofarrellschool.org>

Hi Jerry,
Thanks for your email. As per the email below from Marlene, you are welcome to use the diagram using correct referencing.

Kind regards,
Rhett Pearson
Rhett Pearson
Australian Council for Educational Leaders
Membership Officer
P (02) 9213 3101| **W** www.acel.org.au | **E** rhett.pearson@acel.org.au

Skype acel.australia |

From: Marlene Barron [mailto:Marlene.Barron@usq.edu.au]
Sent: Friday, 16 August 2013 1:12 PM
To: Rhett Pearson
Subject: RE: Permission for use
Hi Rhett,
Jerry can certainly use the diagram, as long as he references it correctly.
Regards,
Marlene.

.

Appendix N

Copyright Permission for Table A1: *Linguistic Analysis Table*

Terry Locke <locketj@waikato.ac.nz> Wed, Aug 21, 2013 at 1:44 PM
To: Jerry Merica-Jones <jmericaj@gmail.com>
Hello Jerry
On behalf of the journal editors, I am happy to give you permission to use this table in your dissertation, with the appropriate acknowledgement of the journal. All the best for your completion and defense.
Best wishes
Terry Locke
Professor: English Language Education
Arts and Language Education Department
Te Tari o Nga Toi me Nga Reo Matauranga
Faculty of Education
University of Waikato
Private Bag 3105, Hamilton, NZ.
Ph: 64 7 838 4500 Ext 7780
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Personal Website: http://education.waikato.ac.nz/about/faculty-staff/?user=locketj

On Aug 21, 2013, at 8:23 AM, Jerry Merica-Jones wrote:
I am a doctoral student at the University of California San Diego. I would like to use Table 2. Lingusitic analysis rubric (pp. 101-102) from Language and the design of texts by Hilary Janks This is *from English teaching: practice and critique*, *December, 2005, 4*(3) pp. 97-110. I have been in contact with Dr. Janks (email 08/18/2009 Hilary.Janks@wits.ac.za) and she gave me permission to use the table. Since I am unsure of the copyright of this table I am also contacting your journal.
Thank You
Jerry Merica-Jones
jmericaj@gmail.com
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