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Combining Qualitative Research Perspectives and Methods for Critical Social Purposes

The Neoliberal U.S. Childhood Public Policy Behemoth

Michelle Salazar Pérez, Gaile S. Cannella,
and Cinthya M. Saavedra

Abstract This article discusses the broad-based use of bricolage to examine the neoliberal childhood policy discourses and forms of implementation that are currently practiced in the United States. Diverse, traditionally marginalized understandings such as Black feminist thought, Chicana feminism, and feminist analysis of capitalist patriarchy are combined with a Deleuze/Guattarian critique of capitalism and qualitative methods of situational analyses. We do this to identify childhood assemblages within the childhood public policy behemoth in the United States and compare these assemblages to capitalism more broadly, including how neoliberal practices are facilitated.

Keywords: neoliberal childhood policy, critical qualitative methodologies, capitalist patriarchy, marginalized feminist perspectives

Introduction

As a part of the international childhoods collaborative (described in the first article of this special issue), the general purpose of the U.S. longitudinal work has been to use critical qualitative research to unmask the childhood societal circumstances (e.g., dominant discourses, child living/education conditions, inclusions/exclusions) generated by the contemporary neoliberal construction/implementation of childhood public policy. Broadly, our work addresses (1) how particular public policy assemblages can be described (considering childhood policy assemblages, such as education, health, and human services in the United States, and new forms of childhood generated by neoliberal conditions, even specific examples such as childhood as a management system); (2) neoliberal aspects of the various early childhood policy assemblages and intersecting assemblages when compared with the capitalist assemblage more broadly (or to the various regimes of capitalist assemblages); (3) what it physically and performatively means to be a child and/or connected to “childhood”

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in the context of the neoliberal condition; and (4) possibilities for entities (or lines of flight) within early childhood public policy assemblage(s) that can serve to deterritorialize the neoliberal condition and that continue to counter corporatization and capitalism (entities that are not reterritorialized by neoliberalism).

Since the notion of assemblage was first embraced by the larger international collaborative as an avenue for critical qualitative research that would inquire into systems of public policy, the U.S. team, to some extent, has used the work of Deleuze and Guattari (1977, 1987) on capitalism and schizophrenia as one theoretical frame for both understanding the capitalist assemblage and possibilities for resistance. However, with concern that notions of assemblage can actually be limiting (are male and Western), our examinations of U.S. assemblages have also been grounded in perspectives that allow for further critique of neoliberal patriarchy through the use of multiple feminist lenses, including feminisms that unravel capitalist patriarchy, as well as Black and Chicana feminisms. Finally, we would explore the visual, the complex, and the multidirectional, and we have begun to do this through the post-structural use of situational mapping (Clarke, 2005), and have even attempted to combine this mapping (in agentic relationships) with various feminisms and multiplicities that are the assemblage(s).

Our use of the notion of assemblage has been based on its allowance for the introduction of multiplicity and breakage where boundedness is often assumed, the unveiling of assemblage(s) within assemblage(s), the recognition of desire or “will to power” that is the action that determines systems, and attention to the limits of traditional political resistance strategies. The U.S. research began with three major guiding questions: How can a particular assemblage be described? How has the assemblage been created? How does it function?

As Deleuze-Guattarian work has been examined, the researchers determined that the use of “assemblage” or “desiring machine” as a critique of neoliberal capitalism (one of the major purposes of the Deleuze and Guattari scholarship) would provide a different perspective from which to examine childhood public policy. As we would always consider our work as emergent, both feminist and Deleuze-Guattarian readings have led us to revise the direction of the research, and a bricolage (Kincheloe, 2008) of theory, methods, and diverse personal perspectives are purposefully used. Specifically, we use Deleuze and Guattarian perspectives intertwined with (1) Black feminist situational analysis to unveil privatizing technologies existing within federal policy programs broadly, programs such as Race to the Top and NCLB; (2) feminist situational analysis of capitalist patriarchy through the exposure of corporate management systems operating within Head Start agencies across the United States;

and (3) Chicana/Latina feminisms as a lens from which to (re)examine the lived experiences of students, educators, and researchers with neoliberal federal language policies. We hope to acknowledge broad-based policy conceptualizations of neoliberalism, specific technologies of neoliberalism (e.g., mechanisms such as management), and the impact of neoliberalism on personal life experiences, as well as the agentic nature of the relationships among the three.

Unveiling the U.S. Policy Assemblage Behemoth

We have used the websites of the U.S. Departments of Education and Health and Human Services as major locations—but only one type of starting point—for data collection that examines everything from legislation, to official and linked websites, to financial redistributions, to national and community voices. In addition to the notion of a broad neoliberal early childhood policy assemblage in diverse geopolitical locations such as the United States, there are a range of assemblages within the massive early childhood policy behemoth itself. Diverse examples include the privatization of public education through charter schools, standardization of the notion of quality (through quality ratings) or programs for “special” populations such as Head Start, and personal reflections on experiences working with students and teachers enacting/grappling with neoliberal ESL policies.

Unmasking Power Agendas in Early Education Using Black Feminist Situational Analysis

We began our examination of U.S. policy assemblages, programs, and initiatives by examining the Department of Education website. Content and topics were analyzed using Black feminist situational mapping (Clarke, 2005; Collins, 2008). Returning to our international collaborative’s broad concerns surrounding neoliberalism as embedded in early childhood policy assemblages, the following questions were generated: (1) What are the programs and policies proposed and implemented by the U.S. Department of Education (retrieved from the website) that support the privatization of public education and care services for young children? (2) What federal funding programs exist, and how is the money deployed (and who or what entities benefit from them)? (3) Are, and how are, connections to corporatized power produced, legitimated, and maintained through childhood policies and federal program initiatives? These questions guided Black feminist situational analysis of the capitalist desiring machine (Deleuze & Guattari, 1977) functioning within and producing early

childhood policy assemblages. Initial data was collected from the U.S. Department of Education website and situational mapping (Clarke, 2005) was implemented within a Black feminist philosophical framework (Collins, 2008).

To describe this portion of the research (as one part of the larger U.S. policy assemblage), we first briefly explain Black feminist thought (Collins, 2008) as a theoretical tool to uncover capitalist assemblages within U.S. Department of Education childhood policy. We then provide two examples of initial situational mapping based on our interpretation of the data (e.g., childhood policy discourses).

Blending Black Feminist Thought With Situational Analysis

As a theoretical framework, Black feminisms can be used with a variety of critical qualitative methods that reveal complex social and institutional power orientations (Dill, McLaughlin, & Nieves, 2007). With recognition that the relationship between power and oppression is constantly shifting and changing shape, Black feminisms expose and help to articulate sites of multiple and intersecting oppressions/empowerment of those historically marginalized, such as young children, people of color, and women, to name a few. Patricia Hill Collins (2008) has conceptualized matrices of domination that further complicate intersectional power functioning systemically and in our everyday lived experiences through structural, disciplinary, hegemonic, and interpersonal oppressions. Structural power encompasses institutional and societal “isms,” while disciplinary power maintains oppression once structural power has been resisted. Hegemonic oppression occurs when dominant perspectives are taken on by groups and individuals, and interpersonal notions consider the dynamical relationship between power and oppression. Black feminist intersectional research combined with situational analysis provides a lens to analyze complex capitalist power orientations and, therefore, has allowed for the unveiling of corporatized technologies that create and support neoliberal childhood policy in the United States.

Black Feminist Situational Analysis

The content of the messy maps for this portion of our U.S. study was determined from a reflexive rereading/analysis of childhood policy discourses, such as federal documents supporting major education initiatives and other documents like presidential press releases that are available on the U.S. Department of Education website.

For the purposes of this article, we share only one of the messy maps conceptualized to unveil the U.S. public education policy behemoth. This initial messy map

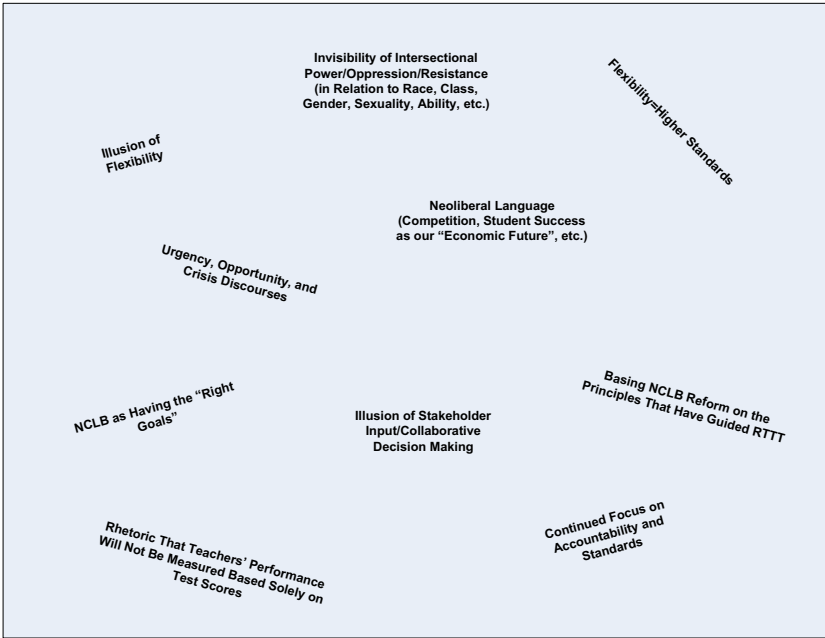


Figure 1. Messy Map: ESEA Flexibility Program Discourses. Adapted from "Messy Situational Map: Nurses' Work Under Managed Care" (Clarke, 2005, p. 95).

(see Figure 1) addresses the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) Flexibility initiative announced by President Obama and the secretary of education, Arne Duncan, in September 2011. The program has been advertised as a way in which to grant states flexibility with No Child Left Behind (NCLB) because without these provisions, current Title 1 targets of having 100% percent of students reaching adequate yearly progress (AYP) in math and reading by 2014 are, in most circumstances, unattainable. As of February 2012, 37 states and the District of Columbia have formally submitted requests for flexibility waivers. According to a U.S. Department of Education press release (2012d), these states have "proposed plans to raise standards, improve accountability, and support reforms to improve principal and teacher effectiveness."

Each of the elements on this messy map (Figure 1) allow for an initial Black feminist situational analysis of the dominant discourses associated with the ESEA Flexibility program, allowing for a closer examination of (1) the illusion of flexibility permitted by the program and rhetoric that the program supports teachers' performance, (2) the administration's support of NCLB and Race to the Top (RTTT) as

models for educational reform (by its focus on accountability for teachers and students and enforcement/further creation and implementation of educational standards), (3) the neoliberal language used to legitimize capitalist policies and initiatives, and (4) the invisibility of power orientations related to intersectional identities (Collins, 2008).

As an example, in President Obama's speech launching the flexibility initiative, he explained that urgent measures were necessary because Congress had yet to reauthorize NCLB according to his vision laid out in *A Blueprint for Reform* (U.S. Department of Education, 2010a), a vision that advocates for charter schools to replace what NCLB defines as low-performing traditional public schools (Garrison, 2011). Having similar goals as the *Blueprint* is *Race to the Top*, which Obama suggests should provide the guiding principles for NCLB reform. Many have argued, however, that in places such as New Orleans, Chicago, and other schools systems across the United States, competing for (and in some cases being awarded funds by) programs such as RTTT have resulted in vast firings of experienced educators (replaced by recent, noneducation graduates enrolled in programs such as Teach for America), cherry picking of students who rate high on biased standardized testing instruments, and, overall, creating greater inequities for children who have been historically marginalized by neoliberal federal policies (Ahlquist, 2011; Berlak, 2011; Dingerson, 2008; Montañó & Aoki, 2011; M. S. Pérez & Cannella, 2010; Saltman, 2010). Although Obama admits that NCLB reform is necessary, he has publicly supported its original standards and accountability goals (U.S. Department of Education, 2012a). This narrow and oppressive approach to reforming NCLB includes a *greater* focus on standards and accountability measures. Therefore, the title of the recent ESEA "Flexibility" initiative is, in many ways, a misnomer. As an example, Obama has said that

when it comes to fixing what's wrong with NCLB, we've offered every state the same deal. We've said, if you're willing to set higher, more honest standards than the ones that were set by NCLB, then we're going to give you the flexibility to meet those standards. We want high standards, and we'll give you flexibility in return. We combine greater freedom with greater accountability. (U.S. Department of Education, 2012a)

The rhetoric of greater flexibility is contradicted by Obama's desire to set "higher" standards than those imposed by the already knowingly problematic standards required by NCLB.

Furthermore, the flexibility program also makes claims that student test scores will no longer be the sole factor in rating teachers' performance; however, this idea

goes against Obama's public comments praising the state of Colorado for its newly developed website that he purports will allow teachers and parents to track students' "progress" as compared with other students across various schools in the state (U.S. Department of Education, 2012a). He goes on to praise Tennessee for "creating a statewide school district to aggressively tackle its lowest performing schools" and Florida, which "has set a goal to have their test scores rank among the top five states in the country, and the top 10 countries in the world. I like that ambition" (U.S. Department of Education, 2012a). These statements translate to the continued rating of teachers' performance and student progress by means of standardized testing while encouraging a market environment of competition between schools.

Ultimately, setting new, so-called flexible standards for public schools across the nation will not allow for equity and will instead produce more oppressive circumstances for young children and other stakeholders involved. For example, flexibility program documents retrieved from the U.S. Department of Education website show that New Mexico has developed a new "accountability plan" for which 175 schools and 20,000 more students will be *added* to the accountability system mandated by NCLB (U.S. Department of Education, 2012b). Similarly, the state of Colorado's ESEA Flexibility request has proposed to increase accountability by applying its comprehensive system to *all* schools, not just those that fall under NCLB's Title 1 requirements (Colorado Department of Education, 2012). The reality of this new flexibility program, then, is greater control of local schools, administrators, teachers, parents, and children. It sets the stage for more schools and children to be labeled as failing, and as history has shown, once schools are termed "failing," teachers and administrators are unjustly fired, traditional public schools are shut down and reopened as charters (run by for-profit and nonprofit management companies), and children, most of whom are of color and/or from low socioeconomic circumstances, wind up caught in the midst of system of privatization masked by "restructuring" discourses (Buras, Randels, Salaam, & Students at the Center, 2010; Carr & Porfilio, 2011; Kumashiro, 2008; Limpan & Haines, 2007; M.S. Pérez, 2009; M. S. Pérez & Cannella, 2010).

Education and Care Policy Discourses Functioning as Social Spheres/Power Arenas

The social spheres/power arenas map (see Figure 2) illuminates constructs of power (framed by Black feminisms) and the way in which people organize in relation to them, whether voluntarily or involuntarily. Clarke (2005) explains that "discourses

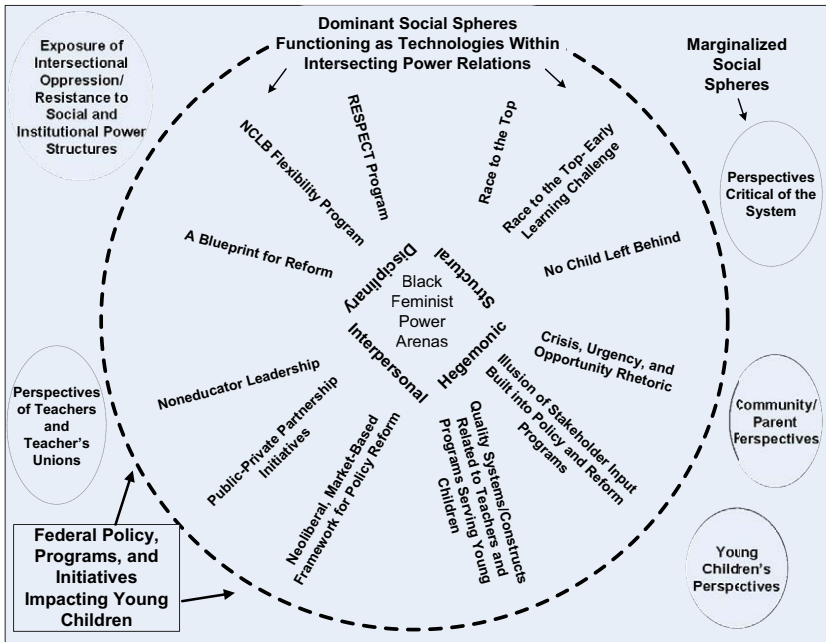


Figure 2. Social spheres/power arenas map. This illustrates dominant social spheres of childhood federal policy and program initiatives functioning as technologies within intersecting Black feminist power arenas. The outer social spheres represent excluded marginalized viewpoints. Adapted from “Social Worlds/Arenas Map: RU486 Discourse Project” (Clarke, 2005, p. 195).

per se are not explicitly represented . . . this is not because they are not present in worlds and arenas but because social worlds *are* universes of discourse (Strauss, 1978) in arenas—constituted and maintained *through* discourses” (p. 114).

The different elements of this map (Figure 2) include four domains of intersectional power as framed by Black feminist thought (Collins, 2008). The dominant social spheres functioning as technologies within power relations, such as NCLB, crisis, urgency, and opportunity rhetoric, public-private partnership initiatives, and illusion of stakeholder input, are intentionally left without shaded boundaries to emphasize their intersectional relationship. (In other words, one functions as a technology in relation to the others.) The dotted circles outside of the power arenas represent marginalized social spheres such as perspectives critical of the system and exposure of intersectional/oppression/resistance to social and institutional power structures.

The structural power arena includes initiatives such as Race to the Top, RTTT-Early Learning Challenge, and NCLB policies that have placed young children, teachers, parents, and other stakeholders in oppressive circumstances. As an example, RTTT (the largest education funding initiative in U.S. history) aims to

encourage and reward states creating the conditions for education innovation and reform by implementing ambitious plans in four core areas: Enhancing standards and assessments, improving the collection and use of data, increasing teacher effectiveness and achieving equity in teacher distribution, and turning around struggling schools. (U.S. Department of Education, 2012e, p. 5)

Forty states and the District of Columbia applied for Phase 1 of RTTT, resulting in only two states (Delaware and Tennessee) receiving awards (U.S. Department of Education, 2010b). In Phase 2 of program awards, nine states and the District of Columbia received funding. Even though only a handful of states have actually been awarded funds, the competitive structure (e.g., neoliberal market structure) of RTTT has created a situation where states across the nation have rewritten their policies to meet federal requirements, which include restructuring systems by opening more charter schools, heightening standardized testing measures, and further controlling teachers' "performance." RTTT is an explicit example of the way in which structural power (Collins, 2008) functions, as it has been the impetus for the creation of institutional policies that further subjugate the marginalized.

Included within disciplinary power arenas (Collins, 2008) are federal initiatives such as A Blueprint for Reform (U.S. Department of Education, 2010a), the NCLB Flexibility Program (U.S. Department of Education, 2011), and the recently proposed RESPECT program (U.S. Department of Education, 2012c). RESPECT, or "Recognizing Educational Success, Professional Excellence and Collaborative Teaching," is a \$5 billion competitive program proposed for the 2013 budget that will attempt to "comprehensively" reform the teaching profession. Some of its most concerning goals include (1) "reforming teacher colleges and making them more selective," (2) "linking earnings more closely to performance rather than simply longevity or credentials," (3) "providing teachers with greater autonomy in exchange for greater accountability," and (4) "reforming tenure to raise the bar, protect good teachers, and promote accountability" (U.S. Department of Education, 2012c). Initiatives such as RESPECT exemplify the production of disciplinary power (Collins, 2008) to create more difficult circumstances for educators to function in and resist the structural oppressions already functioning through policies such as NCLB and RTTT.

Interpersonal power (Collins, 2008) exists as a technology within noneducator leadership, public-private partnership initiatives, and neoliberal, market-based restructuring. For instance, advocates of market-based methods of reform tout autonomy and choice to persuade the general public to support charter school initiatives without disclosing the inequities privatizing the public school system produces. The relationship between equitable education circumstances for all young children and market-based restructuring ultimately gives more power to business and profit-making agendas than young children and communities. This dynamic relationship is an example of the way in which interpersonal domains function to give power to the dominant.

Hegemonically (Collins, 2008), power is operating in the form of crisis, urgency, and opportunity discourses. The illusion is created that stakeholder input is valued in the construction of policy and reform initiatives. Constructs such as quality related to teacher performance (e.g., the RESPECT program) and notions of quality found in Quality Rating and Improvement Systems (QRIS) are a major component of competitive grant initiatives. One example of the illusion of stakeholder input functioning as hegemonic power can be found in a recent speech made by President Obama in which he states:

Since Race to the Top has been launched, we've seen what's possible when reform isn't just a top-down mandate but the work of local teachers and principals and school boards and communities working together to develop better standards. (U.S. Department of Education, 2011)

This rhetoric of stakeholder input and collaborative reform attempts to mask the hidden agendas of those who support system privatization. Exposing hegemonic constructs such as these both unveils dangerous policy discourses that purposely manipulate ideologies to maintain power and creates possibilities for action and resistance (Collins, 2008).

Finally, marginalized from structural, disciplinary, interpersonal, and hegemonic power are the lived experiences/perspectives of those impacted most by oppressive public policies: young children, especially those of color and/or from low socioeconomic circumstances, parents, communities, teachers, and unions. Further, anyone who might be critical of the system or who attempts to expose sites of intersectional oppression (and spaces of resistance within these sites of domination) are either silenced or ignored.

As we engage further with research that examines the U.S. public policy assemblage, employing methods such as Black feminist situational analysis will be a key

component of continued activist scholarship. We project that this portion of our research (examination of the policies associated with the U.S. Department of Education) will take the form of documenting lived experiences (Collins, 2008) of early childhood educators. For example, in New Orleans, many African American teachers have recently been fired from one of the few remaining traditional public schools transitioning to a charter. These teachers have been forced to reapply for their positions within the new system, and not all will be able to return because “turn around schools” (a label created for schools determined failing and therefore forced to be shut down and reestablished as charters) can only rehire 50% of their original staff. Documentation of lived experiences and continued Black feminist situational analysis, along with a bricolage of other forms of critical qualitative research, can create a more dominant public dialog that exposes and helps resist (1) private interests in public education; (2) the increased control of teachers’ and children’s performance, and therefore, reconceptualize currently narrow and oppressive definitions of quality, teaching, and learning; and (3) exclusionary tactics used to silence career educators, parents, and young children’s perspectives who have historically been marginalized by dominant policy discourses.

Critical Case Studies (of the Corporatization) of Migrant and Seasonal Head Start: “Using” Children’s Assistance Programs to Redeploy Public Funds

As a more specific type of critical qualitative study, a bricolage was constructed to examine the policy discourse(s) and forms of implementation that now dominate Migrant and Seasonal Head Start (MSHS) funding programs. Addressing our initial broad concerns regarding the nature of a particular neoliberal early childhood assemblage, questions such as the following were asked: (1) Who receives, manages, and controls public funds, as well as community discourses, for Migrant and Seasonal Head Start (e.g., children, their families, teachers, or unanticipated recipients)? (2) How are funds deployed, and who controls the decisions? (3) Are, and how are, new forms of corporatization and power legitimated? (4) What policy data sources are made possible (but virtual and potentially fleeting) through new and possibly more public technologies? Secondly, broadly comparing the capitalist assemblage to the MSHS assemblage, ways that capitalism inserts itself into early childhood policy as a decoder or scrambler were addressed. Data were collected from federal and state government websites as well as websites and public documents created by agencies receiving Head Start funding, specifically the website for



Figure 3. Messy Situational Map: US Migrant and Seasonal Head Start (MSHS) “Corporate Management” (Exploration). Adapted from “Messy Situational Map: Nurses’ Work Under Managed Care” (Clarke, 2005, p. 95).

the U.S. Administration for Children and Families, that provide funding information for programs. Situational maps were created (Clarke, 2005; M. S. Pérez & Cannella, 2011) using discourse and organizational juxtaposition of notions of capitalist assemblage alongside nonprofit practices. Additionally, budgets and financial reporting methods were examined and summary tables were created. Philosophically, the feminist notion of “capitalist patriarchy,” which critiques capitalism as the most recent wave of patriarchy, serves as the philosophical lens for “reading” this constructed data, along with understandings that are generated through the Deleuze-Guattarian explanation of capitalism.

Capitalist Patriarchy and Neoliberal Technologies

We first discuss the major points assumed in Claudia von Werlhof’s (2004, 2007, 2011) feminist discussion of environmental capitalist patriarchy that assumes the need for greater acknowledgement and critique of patriarchy itself, as related to the

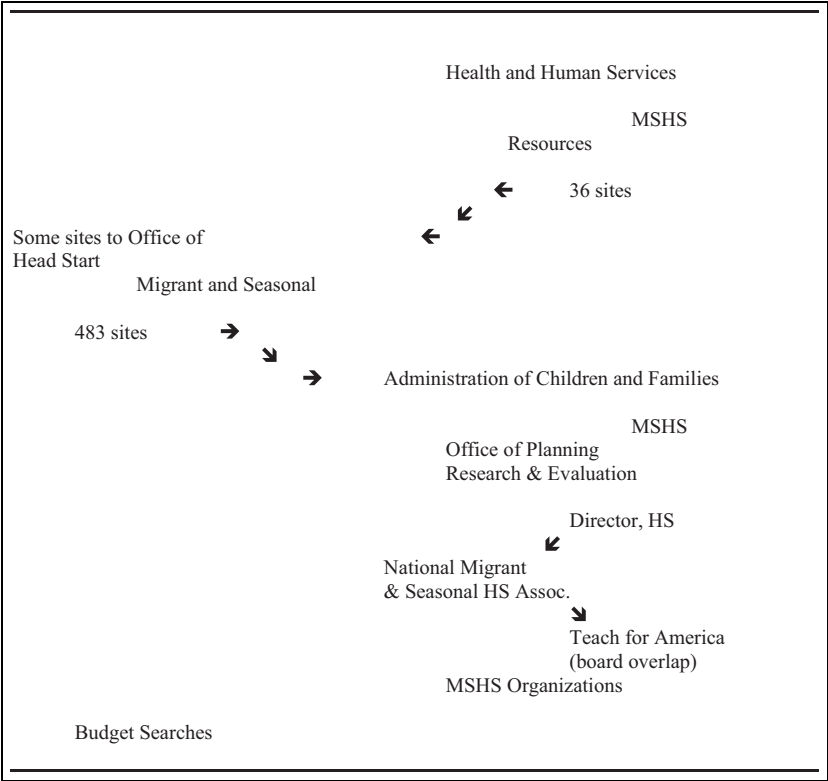


Figure 4. Messy Situational Map: U.S. Migrant and Seasonal Head Start (MSHS) Initial U.S. Federal Website Analysis (Multiply Linked). Adapted from “Messy Situational Map: Nurses’ Work Under Managed Care” (Clarke, 2005, p. 95).

study of management (and therefore the Migrant and Seasonal Head Start management structure). First, *patriarchy is considered the foundation of capitalism with government, or private entities, as “father” and “savior.”* This view is linked to the construction of poverty, the reasoning behind the conceptualization of Head Start, and ultimately for “migrant and seasonal” children, the construction of heterosexual, English-speaking, male saviors (or their representatives) who would “rescue” children whose home language is not English and whose families do not yield to the dominant view of how families should live. Second, the purpose of capitalism is the accomplishment of a patriarchal utopia. Further, patriarchy and its contemporary systems of practice, such as capitalism, are producers/reproducers of “war systems,” of winners and losers. This perspective constructs forms of rational technologies such as psychology and economics that judge and label, commodify and privatize.

Table 1: Grantees Providing Management Services Within States with 20+ Migrant and Seasonal Head Start Programs (319 of 497 programs across 35 states)

State	Number of MSHS	Grantee (Number of programs)
California	114	Community Action Partnership of San Luis Obispo County, CA Nine different organizations (87, ranging from 5–19 programs)
Florida	73	Redlands Christian Migrant Assoc., Immokalee, FL (62) East Coast Migrant Head Start Project, FL (11)
Texas	39	Texas Migrant Council (39)
Washington	39	Migrant and Seasonal Head Start, Sunnyside, WA (33) Enterprise for Progress in the Community, Yakima, WA (16)
Oregon	30	Oregon Child Development Coalition, Wilsonville, OR
Michigan	24	Telamon Corporation, Raleigh, NC (21) Two different organizations (3)

Data listing number and location of programs and grantees taken from the U.S. Administration for Children and Families, Office of Head Start, Early Childhood Learning & Knowledge Center program locator, February/March, 2012.

Children labeled as Migrant and Seasonal Head Start participants and their families are, in this study, those “losers” who are judged by representatives of the white, male, English-speaking world. Additionally, notions such as “progress” that may even use discourses of social justice (and be applied directly to linguistically and culturally diverse children) are often actually performances of capitalist patriarchy. Finally, capitalist patriarchy is unable to “envision” alternatives, not capable even in the form of nonprofit corporations or government grants. Feminist analysis of capitalist patriarchy would suggest that our nonprofit organizations and government programs, such as MSHS, are embedded within patriarchy and all its most recent capitalist assumptions.

Case Study of Corporatization: MSHS

Reading and rereading of government website information led to the construction of a messy map (Clarke, 2005) to facilitate an initial exploration of MSHS management structures (see Figure 3). This messy map reflects the ways in which capitalist patriarchy is infused within conceptualizations of MSHS (e.g., with the establishment of standards, quality measures) and the technologies used to maintain capitalist patriarchy, such as the interconnections of government, nonprofit, and for profit sectors; linkages to marriage and faith-based initiatives; and lack of budget transparency. The

Table 2: Large MSHS Management Grantees and/or Those Serving Multiple States

Management	Established	Corporate Terminology	State (Number of Programs)	Children Served
Redlands Christian Migrant Association Immokalee, Florida	1969	academy, card order, nonprofit, corporation	FL (62), claims 86 in 2010–2011 report	1,700 on website, 8,000 given as number in annual report
Texas Migrant Council/Teaching & Mentoring Communities, Laredo, Texas United Migrant Opportunity Services in Wisconsin	1971	CEO, corporate office, departments, VP for operations, finance, human resources, compliance	TX (39) OH (11) IN (8) WI (7) NM (2) NV (2) OK (2) IA (1)	7,975
Telamon Corp. Raleigh, NC	1965	transition resources corporation	MI (24) NC (4) TN (4) GA (3)	4,239
East Coast Migrant Head Start Project Regional Locations	1974	corporate history, CEO	FL (11) NC (5) AL (3) SC (1)	4,380

*Listing (number counted) of programs and grantee from U.S. Administration for Children and Families, Office of Head Start, Early Childhood Learning & Knowledge Center program locator, February/March, 2012.

next situational messy map (see Figure 4) allows for the exploration of the relationships among the various MSHS management organizations.

This second messy map (see Figure 4) serves as a starting point for which management/resource networks were realized, allowing the deployment of funds to be further investigated. The following tables provide a review of (1) grantees providing management services (see Table 1) within states with more than 20 MSHS grantees; (2) large MSHS management grantees and/or those serving multiple states, their dates of establishment, corporate terminology, number of programs established across states, and number of children served (see Table 2); and (3) MSHS management grantees' budgets, including federal funding, private funding, and programs for

Table 3: Large MSHS Management Grantees and/or Those Serving Multiple States (continued)

Management	2010 or 2011 Annual Report**		
	Head Start Funding	Private Funding (donated/income)	Other Programs
Redlands Christian Migrant Association*** Immokalee, FL	\$29,078,073 (2010–2013)	Large donors (over 600) listed from \$100–\$500,000	Charter schools, capital campaign, character education, Reading is Fundamental
Texas Migrant Council/ Teaching & Mentoring Communities, Laredo, TX/United Migrant Opportunity Services in WI	\$64,057,829 (2010)	\$263,934	Workforce, Healthy Marriage, Community Obesity
Telamon Corporation*** Raleigh, NC	\$41,471,496 (2010)	\$580,928	many listed alphabetically from adult training to youth development
East Coast Migrant Head Start Project Regional Locations	\$56,719,282 provides expenses by region (2011)	\$89,223	USDA Food

**Budgets not transparent, set up differently, do not always list federal grants explicitly, federal program numbers current to 2012, but finances either 2010 or 2011.

***Also serve other Head Start programs and other government programs (finances not always itemized)

which they are associated, such as charter schools, obesity programs, adult training, and youth development (see Table 3).

As evident by the initial situational mapping of capitalist patriarchy embedded in MSHS systems, the capitalist desiring machine expands to include “management” and the corporatization of even nonprofits. Further, MSHS service management is dependent on grant money and private donations, perpetuating the “nonprofit industrial complex.”

Personal and Local Experiences of Linguistic Diversity in the United States: Chicana Feminist Disruptions and Imaginaries

Chicana feminist scholarship has been drawn upon in combination with decolonial studies that center language, identity, and power (Anzaldúa, 1987; Demas &

Saavedra, 2004) to examine the discourses/practices encapsulated under the broad term of linguistic diversity in the U.S. neo/de/colonial contexts. Of great importance is to engage with the un/official policies that (re)construct the ways in which linguistic diversity is legitimized under particular spaces and delegitimized in others. Specifically, discourses investigated were found on websites that house federal language policies found in No Child Left Behind as well the discourses in the Office of English Language Acquisition. At the local level, we examined the adopted English as a Second Language (ESL) curricula for one school district and how its implementation is both used and challenged through the lived experiences of one ESL teacher. Through this analysis, we have been able to map the local and national dis/continuities in policies and discourses as well as illuminate the spaces of decolonial imaginaries (E. Pérez, 1999) that exist in neocolonial contexts. This third space allows us to move beyond bifurcated ideas of domination/subordination. Furthermore, it creates a rift in our thinking that moves us to shift our colonial consciousness into different *posibilidades* for not only linguistic diversity but also ultimately our Western reality.

Chicana/Latina Feminist(s) Lens

The lens chosen for examining the concept of linguistic diversity is intimately tied to personal experiences, struggles, and hopes. Chicana/Latina feminism is not just another theoretical category picked off the shelf. On the contrary, Chicana/Latina feminism is an embodied way of living that comes from the lived experiences, herstories, counterstories, and theorizing from *mujeres* who straddle and negotiate languages, culture, and domination/resistance on a daily basis (Delgado Bernal, 1998; Delgado Bernal, Elenes, Godinez, & Villenas, 2006; Trinidad Galvan, 2001; Villenas & Moreno, 2001). Hence, it is important to emphasize the lenses we, as researchers, use are very much in alignment with our worldviews and our embodied experiences through the sociopolitical, historical, and cultural matrices we inhabit.

Among many important issues and contexts that Chicana/Latina feminism has contributed to feminism is examinations of linguistic racism (Demas & Saavedra, 2004). In coming to know our world, many Chicana/Latina feminists understand that our world is linguistically diverse. We grow up listening to and learning Spanish, and in schools we learn English. We are constantly straddling a dualistic linguistic system that we learn to navigate (González, 2006). It is not a smooth navigation. Many of us learn quickly to hide our Spanish-language heritage as young children (Saavedra,

2011) out of fear of being reprimanded in schools (Anzaldúa, 1987) as well as co-opting a fragmented life imposed by the linguistic hegemony that claims English is the language of the land (Rodriguez, 1982). Further, many of us do not speak Spanish because of our parents' experiences in the schools.

Disciplining Linguistic Diversity

It is clear that the U.S. educational system shares responsibility for the ways that linguistic diversity is addressed, silenced, or enriched in public schools. Even linguistic diversity and bilingual education research shares part of these responsibilities with the epistemologies, methodologies, and theories used to investigate languages in the schools (Demas & Saavedra, 2004). Forgetting that language is a cultural practice (Schechter & Bayley, 2002), linguistic research and policy subsequently erase language and cultural minority voices in the name of academic excellence and success under NCLB (Marx & Saavedra, *in press*).

What's in a name? From OBEMLA to OELA and the push for English at all costs

Under the Graduate Fellowship Program grant for creating professionals to advance the field of bilingual/ESL studies, doctoral studies at one of our former universities were in great part funded by the former Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Language Affairs (OBEMLA). After the presidential election of George W. Bush in 2000, the office changed its name to the Office of English Language Acquisition (OELA) under the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001. With this name change came a change in focus for the U.S. government. Though we still do not have an official federal U.S. government language policy, language policies are created in various ways through unofficial discourses, emphasis in research funding, pedagogies, testing, etc. (Menken, 2008).

The focus now is the acquisition of English. This became evident and real in our experiences working with a school district in the northern Utah (Marx & Saavedra, *in press*). The pressure to pass tests and raise students' scores has teachers scrambling and implementing methods that do not reflect any cultural or linguistically relevant pedagogies. Students are taught English through flash cards, vocabulary is heavily emphasized without any context, and English learning is equated with bodies that do not move but instead have eyes on teachers and are quiet. Young children were given such outdated, didactic instruction, making our involvement as researchers terribly

disappointing and infuriating. Many of the teachers we spoke with could cite and repeat all the NCLB discourses that discussed equity and excellence to defend their position, their instructional approaches, and their ESL program. We knew as researchers that we had vast epistemological differences with some of the teachers as most of the school district was operating under neoliberal concerns—individualistic constructions of education and market-based approaches to educating students. Yet even within these narrow definitions of education and success, there are teachers who have taken a different approach to educating linguistic and cultural minority students.

Navigating Systems of Oppression: Third Spaces of Possibilities

Soon after our experiences working with a school district in northern Utah, a former university student shared her experiences working with her Latina/o high school students. She described that she was in charge of a class that was geared toward teaching leadership and empowering skills for Latina/os. Because of some administrative changes, she now had more control of the curriculum. She was not too happy with the leadership curriculum as a whole because it was taught through worksheets and a banking method of teaching and learning. Currently, we are exploring ways to introduce students to Western epistemology, critical race theory, and indigenous ways of knowing and being that center spirituality, interconnectedness, and compassion.

The lesson for us as researchers in both of these very different experiences of oppression and possibility has been to recognize the value in highlighting and becoming aware of oppression, inequality, and the violence that is casted daily on brown, black, and gendered bodies in education. Yet it is also our responsibility to reimagine new ways of becoming (Deleuze & Guattari, 1977, 1987). As we keep engaging with domination, it keeps remaking us and reconstructing our lives. We become part of domination by constantly keeping track of it, gazing at it, and talking back to it while using the language that has created dichotomies and hierarchies—the very things we wish to eliminate in our lives and the lives of others. Resistance, then, always occurs in reaction to domination. Is there a way out of the vicious cycles and interdependence we have with domination? These are some of the questions we struggle with as researchers. Disruptions should not only be contestations against domination but also can be about the different stories we tell and share, stories that acknowledge a different way to exist. Perhaps it is, then, that we can really reimagine and remake our world, our reality.

Concluding Remarks

Drawing upon a diversity (Kincheloe, 2008) of traditionally marginalized feminist perspectives, our research has uncovered conglomerations of neoliberal childhood public policy assemblages in the United States. By foregrounding examinations of Black feminist thought, capitalist patriarchy, and Chicana/Latina feminisms, we have used emergent critical qualitative methodologies to prod, unveil, and express the *processes* involved in neoliberal enactments of childhood public policy. These articulations can be illustrated through our situational analysis of Head Start funds as a non/for-profit industrial complex and promotion/production of educational public policies such as NCLB and RTTT that further regulate teachers and students under the realm of heightened accountability measures. Further, we have shown that lived experiences, represented through her-stories of teachers being placed under authoritarian control while also embodying empowerment/resistance to power constructs, cannot be separated from the oppressive structures produced by the U.S. public policy behemoth.

Although we have employed a bricolage of theoretical and methodological approaches to uncover the complex arranging, organizing, and production of neoliberal public policy, admittedly, in our initial research efforts, we have at times struggled with grasping the unstatic/unbound/flowing/changing modes of capitalist technologies that have facilitated and maintained the formation and implementation of neoliberal childhood policies. As we reflect upon our initial collaborative research experience in the United States and move forward with further examination of policy assemblages, we are compelled to ask:

- In what ways does our initial research in the United States connect to the public policy assemblages examined/uncovered in other geopolitical locations that are part of the international collaborative?
- How can marginalized feminist perspectives be further enacted as part of our continued conceptualization of collaborative research both in the United States and across geopolitical locations?
- How can we make visible life experiences within the massive policy complex as well as unveil deterritorializing lines of flight?
- How can a critical bricolage of theoretical perspectives and methodologies be used to foster an emergent space for inquiry that captures the often fleeting aspects of the policy assemblage behemoth?

With these questions in mind, we continue to work together to grapple with and generate emergent and newly imagined ways to untangle the complex power orientations produced by childhood public policy assemblages in the United States.

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