

The Policy Feedback Loop: Exploring English Learner (EL) Policy, Policy
Implementation, and the Relationship between Policy, Research, and Practice

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ABSTRACT

This study will explore the EL policy implementation process and offer evaluative feedback by systematically reviewing the history of US federal educational language policy and its impact on schools and classrooms, as well as the role research has played in the development of EL policy. Additionally, this study will explore how current language policy implementation impacts programming and practices in both the UK and the US through two separate case studies, as a means of providing evaluative feedback on the policies.

The purpose of this study is to elucidate the complicated history of EL policy and its impact, as well as to address the policy feedback gap by investigating the process of how specific and local EL policy is interpreted from the national and state level, and then supported and enacted at the K-12 level. Additionally, this study seeks to chart how this interpretation and enactment manifests across and within a school, how policy influences EL programs and practices, and how this localized implementation relates to the state and national policies. Thus, I hope to create the means to analyze EL policy with innovative conceptual and theoretical frames, to provide transparent policy feedback as well as to delineate the specifics of policy enactment in the EL context, highlighting how policy influences programs and practices.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

In 2019, the U.S. Department of Education released *The Condition of Education 2019* which encapsulated the comprehensive findings of the National Center for Education Statistics annual analysis of education. In this report, the English Learner (EL) population was listed as nearly 10% of the entire student body nationally, or about 4.9 million students. The report also highlighted that this population grew from nearly 3.8 million students in 2000. This growth in students speaking a second language mirrors international statistics as well, and according to the United Nations 2017 Migration Report, the “number of international migrants worldwide has grown faster than the world’s population” (p. 5). Although this immigrant population is not entirely comprised of individuals learning a second language or ELs, it still indicates the global trend of migration and that this student body subgroup is consistently and comprehensively growing. However, while this population is growing both domestically and internationally, the U.S. is still failing to meet the needs of ELs, foster language acquisition, and sustain achievement for this subgroup (*Condition of Education*, 2019). In fact, the *Condition of Education 2019* designated ELs as the lowest-scoring subgroup at the 4th, 8th, and 12th grade levels in terms of both reading and math assessment. Specifically, in terms of reading proficiency, 4th grade EL students scored, on average, 37 points lower than their peers, 8th grade ELs scored 43 points lower, and 12th grade ELs scored 49 points lower than their peers. Moreover, these statistics highlight that more recent EL policy has negatively impacted EL student achievement because in 2003, 4th grade ELs were only 23 points behind their peers, whereas in 2013 that gap grew to 25

points (Gandara, 2015). These statistics indicate that despite policies and programs being specifically created and funded to support and serve ELs, they are still performing and achieving significantly below their peers, and these policies, their programs, and their impact are not creating legitimate growth, achievement, and language acquisition.

The detrimental impact of recent federal educational policy, specifically, No Child Left Behind (NCLB) and Every Student Succeeds Act (ESSA), on ELs and English as a Second Language (ESL) programs is also documented in the literature. Research on language policy highlighted that the shift towards accountability, achievement, and high stakes testing ushered in by NCLB also instigated the shift to English-only policies, programs, and practices, a shift that has hindered language acquisition and achievement (Abedi & Gandara, 2006; Gandara, 2015; Gandara & Hopkins, 2010; Gershberg, Danenberg, & Sanchez, 2004; Menken, 2010; McGuinn, 2011; McGuinn & Hess, 2005; Wright, 2005). However, research has also emphasized the need for further contextualized exploration of policy, policy implementation, and the impact of that implementation according to those individuals enacting that policy (Carhill-Poza, 2015; Crawford, 1998; Estes, 1968; Gershberg, Danenberg, & Sanchez, 2004; Halperin, 1975; Martin-Beltran, Daniel, Peercy, & Silverman, 2017; Reyes & Garcia, 2013; Wright & Choi, 2006). In fact, as early as 1968, when referencing the first federal educational policies and their impact, Estes stated that “One of our greatest concerns . . . is the fact that, frequently, principals and teachers are bypassed in planning them [educational policy]. Principals and teachers may not even have an opportunity to participate in the decision-making process” (p. 84). Moreover, researchers articulated the need to chart and delineate the relationship between EL policy, the programs that fall under that policy,

and the practices that constitute these programs according to local actors and agents implementing the policy, creating the programs, and enacting instructional and leadership practices (Artiles, Klingner, Sullivan, & Fierros, 2010; Carhill-Poza, 2015; Gandara, 2015; Gandara & Baca, 2008; Gandara & Hopkins, 2010; Genesee & Boyson, 1999; Gershberg, Danenberg, & Sanchez, 2004; Garcia & Sylvan, 2011; Menken, 2008; Menken & Solorza, 2012; Stewner-Manzanares, 1988). Finally, researchers and practitioners have also highlighted the lack of research evaluating EL policy implementation specifically and as a means of policy feedback, evaluation, and development (Ambers, 2012; Bowman, 2010; Combs, Evans, Fletcher, Parra, & Jimenez, 2005; Crawford, 1998; Gandara & Hopkins, 2010; Haneda & Alexander, 2015; Malsbary & Applegate, 2016; Menken, 2008; Umansky & Reardon, 2014). Furthermore, as highlighted earlier, international trends in migration and the volume of EL students are rising exponentially, indicating that policy considerations and concerns are being confronted globally.

This study will explore the intricate and nebulous policy implementation process and offer evaluative feedback by critically reviewing the history of US federal educational language policy and its impact on schools and classrooms, as well as how policy has impacted ELs in the UK. Additionally, this study will explore how current language policy implementation impacts programming and practices in both the UK and the US.

In this chapter I will briefly highlight the problems that foreground this study, as well as the research purpose, guiding research questions, significance, conceptual framework, and finally, the three-article format employed to review and explore EL

policy. I begin with an overview of the problems that instigated this study and to articulate why educational policy, specifically EL policy, needs more contextualized and evaluative research.

Statement of the Problem

While a substantial body of literature investigating EL instructional practices, EL programs, and their efficacy exists individually, there are relatively few studies that have explored the connection and relationship between national and state policy, localized implementation, and local policy implementation influences on programs and practices. Moreover, educational policy and educational policy implementation tend to be stagnant, isomorphic, and disconnected at the national level, yet simultaneously convoluted and interpretive at the local level (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Gandara, 2015; Gandara & Hopkins, 2010; Gershberg et al., 2004; Lingard, 2011; Menken, 2010; Roach, et al., 2011). With U.S. EL policy specifically, researchers also highlighted the disconnect between federal and state EL policy with best practices for ELs, as more recent English-only state policies and their implementation have actually inhibited language acquisition and achievement (Gandara, 2015; Gandara & Hopkins, 2010; Gershberg et al., 2004; Menken, 2010; Umansky & Reardon, 2014). Thus, this study explores the impact of policy implementation, according to the local actors and agents implementing said policy, to clarify the relationship between policy, programs, and practices as well as offer evaluative feedback for local, state, and national EL policy. In other words, this study will explore the relationship between EL policy, EL programs, and EL practices, to fully articulate and delineate the policy to program to practice process. Through this investigation, findings will offer evaluative feedback for both local policy and national

policy by extrapolating the specific relationship and connection or disconnection between national and state policy with its localized implementation.

Policy researchers repeatedly emphasize the need for further qualitative policy studies, derived from innovative models and conceptual frames, in diverse and alternative fields, such as EL policy (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Harriet & Firestone, 1983; Jann & Wegrich, 2007; Lingard, 2011; Roach, et al., 2011; Srivastava & Thomson, 2009; Starke, 2013). At the national level, both domestically and internationally, educational policy formation tends to be mimicked or borrowed across states, institutions, and organizations, leading to monolithic policies devoid of contextual considerations and room for legitimate innovation, as policies are borrowed or mimicked (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Jann & Wegrich, 2007; Lingard, 2011; Roach, et al., 2011). This study will not only assess how this isomorphic tendency impacts EL policy, but it will also utilize innovative theoretical and conceptual frameworks in each case study to explore the impact of policy and policy implementation. Moreover, framework analysis will serve as the conceptual frame for all data in this study, due to its pragmatic capacity for an array of data analysis, as well as its capacity to offer evaluative and substantive feedback for both local and national policy (Cooley, 2008; Finlay et al., 2015; Marais & Peterson, 2013; Midgley et al., 2015; Patel & Agbenyega; 2013).

Researchers also recommended that future EL studies investigate practices, programs/instructional models, classification, language orientations, and policy, comprehensively and contextually through the involvement of local actors (Ambers, 2012, Bowman, 2010, Carhill-Poza, 2015; Calderon, Slavin, & Sanchez, 2011; Estes, 1986; Garcia & Slyvan, 2011; Haneda & Alexander, 2015; Li, 2007; Malsbary &

Applegate, 2016; Martin-Beltran, Peercy, & Silverman, 2017; Sullivan 2011). Since the responsibility of localized policy implementation and policy communication has historically been a part of a school leader's role, then policy implementation needs to be explored through these individuals. In fact, even in 1992, Heck emphasized the role of the principal as a "communicator" (p. 30) within their spaces and this communication included communicating policies and their implications for implementation. Ten years later, Hope (2002) reiterated this point, by stating that "principals are at the forefront of implementing the changes and bringing about the realities embodied in implementing policy mandates" (p. 42-43). In 2003, to meet the challenge of implementing policy and change, Hale and Moorman, demanded that shifts in policy necessitate formal training and support for principals, as well as calling for a greater emphasis on policy within principal preparation programs. Korach and Cosner (2009) espoused similar sentiments when they labeled principals as the "major actors" (p. 265) within schools, responsible for communicating and implementing state and district policies. Clearly, policy implementation and communication fall on the shoulders of school principals, which might also partially explain the isomorphic development of education policy. If school principals are tasked with communicating and implementing policy in addition to their other responsibilities, then it is easier to learn, borrow, and mimic how others accomplish these aims, which is why policy in educational spaces, specifically EL educational policy, warrants further examination through the perspectives of principals, classroom teachers, and other local actors.

Finally, EL scholars have articulated the need for more evaluative and assessment-based research on both national and local policy as a means of policy

development (Ambers, 2012; Bowman, 2010; Combs, Evans, Fletcher, Parra, & Jimenez, 2005; Crawford, 1998; Gandara & Hopkins, 2010; Haneda & Alexander, 2015; Malsbary & Applegate, 2016; Menken, 2008; Umansky & Reardon, 2014). Malsbary and Applegate (2016) expounded on this lack of policy evaluation and knowledge in the field when they stated “we know of no formal mechanism to assess policy effects in classrooms early and frequently after policy implementation. We need a feedback loop between government-backed policy and the classroom, and increased transparency around how policy is enacted” (p. 43). This study addressed this feedback gap by reviewing the historical impact of policy on ELs, then by pinpointing specific schools, their EL policies, programs, and practices, and investigating the relationship between how policy is enacted, implemented, and supported in the classroom as a means to inform and develop both local and national policy.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to elucidate the complicated history of EL policy and its impact, as well as to address the policy feedback gap by investigating the process of how specific and local EL policy is interpreted from the national and state level, and then supported and enacted at the K-12 level. Additionally, this study seeks to chart how this interpretation and enactment manifests across and within a school, how policy influences EL programs and practices, and how this localized implementation relates to the state and national policies. Thus, I hope to create the means to analyze EL policy with innovative conceptual and theoretical frames, to provide transparent policy feedback as well as to delineate the specifics of policy enactment in the EL context, highlighting how policy influences programs and practices.

Research Questions

1. Historically, how have educational policy and shifts in policy impacted ELs?
 - a. What contributed to new policy and shifts in policy?
 - b. What role has research played in this process?
2. How does policy impact decisions on EL programs or instructional models (Genesee & Boyson, 1999; TN Department of Education, 2017) and classroom practices (Garcia & Slyvan, 2011) according to school leaders, resource coordinators, and EL teachers?

Significance of the Study

Research has repeatedly indicated that the responsibility of policy implementation is placed upon local actors (Gershberg, et al., 2004; Hale & Moorman, 2003; Heck, 1992; Hope, 2002; Korach & Cosner, 2009; Menken, 2008). For EL and language policy, Gershberg et al. (2004) and Menken (2008) expanded the extent of local responsibility when they discovered that classroom teachers ultimately became the implementers of policy leading to individualized, organic, and ad hoc policies. Conversely, educational policy when studied holistically and at the national and state level, exhibited isomorphic, mimicked, and borrowed characteristics between states, districts, and schools (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Jann & Wegrich, 2007; Lingard, 2011; Roach, et al., 2011; Srivastava & Thomson, 2009). However, the relationship and connection between national educational policy, and national language policy and its local implementation, local programs, and local practices, according to those local implementers, is an area warranting further exploration potentially offering significance for future policy, practice, and research.

For policymakers and policy researchers, this study will contribute to understandings of policy by contextualizing policy implementation analysis through educational and EL policy, applying innovative conceptual and theoretical frameworks to investigate policy implementation, and further clarifying the policy to practice process. This study will further understandings of educational policy holistically by exploring the influence of isomorphism at the national and state level in the EL policy context specifically (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Jann & Wegrich, 2007; Lingard, 2011; Roach, et al., 2011). Moreover, this study will contribute to EL policy research by investigating implementation both domestically and internationally in two bounded, distinct, and unique settings, to develop a more comprehensive portrait of EL policy implementation (Gandara, 2015; Gandara & Hopkins, 2010; Gershberg et al., 2004; Malsbary & Applegate, 2016; Menken, 2010). Through this process, this study will also highlight the connection or disconnection between national and federal policy and its local implementation (Artiles, et al., 2010; Carhill-Poza, 2015; Gandara, 2015; Gandara & Baca, 2008; Gandara & Hopkins, 2010), This study will also contribute to policy research by utilizing framework analysis as a conceptual frame in an innovative context, EL policy, and further assessing its capability to analyze and evaluate policy (Cooley, 2008; Finlay et al., 2015; Marais & Peterson, 2013; Midgley et al., 2015; Patel & Agbenyega; 2013). Finally, by exploring policy implementation through local actors, this study will contribute to previous EL policy research by articulating the implementation process and its impact on programs and practices in two novel settings (Gershberg et al., 2004; Menken, 2008). This study is also significant for K-12 administrators, practitioners, and researchers.

For K-12 administrators, practitioners, and researchers this study will contribute to the understanding of policy implementation by expanding upon the specific procedures of implementation, charting the relationship between local policy, programs, and their practices, and by further articulating the *de jure*, *de facto*, and *ad hoc* classroom policies highlighted by Gershberg et al. (2013) and Menken (2008) in two unique and international settings. As highlighted previously, administrators and classroom teachers are ultimately the implementors of policy, so reviewing the historical impact of EL policy and then exploring implementation through the lens of administrators and teachers will contribute to understanding the specific roles, responsibilities, and strategies required of administrators and teachers, both historically and currently when servicing ELs (Gershberg, et al., 2004; Hale & Moorman, 2003; Heck, 1992; Hope, 2002; Korach & Cosner, 2009; Menken, 2008). Additionally, this study will contribute to previous K-12 EL research by mapping how EL policy impacts EL programs and EL practices (Garcia & Slyvan, 2011; Genesee & Boyson, 1999; TN Department of Education, 2017). Moreover, this mapping will further extrapolate the specific nuances and manifestations involved when teachers create *de jure*, *de facto*, and *ad hoc* classroom policies (Gandara & Hopkins, 2010; Gershberg et al., 2004; Malsbary & Applegate, 2016; Menken, 2010).

Definition of Terms

For the sake of transparency, consistency, and coherency I have defined and described the following terms and concepts as they will be repeatedly utilized and emphasized throughout this study.

Every Student Succeeds Act (ESSA) – educational legislation signed in 2015 by Congress and the Obama administration that replaced and removed the previous legislation: NCLB (U.S. Department of Education, 2016).

English as a Second Language or English as an Additional Language (ESL) or (EAL) – “the term used to describe an educational approach in which English Language Learners are instructed in the use of the English language. Includes both bilingual and English-only approaches” (Gershberg et al., 2004, p. xiv).

English Learner EL (EL) – “the term used to identify those students determined to have insufficient English to succeed in English-only classrooms” (Gershberg et al., 2004, p. xiv).

Fluent English Proficient (FEP) – “the term used to identify and redesignate former LEP or EL/ELL students who can comprehend read, write, and speak English well enough to receive instruction in the regular school curriculum. To achieve FEP status, a student must meet several criteria, such as certain levels of standardized test performance, teacher recommendations, and usually a minimum grade point average of 2.0” (Gershberg et al., 2004, p. xiv).

Isomorphism - is “the tendency for seemingly different institutions to adopt very similar policies and practices. Furthermore, the more established a policy or practice becomes, the greater the degree of isomorphism” (Roach, et al., 2011, p. 76).

Limited English Proficient (LEP) – “the term used to identify those students who have insufficient English to succeed in English-only classrooms, as determined by some standardized assessment system and criteria. The term is considered by the federal

government to be equivalent to English Language Learner (ELL)” (Gershberg et al., 2004, p. xv).

No Child Left Behind (NCLB) – “The primary education legislation enacted by Congress and the Bush administration in 2001” (Gershberg et al., 2004, p. xvi). This legislation stated that through accountability measures coupled with standardized testing all students would be academically proficient by the year 2014 (Gandara, 2015).

Non-English Proficient (NEP) – “an alternative term used to describe EL, ELL, or LEP students” (Gershberg et al., 2004, p. xvi); used to indicate students with very little to no English proficiency.

Policy Implementation – broadly defined as “what happens between the establishment of an apparent intention on the part of the government to do something, or to stop doing something, and the ultimate impact in the world of action” (O’Toole 2000, p. 266).

World-class Instructional Design and Assessment (WIDA) – “is a consortium of states dedicated to the design and implementation of high standards and equitable educational opportunities for English language learners” (WIDA, 2020).

These terms will be found throughout this study and these definitions should help provide clarity going forward.

Conceptual Framework

To explore policy, this study will incorporate qualitative research methodologies by investigating policy through a systematic review of literature related to EL policy and two school specific case study designs. This study, which includes three articles that comprise it, are rooted in a pragmatic and social constructionist epistemology. This epistemological approach aligns with this study as it posits that reality is constructed by a

variety of experiences and different social realities according to different individuals and their perceptions of that reality, and that research questions should be answered by whatever methods and data sources most practically accomplish these ends (Creswell, 2014; Creswell, 2015; Glesne, 2011; O'Reilly & Kiyimba, 2015). Moreover, qualitative methodologies, specifically the case study, have historically demonstrated the capacity to engage with complex topics such as policy implementation, analysis, and evaluation (Gershberg, et al., 2004; Harriet & Firestone 1983; Jann & Wegrich, 2007; Lingard, 2011; Roach, et al., 2011; Srivastava & Thomson, 2009; Starke, 2013). This conceptualization of reality also aligns with Srivastava and Thomson's (2009) conceptual policy frame, which they termed framework analysis, because it frames policy as a socially constructed product and allots multiple outlets and avenues for exploring the different factors that construct and create that policy. This conceptual framework was employed in the third article of this study and will guide the comparative analysis across all three studies. Framework analysis was intentionally developed for qualitative policy studies to provide researchers with a flexible conceptual frame from which to investigate policy. Framework analysis aligns to this study for several reasons, but at its core, framework analysis was catered to and created for qualitative research, that is, it allots avenues and strategies for the incorporation of a wide variety of data and data sources. Thus, the framework will facilitate negotiating with and analyzing the wide variety of data sources accumulated for this study, including both data from the UK and the US. Additionally, the second step of the framework, incorporating a thematic frame, allows for the inclusion of a priori concepts affiliated with the topics of study. In this context, my thematic frames allow me to explore policy, programs, and practices both

individually, comprehensively, and comparatively. These thematic frames will be focused on conceptualizations of policy, programs, practices. My a priori thematic framework for policy will be structured around Roach, et al. (2011) and DiMaggio and Powell (1983) conceptualization of coercive, mimetic, and normative isomorphic policy, coupled with the concepts of de jure, de facto, and ad hoc policies highlighted by Gershberg et al. (2013) and Menken (2008). De jure policies referred to the formal and fixed district level policies towards ELs, whereas de facto policies referred to the general pattern of orienting EL programs, their policies, and their practices solely on English acquisition due to the influence of de jure policies. Finally, ad hoc policies are:

individual and idiosyncratic in nature at the school and often the classroom level, they are not usually governed directly by any district or state policies or plans, and they arise in a highly decentralized and often organic manner (Gershberg et al., 2004, p. 75).

This conceptualization of policy will allow me to connect and situate de jure English-only state policies in relation to Roach, et al. (2011) and DiMaggio and Powell (1983) conceptualization of coercive, mimetic, and normative isomorphism, as well as providing the means to explore the individual de facto and ad hoc policies, programs, and practices they produce. My a priori thematic framework for programs will be oriented around the work of Genesee and Boyson (1999), as well as the Tennessee Department of Education's ESL Instructional Models (2017). Finally, my a priori thematic framework for practices will be oriented in reference to the work of Garcia and Sylvan (2011). Both Ritchie and Spencer (1994) as well as Srivastava and Thomson (2009) highlighted that a priori thematic frames are tentative and flexible, meaning while they will provide

structure for my analysis, I can still investigate and annotate policies, programs, or practices that do not fall within the thematic frames. Furthermore, the final steps of framework analysis, charting and mapping, will enable creating a representation and a model of the relationship between EL policy, programs, and practices in its specific context, both for the US and the UK. This framework aligns to this study because this study seeks to investigate specific policies in specific schools, Srivastava and Thomson (2009) emphasize that “framework analysis provides an excellent tool to assess policies and procedures from the very people that they affect” (p. 78). Researchers from a variety of disciplines, whose studies utilized framework analysis, highlighted its pragmatic capacity for exploring policy and implicated that this frame be employed in alternative disciplines to not only delineate the specifics of policy implementation but to also offer evaluative feedback on that policy (Cooley, 2008; Finlay, Franke, McKay, & Sims-Gould, 2015; Marais & Peterson, 2015; Midgley, Parkinson, Holmes, Stapley, Eatough & Target, 2015; Patel & Agbenyega, 2013; Ritchie & Spencer, 1994; Srivastava and Thomson, 2009).

Three-Article Format & Rationale

This study is comprised of three articles all focused on EL policy and EL policy implementation. This format allowed for EL policy to be historically contextualized through a systematic review of literature related to educational language policy, the implementation of those policies, and their impact on schools, classrooms, and students. Moreover, this format provided the structure to then explore EL policy and policy implementation both domestically and internationally, as well as through different theoretical and conceptual frames. The rationale for utilizing a three-article format is also

rooted in fact that it allotted the avenues to approach EL policy historically and contextually. Through this format I was able to not only review the historical impact of policy and research on EL education, but I was able to also contextualize contemporary EL policy by exploring the impact of bilingual policy in the UK, and in contrast, the impact of English-only policy in the US. Moreover, these two sites offered the means to explore policy implementation locally and internationally, as well as in two very contrasting contexts. The UK site recently transitioned into a private academy, recreated its EL policy and programs, and offered a unique context to explore policy implementation when oriented by local policy and a bilingual approach. Whereas the southeastern US site provided a stark contrast to the UK academy because it was oriented by state stipulated English-only policy and implementation was contingent to this orientation and its impact.

Article 1: From BEA to ESSA: EL Policy Development and the Impact of EL Policy Implementation

In 1968, almost two and a half years after the signing of the Elementary and Secondary School Act (ESEA), a separate title was added to the legislation, Title VII, or more commonly known as the Bilingual Education Act (BEA). While a semblance of bilingual education had already been initiated in the U.S. prior to 1968, in states such as Texas, California, and Pennsylvania, this marked the first time the federal government formally recognized English Learners (ELs) as a student group and created policy specifically for them (Crawford, 1987; Crawford, 1998; Estes, 1968; Gandara, 2015, Garcia & Wiese, 2002; Halperin, 1975; Stewner-Manzanares, 1988; Wiese & Garcia, 1998; Wright, 2005). Gandara (2015) explains this as “the first time that the federal

government had acknowledged that English learners . . . experienced unique challenges in meeting the same educational goals as English-speaking children” (p. 112). This act, spearheaded by Texas Senator Ralph Yarborough, sought to expand the range of ESEA and financially support the linguistic needs of ELs and ensure their equal access to education as well. However, BEA like ESEA, lacked in concretely outlining the implementation of this policy, and overlooked the nuances involved in educating ELs and working with this population. The policy was subjected to review by separate and competing political factions, which is why it was also reauthorized several times and inevitably replaced by No Child Left Behind (NCLB) and the Every Student Succeeds Act (ESSA).

This systematic review historically and holistically examines language and EL policy from the Bilingual Education Act (BEA) to EL policy today under ESSA. Moreover, this study explores and delineates the complex relationship between research and policy, illuminating the influence of research on policy and policy on research. This systematic review of empirical studies on educational and EL policy from 1968, and the signing of the BEA, to EL policy today, focuses on policy shifts and transitions, as well as the impact of these shifts at the K12 level. This attempt to “collate all relevant evidences that fits pre-specified eligibility criteria to answer a specific research question” (Moher, et al., 2015, p. 3) also entails a strict protocol because, as Moher et al. (2015) explained, a protocol, “ensures that a systematic review is carefully planned and that what is planned is explicitly documented before the review starts, thus promoting consistent conduct by the review team, accountability, research integrity, and transparency of the eventual completed review” (p. 1). The final review and matrix

consisted of 62 articles, books, policy briefs, policy documents, legal briefings, and book chapters.

This systematic review documents the relationship between research, research findings, and policy developments, attempting to identify the influence of research on policy development and policy reauthorizations. By utilizing and employing a strict research protocol this review will systematically encapsulate findings from accredited and reputable online educational databases that explicitly address educational and EL policy, as well as research that assessed the impact of policy implementation and offered analysis of and implications for EL policy (Moher et al. 2015). Through this systematic review the formation and development of EL policy will be posited against and through research on language development and language acquisition to more fully articulate the research to policy process, and to potentially highlight both alignment and discrepancies between EL policy and EL research.

Possible journals for submission include: *Journal of Educational Leadership Policy and Practice, Management in Education, TESOL Journal.*

Article 2: Reframing Language Acquisition Policy & Programs: A Unique Perspective on Second Language Learners

Domestically, and internationally, current migration trends have escalated rapidly, and ELs, EL services, and EL programs have proliferated to address the diverse language needs of this transitioning population. In fact, according to United Nations 2017 Migration Report, the “number of international migrants worldwide has grown faster than the world’s population” (p. 5). With this growth, EL research has escalated as rapidly to meet the needs of this new student population. This surge is seen even in the UK context,

where the number of migrants nearly doubled in the last 17 years, from 4.4 million in 2000 to 8.8 million in 2017 (United Nations, 2017).

This study focuses on how EL policies and programs are implemented within a multi-academy trust in the UK, specifically, a secondary academy within that trust. Through interviews with 3 school leaders and the academy's EL teacher, artifacts, and classroom observations this adaptive-embedded single case study monitored how the implementation of EL policy and how students speaking marginalized, non-English languages are educated, supported, and oriented within the secondary school (Creswell & Creswell, 2018; Yin, 2018). The secondary academy and its policy were well suited for a single-case study design because it exemplified an extreme or unusual single-case (Flyvbjerg, 2011; Yin, 2018). The secondary academy's uniqueness derived from the recent transition into a local trust whereby policies were recreated and reoriented, including the EL policy. Finally, the secondary academy's unique aspect stems from the recent influx in ELs as a result of increased Eastern-European immigration. The secondary academy constituted an unusual context that allowed me to "understand the limits of existing theories and to develop new concepts, variables, and theories that are able to account for the deviant cases" (Flyvbjerg, 2011, p. 307) due to substantial EL growth and policy development created to support this student population. Moreover, by adaptively employing McClelland's Theory of Needs (2009) this case study analyzes policy implementation through its impact and influence on access to achievement, affiliation, and power for students who are learning English as a second language. McClelland's Theory of Needs (2009) posits that human motivation stems from three basic needs: the need for achievement, affiliation, and power. In this study, achievement

was linked to success in the classroom and within the academy at large. Affiliation was tied to integration, collaboration, and creating a sense of belonging within the academy and the classroom. Whereas power was connected to having agency, control, and influence over classes, schedules, supports, and communication outlets, as well as being connected to recognition within classroom spaces and the academy for successes. Thus, this study analyzes policy implementation by how the secondary academy met EL students' needs for achievement, affiliation, and power.

Possible journals for submission include: *Journal of Educational Leadership Policy and Practice*, *Management in Education*, *TESOL Journal*, *TESOL International Journal*.

Article 3: From Policy to Programs to Practices: A Case Study Charting EL Policy Implementation in Southeastern U.S.

In 1968, as the BEA went into effect, Estes (1968) commented that one of the major flaws in educational policy was that it lacked substantive input from local actors, stating that “Principals and teachers may not even have an opportunity to participate in the decision-making process in relation to these programs” (p. 84). This trend, the omission of input and feedback from local actors and agents in EL policy, is well documented by researchers and still plagues EL policy today (Artiles, et al., 2010; Combs et al., 2005; Crawford, 1998; Estes, 1968; Gandara, 2015; Gandara & Baca, 2008; Gandara & Hopkins, 2010; Gershberg et al., 2004; Halperin, 1975; Malsbary & Applegate, 2014; Menken, 2008; Reyes & Garcia, 2013; Schneider, 1976; Stewner-Manzanares, 1988; Wright & Choi, 2006). Additionally, while the EL population has grown to be nearly 10% of the entire student body nationally, or about 4.9 million students, U.S. schools still fail to meet their needs, foster language acquisition, and

sustain achievement for this subgroup. In fact, the U.S. Department of Education's Condition of Education 2019 designated ELs as the lowest-scoring subgroup at the 4th, 8th, and 12th grade levels in terms of both reading and math assessment. This study will seek to mitigate these concerns by analyzing, assessing, and investigating the current EL and English-only policy's impact at a secondary school in the southeastern U.S., as articulated by the local agents and actors implementing that policy.

This study will be guided by framework analysis as a conceptual frame due to its capacity to contextualize, diagnose, evaluate, and offer strategic recommendations for policy. Additionally, this study will pair Yin's (2018) conceptualization of a case study with framework analysis. Through this pairing, this study will explore the process of policy implementation according to three school leaders and one EL teacher. Through this investigation I will map and analyze the relationship between their policy, its implementation, and its impact on their programs and practices. Framework analysis has demonstrated the capacity for further awareness and understanding of policy through its contextualized and pragmatic approach. Moreover, concrete policy recommendations and feedback were provided through this systematic approach (Cooley, 2008; Finlay et al., 2015; Marais & Peterson, 2013; Midgley et al., 2015; Patel & Agbenyega; 2013). Similarly, by exploring EL and language policy through framework analysis paired with a case study design, this study will methodically map the relationship between policy, programs, and practices, as well as offering evaluative feedback and strategic policy recommendations by highlighting the connection or disconnection between the school's localized implementation and the state's policy.

Possible journals for submission include: *Journal of Educational Leadership Policy and*

Practice, Management in Education, TESOL Journal.

CHAPTER 2: ARTICLE 1

From the Bilingual Education Act to the Every Student Succeeds Act: Navigating the Bermuda Triangle of Educational Language Policy, Practices, and Research

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In 1965 Lyndon B. Johnson signed the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) as an integral component of his Great Society Program. Central to this program was Johnson's "War on Poverty" agenda which strategically focused on education and providing support and resources for the economically disadvantaged through the creation, approval, and implementation of ESEA (Estes, 1968; Gamson, McDermott, & Reed 2015; Halperin, 1975, McLaughlin & Wallin, 1975; McGuinn, 2011; McGuinn & Hess, 2005; Paul 2016). This act, which Gamson et al., (2015) called the "most important piece of education legislation in U.S. history" (p. 1), officially founded the relationship between the federal government and schools nationwide. With its authorization, federal funding, grants, and support became available for schools across the country that served "low income-families" (ESEA, 1965, p.27). ESEA and federal intervention sought to create an equalized educational experience through a series of six titles intended to facilitate equal access to education by providing additional financial support for schools with disadvantaged student populations. While noble in its aims, goals, and initiatives, ESEA naively envisioned the scope of the educational landscape, offered vague and general guidance on implementation, and assumed that increased funding, coupled with local responsibility, autonomy, and accountability would automatically equate to equal access to education for all students (Dye, 1978; McLaughlin & Wallin, 1975; McGuinn,

2011; McGuinn & Hess, 2005; Paul 2016; Stewner-Manzanares, 1988; Superfine, 2013)

Thus, as early as 1966, one year after the signing of ESEA, amendments were already being added to delineate specific measures of the policy, to mitigate previous oversights and to address student populations omitted in the original version of the act, including students whose first language was not English.

In 1968, almost two and a half years after the signing of ESEA, this trend of reactive amendments and reauthorizations began, and a separate title was added: Title VII or more commonly known as the Bilingual Education Act (BEA). While a semblance of bilingual education had already taken place in the U.S. prior to 1968, in states such as Texas, California, and Pennsylvania, this marked the first time the federal government formally recognized English Learners (ELs) as a student group and created policy specifically for them (BEA, 1968; Crawford, 1987; Crawford, 1998; Estes, 1968; Gandara, 2015, Garcia & Wiese, 2002; Halperin, 1975; Stewner-Manzanares, 1988; Wiese & Garcia, 1998; Wright, 2005). Gandara (2015) explained this as “the first time that the federal government had acknowledged that English learners . . . experienced unique challenges in meeting the same educational goals as English-speaking children” (p. 112). This act, spearheaded by Texas Senator Ralph Yarborough, sought to expand the range of ESEA and financially support the linguistic needs of ELs and ensure their equal access to education as well. However, BEA like ESEA, lacked in concretely outlining the implementation of this policy and overlooked the nuances involved in educating ELs and working with this population. Moreover, BEA was subjected to review by separate and competing political factions, which is why it was also

reauthorized several times and inevitably replaced by No Child Left Behind (NCLB) and the Every Student Succeeds Act (ESSA).

While these policies have been removed and supplanted, reauthorized and renamed, the following systematic review of the literature will highlight the role research played in policy developments as well as how research has documented the impact of these shifts on schools and ELs. Thus, the purpose of this article is to identify the specific impact of policy and policy developments on ELs, as well as to explicate the role research played in these developments. Furthermore, this review will highlight that while EL policy has been reauthorized and amended, and new policies have been created to support EL populations specifically, existing policy fails to meet the needs of EL students.

To encapsulate the complex relationship between education, educating ELs, and federal policy, this systematic review explored EL educational policy, its development, and its impact from ESEA to ESSA. This review charted the specific factors that led to policy development as well as the impact of EL policy shifts and reauthorizations. This review documents the original provisions and titles of ESEA, as well as how Title VII and the BEA were amended to ESEA, and the impact on education for ELs. Next, this review documents how this policy impact shifted through time and through subsequent reauthorizations, and what instigated these reauthorizations. I will then detail how ESEA and BEA were deconstructed and reformulated through NCLB and ESSA, as well as articulating the similarities and distinctions between these two more modern policies, their impact for ELs, and the factors that led to their creation and implementation. Ultimately, this review indicates that policy towards ELs historically tends to be

intentionally vague, myopic, reactive, and a product of socio-political pressure rather than empirical findings (Abedi & Gandara, 2006; Gandara, 2015; Gandara & Hopkins, 2010; Gershberg, Danenberg, & Sanchez, 2004; Halperin, 1975; Menken, 2010; McGuinn, 2011; McGuinn & Hess, 2005; Stewner-Manzanares, 1988; Superfine, 2013; Schneider, 1976; Wright, 2005).

Problem, Purpose, and Research Questions

Educational policy and educational policy implementation have demonstrated a tendency to be stagnant, isomorphic, and disconnected at the national level, yet simultaneously convoluted and interpretive at the local level (Cairney, 2012; DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Dye, 1978; Gandara, 2015; Gandara & Hopkins, 2010; Gershberg et al., 2004; Lingard, 2011; Loveless, 1998; Menken, 2010; Roach, et al., 2011). Moreover, with U.S. EL policy specifically, researchers also highlighted the disconnect between federal and state EL policy with best practices for ELs, as more recent English-only state policies and their implementation have actually inhibited language acquisition and achievement (Gandara, 2015; Gandara & Hopkins, 2010; Gershberg et al., 2004; Menken, 2010; Umansky & Reardon, 2014). Thus, the purpose of this study is to elucidate the intricate history of EL policy, and its specific impact on ELs, according to empirical studies, and to identify the factors that generated policy shifts and reauthorizations, extrapolating the role of research in the production and recreation of new policy. The research questions that will frame this study are as follows.

1. How has research documented the impact of English Learner (EL) policies and their subsequent shifts on schools and on ELs (English Learners)?
2. What role has research played in the development of EL policy?

Systematic Review – Protocol, Data Collection, & Analysis

In seeking to conceptualize EL policy, its impact, and its development historically, I conducted a systematic review of empirical studies on EL policy from ESEA – ESSA, spanning from 1968 until today. Moher, et al., (2015) defined a systematic review as an attempt to “collate all relevant evidences that fits pre-specified eligibility criteria to answer a specific research question” (p. 3). Systematic reviews also entail a strict protocol because, as Moher et al. (2015) explained, a protocol, “ensures that a systematic review is carefully planned and that what is planned is explicitly documented before the review starts, thus promoting consistent conduct by the review team, accountability, research integrity, and transparency of the eventual completed review” (p. 1). Therefore, the protocol for this study necessitated a strict structure to maintain reliability and consistency throughout. The protocol plan was as follows:

1. Accredited and reputable online educational databases (ERIC, Academic Search Complete, Scopus, HeinOnline) were selected for full-text searches using the following keywords: *BEA, ESEA, Language Policy, EL/ESL/SLL/TESOL Policy, NCLB, and ESSA* [*implementation and impact* were also added to each keyword search above]. Due to the litany of terms associated with identifying and classifying ELs (EL – ESL – SLL – TESOL), each was searched individually to ensure that any relevant literature would be included in this review.
2. My inclusion criteria for each database were peer-reviewed articles, books, policy documents, and book chapters that articulated the impact of EL policy and/or the development of EL policy. 6 sources fell outside these criteria in that they were non-peer reviewed. These sources were still included in the review

- because they were the policies themselves or documents and commentaries affiliated with a specific policy or policy reauthorization. Sources were also limited to US only since this review investigated US specific policies.
3. The sources that met these criteria were then catalogued on a research matrix and categorized by author, publication date, article title, methodology, findings, and policy timeframe. The findings section was where relevant conclusions and outcomes were listed from each article, document, and chapter utilizing the authors' words. Additionally, the matrix's findings section was divided into two sections, impact of policy, and development of policy, to address and answer each research question individually. The policy timeframes were organized chronologically and according to official federal policy developments in the following way: (1) ESEA and BEA, (2) 1974 Reauthorization (3) 1978 and 1982 Reauthorizations (4) 1988 and 1994 Reauthorizations, and (5) NCLB – ESSA. Some sources were also shared across policy timeframes if they addressed and investigated EL policy across time.
 4. The matrix finding sections were then coded individually in three cycles. This coding process employed *in vivo*, descriptive, and finally thematic coding (Onwuegbuzie, Frels, & Hwang, 2016; Saldana, 2015) to identify how policy was impacting ELs and how EL policy was being developed according to each source and across each policy timeframe. From the *in vivo* analysis, key words emerged as the categories falling under either policy impact and/or policy development for each policy timeframe (see Table 1). Those key words mentioned most frequently for each of those 5 timeframes created categories that were then coalesced into

Table 1

Initial in-vivo & Descriptive Coding

In Vivo Code	Definition	Relevance
“resources for educational programs”	BEA	Impact – specific materials/items/funding for ELs
“no real resources”	78-84	Impact -lack of actual supports for ELs in schools
“progress of ELs toward proficiency”	ESSA	Development – stipulation added to include growth for progress indication; no longer standardized score comparison to peers

themes under the two findings sections (see Table 2). Thus, key words and categories became the thematic codes and generated findings conveying the impact of policy on ELs and the role of research in the development of EL policy according to the literature.

In total over 120 articles, books, policy documents, policy briefs, legal briefings, and book chapters were reviewed; however, this number was significantly reduced in the final research matrix. Sources excluded were articles and items largely deviating from EL policy, its impact, its development, or research not related to EL policy. The final research matrix consisted of 62 articles, books, policy briefings, policy documents, and book chapters. The methodologies included case studies, comparative analysis, literature analysis, interviews, factor analysis, multiple regression analysis, surveys, and localized assessment data; of these 29 were qualitative studies, 16 were quantitative studies, and 11 implemented a mixed-method approach. The remaining six items included in the matrix were the policy documents themselves and briefings on the policies. As mentioned previously, the matrix was organized and divided chronologically by policy timeframe in the following way – ESEA and BEA (1965-1973), the 1974 Reauthorization (1974-1977), the 1978 and 1982 Reauthorizations (1978-1987), the 1988 and 1994 Reauthorizations (1988-2000), and NCLB and ESSA (2001-current). Again, the finding sections were later iteratively and heuristically coded to categorize emerging keywords which eventually became findings and themes relating to either the impact of policy or the role of research in policy's development (Onwuegbuzie et al., 2016; Saldana, 2015). Through the coding cycles, several areas of focus emerged regarding trends and themes for each policy timeframe and across the cumulative history of EL policy. This analysis

Table 2

Thematic Coding by Policy Timeframe

Key Word/Thematic Code	Definition	In-vivo root codes
ESEA & BEA: the Liberal Front	First federal policy – significant development and moderate impact due to ambiguity	“Financial Assistance to Local Educational Agencies for the Education of Children of Low-Income Families” - “development and dissemination of materials” – “intentionally vague in its goals and purposes”
1978-1984: the Conservative Counter	Shift from bilingual – English focus – significant development and impact	“no real resources” - “limited English proficiency” – “languages other than English were seen as a problem”
NCLB & ESSA: Accountability & English Acquisition	Most recent policies – significant development and impact	“adequate yearly progress” - “progress of ELs toward proficiency” - “Language Instruction for Limited English Proficient (LEP) and Immigrant Students” – “policy changes ... restrict the educational opportunities available”

made it increasingly clear that EL policy is vague, reactive, and socio-politically constrained, often developing from political movements, decisions, and pressures rather than empirically supported data. In the following sections I will explicate how the policy impacted ELs through each timeframe as well as the elements that instigated the policy reauthorization, and the role research played in this process, highlighting the vague, reactive, and socio-politically confined nature of EL policy and its development. Specifically, the timeframes were divided and themed in the following ways: (1) ESEA and BEA: the Foundation and Civil Rights Legislature – the Liberal Front (21 references), (2) the 1974 Reauthorization: Increased Sociopolitical Pressure and Reactive Policy (16 references), (3) the 1978 and 1984 Reauthorizations: From Equal Access to Academic Excellence – the Conservative Counter (20 references), (4) the 1988 and 1994 Reauthorizations: Standard Based Reform, Local Autonomy, & Research-Based Revisions (16 references), and (5) NCLB and ESSA - The Shift to Accountability, English Acquisition, and Reactive Reform (27 references).

Findings: The Impact of EL Policy and EL Policy Development

In the following sections each policy timeframe is individually addressed to highlight the specific impact of those policies on schools, on classrooms, and on ELs, as well as how those impacts shifted with each specific policy according to the literature. Additionally, each section delineated the factors that contributed to this policy shift or its subsequent reauthorization, highlighting the role of research in this development, as well as the other external influences and factors that contributed to the reactive policy shifts, reauthorizations, and developments. These sections highlight that the impact of policy was often vague, leading to a pattern of reauthorization to address this ambiguity.

Moreover, these sections highlight the development of policy largely resulted from the influence of sociopolitical influences and pressures rather than research.

The Elementary & Secondary School Act (ESEA) & the Bilingual Education Act (BEA): The Foundation and Civil Rights Legislature – The Liberal Front

As outgrowths of the Civil Rights Movement and its quest for equality, Johnson's War on Poverty and ESEA stipulated providing federal funding as a means to offset the financial disparities and inequalities faced by students and families across America and the educational legislation that followed remained loyal to the concept of providing support and resources to the underserved (Cairney, 2012; Dye, 1978; ESEA, 1965; Loveless, 1998; Superfine, 2013). This act, coupled with the Equality of Educational Opportunity report commissioned by the 1964 Civil Rights Act, emphasized a national commitment to education and the belief that equal access to education would result in, produce, and sustain an equal society. Through a five-pronged effort, ESEA hoped to impact classrooms and students by providing resources to ensure equal access to education for all students (Griffen, 2020; Halperin, 1975). The five prongs referred to the five titles that lie at the core of the act (ESEA of 1965):

- Title I – Financial Assistance to Local Educational Agencies for the Education of Children of Low-Income Families
- Title II – School Library Resources, Textbooks, and other Instructional Materials
- Title III – Supplementary Educational Centers and Services
- Title IV – Educational Research and Training
- Title V – Grants to Strengthen State Departments of Education

Technically, the initial version of ESEA also included a sixth title: Title VI – General provisions, but this section was reserved largely for definitions and limitations of law, whereas the other Titles more explicitly addressed the stipulations and specific provisions of the law (Cairney, 2012; Dye, 1978; ESEA, 1965; Estes, 1968; Griffen, 2020; Halperin, 1975; Jeffery, 1978; Loveless, 1998; Paul, 2016; Superfine, 2013). Following, the specific impact of each title is briefly described to highlights the lack of specific policy or guidelines for ELs in the initial draft.

Title I was the foundational provision of ESEA, and it stipulated the dispersal and allotment of funding for schools with a high percentage of low-income students, and how these funds would move from the federal to state to local level. Additionally, Title I stipulated that funding received be focused on addressing the reading, writing, and mathematical skills for low-income students (Cairney, 2012; Dye, 1978; ESEA, 1965; Estes, 1968, Halerpin, 1975, Jeffery, 1978; Loveless, 1998; McLaughlin & Wallin, 1975; Paul 2016; Superfine, 2013). Title II provided funding and financial support for both public and private school libraries, including the acquisition of textbooks and other instructional resources, as well as providing preliminary funding for preschools. Title III was originally dedicated to funding supplementary educational centers and services, as the funding was utilized for supporting school attendance and creating yearlong and flexible programs, as well as supporting special needs programs and rural schools. Eventually, this Title would serve as the foundation for legislature addressing education of ELs, but when it was approved in 1965, this student group was ignored. Title IV allocated funding specifically for research and training, and initially provided around \$100 million across a five-year span. Title V was an outgrowth of previous educational

legislature, Public Law 874, that specified the grant funding process and exact requirements needed to be met by states (Cairney, 2012; Dye, 1978; ESEA, 1965; Estes, 1968, Halerpin, 1975, Jeffery, 1978; Loveless, 1998; McLaughlin & Wallin, 1975; Paul 2016). Title VI, the final title of the original act, as mentioned previously, provided definitions and limitations of the law. Clearly, these titles expressed a federal commitment to achieving equal access to education and researchers agree this era of policy was rooted in a commitment to civil rights and more liberal policies (Cairney, 2012; Dye, 1978; ESEA, 1965; Estes, 1968, Halerpin, 1975, Jeffery, 1978; Loveless, 1998; McLaughlin & Wallin, 1975; Paul 2016; Superfine, 2013). However, these titles and ESEA solely equated serving impoverished children with this achieving equal access, which is why immediately after its ratification it was subject to amendment, as within a year of its ratification it became obvious the act had oversimplified and overlooked the scale and scope of authentically ensuring equal access to education for all students, including the education of ELs. This was one of the first instances of educational and EL policy demonstrating its reactive nature.

The education of ELs, became an area of federal policy focus in 1968 with the sanctioning of the Bilingual Education Act (BEA), Title VII of ESEA. Due to the fact that ESEA's scope was expanding to incorporate specific student groups previously overlooked, a national increase in linguistically diverse populations, and the National Education Association's identification that Spanish-speaking and language minority students were dropping out at a significantly higher rate than their peers, the BEA was ratified to help address this growing crisis and in an attempt to ensure that ELs were also given equal access to their education (BEA, 1968; Crawford, 1987; Crawford 1998; Dye,

1978; Epstein, 1977; Gandara, 2015; Garcia & Wiese, 2002; Moran, 1988; Stewner-Manzanares, 1988; Wiese & Garcia, 1998). While the specific implementation of this bill remained relatively vague and open to interpretation, BEA was the first federal policy that sought to address the needs of students from diverse language backgrounds and students whose first language was non-English.

BEA, initially, provided federal grant funding for schools with ELs and stipulated these funds were to be utilized for: “(1) resources for educational programs, (2) training for teachers and teacher aides, (3) development and dissemination of materials, and (4) parent involvement projects” (Stewner-Manzanares, 1988, p. 2). The act also formally recognized and labeled this student body as limited English-speaking ability (LESA). Nolan Estes, associate commissioner for the U.S. Office of Education in 1968, reported on ESEA in that same year and explicitly stated that this new BEA funding be used for “more than teaching English as a second language; it includes teaching the individual’s native language as well” (p. 82). However, Gandara (2015) and Moran (1988) highlighted that the original language of BEA, never directly mentioned second languages, nor defined bilingualism and bilingual education; Gandara (2015) stated it was, “intentionally vague in its goals and purposes, and carefully crafted to not appear to usurp local authority. Although titled the Bilingual Education Act, the law actually skirted any definition of bilingual education” (p. 113). Stewner-Manzanares (1988) concluded similarly stressing that the act itself “did not explicitly require bilingual instruction or the use of the students' native language for educational purposes, but encouraged innovative programs designed to teach the students English” (p. 2). Moreover, schools were given little to no guidance on how to instruct ELs nor how to create, implement, and sustain

these language programs. In fact, to make implementation even more challenging, schools often felt creating programs such as these directly conflicted with Civil Rights desegregation legislation because only those ELs below the poverty line were enrolled in these programs and thus, separated and segregated from their peers (BEA, 1968; Crawford, 1998; Dye, 1978; Gandara, 2015, Moran, 1988; Petrzela, 2010; Schneider, 1976; Stewner-Manzanares, 1988; Wiese & Garcia, 1998). Gandara (2015) and Moran (1988) emphasized that because this funding was voluntarily applied for and provided only to schools with ELs living in homes with an average income below \$3,000, its initial impact for schools and ELs was marginal. In fact, Estes (1968) claimed that over \$5 million was requested to support the BEA in that year alone, but Gandara (2015) and Moran (1988) discovered that between 1968 – 1970 only \$7.5 million in funding were allocated. Thus, the intentionally abstract nature of the bill, its terminology, its inaccessibility, and its broad funding outlets led to a nebulous proliferation of poorly funded manifestations registered under the umbrella of BEA (BEA, 1968; Crawford, 1997; Crawford, 1998; Dye, 1978; Gandara, 2015; Garcia & Wiese, 2002; Moran, 1988; Petrzela, 2010; Stewner-Manzanares, 1988; Superfine, 2013; Wiese & Garcia, 1998; Wright, 2005).

Even in 1968, Estes recognized that language and aims of ESEA and BEA may prove to be problematic, describing how these pieces of legislation have led to “fragmentation” and “divisiveness” (p. 83) in schools across the country; i.e. funding is fragmented across states, schools, and programs to meet the requirements of each act and each title, indirectly resulting in students not receiving equalized resources and supports because the funding was never funneled down properly. Divisiveness referred to the fact

that with the multiple titles and programs listed under ESEA and BEA, funding became siloed to specific specialized programs and areas, which again contributed to it not reaching students and ensuring their equal access. Estes's (1968) initial considerations, along with inherently vague language of BEA, demonstrated the reactive and politically constrained nature of educational and EL policy. These oversights and omissions generated a pattern of reauthorizations as different legislators and policymakers attempted to tailor the bill to explicitly annotate funding allotment, to meet ongoing and dynamic needs, and to transform the language of the act to acquiesce with political shifts and court decisions. In fact, the bill was reauthorized and amended seven times - 1974, 1978, 1984, 1988, 1994, and 2001- to broaden the range of populations it encompassed and the specific services it offered. With each reauthorization the semantics of the bill changed in an attempt to manage emerging issues, deal with concerns surrounding inadequate EL support, and coalesce with the political pressure and atmosphere present at the time of each reauthorization (Cairney, 2012; Crawford, 1987; Crawford, 1998; Dye, 1978; Epstein, 1977; Gandara, 2015; Garcia & Wiese, 2002; Leibowitz, 1980; Moran, 1988; Petrzela, 2010; Schneider, 1976; Stewner-Manzanares, 1988; Superfine, 2013 Wiese & Garcia, 1998; Wright, 2005). In the following sections I will continue delineating the specific policy shifts, their impact on ELs and EL programs, as well as identifying the role research had in the shifts.

The 1974 Reauthorization: Increased Sociopolitical Pressure, the Continuation of Reactive Policy, and a Glimpse of Optimism

Researchers attributed the initially vague and interpretive verbiage of BEA to the fact that it was attempting to ensure its sanctioning by aligning its goals and aims with the

language of ESEA while appearing politically neutral, appeasing both conservative and liberal factions (BEA, 1974; Dye, 1978; Moran, 1988; Petrzela, 2010; Schneider, 1976; Superfine, 2013). Schneider (1976) and Moran (1988) stressed that the abstract aims of the act intentionally negotiated the lines between the assimilationist culture prevalent during the late 60s, popularized by the melting pot metaphor espoused by conservatives, and the more progressive sentiments expressed by liberals like Senator Yarborough from Texas, who called for culturally inclusive programs “designed to impart to Spanish-speaking students a knowledge and pride in their culture” (Schneider, 1976, p. 22). Consequently, when BEA was due to be reauthorized, a concentrated effort was made to delineate and define the aims of the act, and initially, these aims aligned closer to Senator Yarborough’s conceptualization of bilingual education and how the act should be implemented (BEA, 1974; Crawford, 1987; Crawford, 1998; Gandara, 2015; Halperin, 1975; Moran, 1988; Petrzela, 2010; Schneider, 1976; Stewner-Manzanares, 1988; Superfine, 2013; Teitelbaum & Hiller, 1977; Wiese & Garcia, 1998). In this first reauthorization, bilingualism and cultural awareness were firmly promoted and espoused in the actual language of the act and legitimate steps were taken to support access to education for ELs, but the reauthorization also created the tradition of prioritizing English acquisition, with bilingual support oriented as “being only a temporary means to another end” (Gandara, 2015, p. 114). Still, this initial reauthorization and its focus on bilingualism and cultural understanding offered a glimpse of what equal access to education might look like for ELs.

Due largely to the political climate at the time, the court decision in *Lau v. Nichols*, the still recent passing of Equal Educational Opportunity Act of 1974 (EEOA),

and its influence on policy, the 1974 reactive reauthorization of BEA finally acknowledged, defined, and integrated the term bilingual (BEA, 1974; Crawford, 1997; Crawford, 1998; Gandara, 2015; Halperin, 1975; Leibowitz, 1980; Moran, 1988; Petrzela, 2010; Schneider, 1976; Stewner-Manzanares, 1988; Superfine, 2013; Teitelbaum & Hiller, 1977; Wiese & Garcia, 1998). With *Lau v. Nichols* specifically, the Supreme Court ruled that schools in San Francisco were denying equal access to education for over 1,800 Chinese students and pressure mounted for more bilingual and equalized education. With the EEOA of 1974, ELs were now directly mentioned in the policy, stating that “language barriers were to be overcome by instructional programs” (BEA, 1974, p. 821). Thus, the *Lau v. Nichols* court decision, EEOA’s emphasis on ELs, and the lack of transparency and clarity in the 1968 version of BEA instigated the 1974 reauthorization.

The 1974 reauthorization now also explicitly stated that schools were encouraged to create bilingual programs oriented around bilingual instruction, methods, and practices (BEA, 1974). Wright and Garcia (1998) highlight that bilingualism was defined as “instruction given in, and study of, English, and, to the extent necessary to allow a child to progress effectively through the educational system, the native language” (p. 5). Stewner-Manzanares (1988) reiterated this commitment to native languages and bilingualism, mentioning that “English as a second language (ESL) programs alone were considered insufficient” (p. 3). Along with a bilingual commitment in the schools, federal funding was now committed to analyzing and identifying bilingual best practices and expanding expertise through research, creating separate funds specifically for “regional support centers” and “capacity building efforts” at schools nationwide (Stewner-

Manzanares, 1988, p. 4). This capacity building commitment even led to the creation of a graduate fellowship program dedicated to the training and development of bilingual teachers (Gandara, 2015). The 1974 reauthorization also removed the previous poverty stipulation, meaning any student whose first language was non-English would now qualify for enrollment in a bilingual program regardless of their family income.

Furthermore, Gandara (2015) noted that this reauthorization endeavored to counter the segregation concerns, and potential violations of EEOA legislation schools faced, by creating and implementing bilingual programs that also enrolled English speaking students as well. These programs brought together ELs with English speaking students and “attempted to promote cultural understanding and to reduce segregation” (Gandara, 2015, p. 114). Epstein (1977) also described these programs and federal policy as “committed to affirmative ethnicity, the maintenance of the mother tongue and culture” (p. 4). Another outgrowth of the 1974 reauthorization worth mentioning, and a direct result of the court ruling in *Lau v. Nichols*, was the Lau Remedies. These remedies were a set of guidelines issued by the Office for Civil Rights and provided measures to ensure schools were meeting the legal requirements of BEA, as well as offering approaches, strategies, and steps for outlining programs and plans for implementing BEA (Stewner-Manzanares, 1988; Teitelbaum & Hiller, 1977). These remedies were one of the earliest examples of tying research to programs and policy implementation for ELs. The 1974 reauthorization, its efforts, initiatives, and caveats created a more concrete conceptualization of what bilingual education was supposed to be and might become (BEA, 1974; Crawford, 1997; Crawford, 1998; Epstein, 1977; Gandara, 2015; Halperin, 1975; Leibowitz, 1980; Moran, 1988; Petrzela, 2010; Schneider, 1976; Stewner-

Manzanares, 1988; Superfine, 2013; Wiese & Garcia, 1998). Moreover, Stewner-Manzanares (1988) clearly expressed this federal commitment by denoting that BEA was originally funded with around \$7.5 million, but after the 1974 reauthorization this amount increased to \$68 million. Gandara (2015) referred to this reauthorization and its effects as the “honeymoon phase” (p. 114), and for a brief moment it seemed policy, research, and funding would facilitate equal access to education for ELs. However, Gandara (2015) and Stewner-Manzanares (1988) also indicated how the transitional emphasis within the definition of bilingual education, its focus on rapid English acquisition and transitioning ELs into regular classes, would serve as the foundation for conservative factions and subsequent reauthorizations. This transitional contingency, coupled with an economic recession and a transitioning social climate, instigated the reforms and amendments made in the 1978 and 1984 reauthorizations.

The 1978 and 1984 Reauthorizations: From Equal Access to Academic Excellence – the Conservative Counter

While the 1974 reauthorization offered the prospect of what bilingual education might be: programs structured around immersive, culturally inclusive classrooms with native language supports, and research dedicated to the improvement and betterment of EL services, this prospect was short-lived, as an economic downturn would strip funding from education and facilitate conservative amendments to BEA (BEA, 1978; BEA, 1984; Crawford, 1998; Epstein, 1977; Gandara, 2015; Halperin, 1975; Leibowitz, 1980; Petrzela, 2010; Schneider, 1976; Stewner-Manzanares, 1988; Superfine, 2013; Teitelbaum & Hiller, 1977; Wiese & Garcia, 1998). In fact, even in 1975, Halperin indicated that the funding across the separate titles of ESEA, including BEA, lacked

continuity and the simple truth that funding was inadequate, highlighting that the research labs proposed in Title III were barely operating and they had “no real resources to move their investments from product development into large-scale classroom practice” (p. 9). Moreover, Halperin (1975) identified the blossoming disconnect between policy and authentic empirical research, as research funding and investment had already begun to be reduced. Nonetheless, in 1978 federal policymakers amended and reauthorized BEA.

The impact of the 1978 reauthorization on ELs was substantial. The goal of the act was reframed drastically, as the term bilingual was removed entirely and instead ELs were to be instructed in their native language only to the extent necessary for them to access the English language (BEA of 1974). Researchers denote that this shift in terminology resulted in programs solely resolved to streamlining ELs into regular classrooms as expeditiously as possible and cut all funding to programs taught only in the native language (BEA, 1978; BEA, 1984; Crawford, 1998; Gandara, 2015; Leibowitz, 1980; Moran, 1988; Stewner-Manzanares, 1988; Wiese & Garcia, 1998). Moreover, the scope of the act increased as students with “limited English proficiency” (Castellanos & Leggio, 1983, p. 179) were incorporated and supported through the act. This nomenclature would prove lasting, as limited English proficiency (LEP) is still a term utilized in schools and educational legislation currently. Additionally, clauses were added stipulating that funding for these programs ranged from 1 to 3 years maximum to “build capacity for programs to continue after federal assistance was no longer available” (Stewner-Manzanares, 1988, p. 5). This gradual release of funding resulted largely in local autonomy in terms of creating, implementing, and sustaining language programs to serve ELs. Finally, the 1974 reauthorization also connected assessment and evaluation

with ELs. Dissemination and assessment centers (DACs) were now tasked with evaluating and assessing their bilingual programs as well.

Between the 1978 and 1984 reauthorizations significant sociopolitical transitions occurred, shaping education and education policy for the next 50 years (Cairney, 2012; Dye, 1978; Loveless, 1998; McGuinn, 2011; Superfine, 2013). The election of Republican Richard Nixon, coupled with the release of *A Nation at Risk* and an economic recession, initiated a fundamental shift in the focus and aims of policy. Superfine (2013) described this shift as a transition from policy centered around “educational equality” to one focused on “international economic competition” and “the importance of individual rights and the ability of individuals . . . to drive innovation and improve their social and economic stations” (p. 199). This focus on individuals, their skills, and the development of these skills as measures to remedy social and economic conditions also connected the business sector to education, as “education policy and law began to concentrate to a much greater extent on driving up student performance to increase the economic productivity of states and the United States as a whole” (Superfine, 2013, pp. 200-201). The influence of the business sector and the transition to a focus on the individual and their skills, also fostered more decentralized and local control over programs and instruction (Cairney, 2012; Dye, 1978; Loveless, 1998; McGuinn, 2011; Superfine, 2013). Thus, this shift also had significant and debilitating effects on ELs and EL programs, sanctioned through the 1984 BEA reauthorization.

Ruiz (1984) anticipated and elaborated upon the detrimental ramifications of this policy shift for ELs. Ruiz (1984) outlined the philosophies that orient or undergird language policy, arguing that policy frames language either as a problem, as a right, or as

a resource. Ruiz (1984) concluded that the 1984 reauthorization and the educational shift towards achievement, excellence, and the acquisition of skills cast language as a problem. Gandara (2015) reemphasized this point, stating that, “by 1984 . . . languages other than English were seen as a problem” (p. 114). Stewner-Manzanares (1988) also expressed the adverse effects of this shift by describing how the Lau Remedies were abandoned completely, as the focus on bilingual educational support became a focus on acquiring the English language and the skills required to do so. This reauthorization generated the foundation for the deficit perspective and approach to ELs and EL programs, as the lack of English mastery was posited as lacking an essential individual skill, and English mastery became the most critical skill for these students to acquire (BEA, 1978; BEA, 1984; Crawford, 1998; Gandara, 2015; Loveless, 1998; Moran, 1988; Ruiz, 1984; Stewner-Manzanares, 1988; Wiese & Garcia, 1998; Wright, 2005). As for ELs and their experience, this reauthorization resulted in schools being provided with the choice between: (a) transitional bilingual programs, oriented around English instruction with native language support; (b) developmental bilingual programs, oriented around both English and native language instruction; or (c) the newly created Special Alternative Instructional Programs (SAIPs), oriented solely around instruction in the English language (BEA, 1978; BEA, 1984; Crawford, 1998; Gandara, 2015; Stewner-Manzanares, 1988; Wiese & Garcia, 1998). While these SAIPs were only to receive a small portion of the funding at that time, they were the first form of English-only EL programs, as they advised that the native language was not required. The rationale for these programs was rooted in a 1981 court decision, *Castañeda v. Pickard*, which dictated that “appropriate action” for educating ELs involved programs that were “based on

recognized theory; faithfully implemented according to the theory, including adequate resources for implementation; and that demonstrated effectiveness over time” (Gandara, 2015, p. 119). This orientation and rationale for EL programs would prove lasting, as it never explicitly mentions bilingualism nor native language supports, its orientation would be appropriated and applied through English-only policies and practices in future reauthorizations. The 1984 reauthorization also impacted ELs by attempting to engage with EL families and involve them with the enrollment process, as families were now conferred with and could choose to opt out of EL services. Moreover, this reauthorization attempted to facilitate English mastery and family engagement by providing funding for academic excellence programs and family English literacy programs (Stein, 1985; Stewner-Manzanares, 1988). While these caveats to the reauthorization offered more holistic support for ELs and their families, the lingering and lasting effects of this reauthorization were its shift away from bilingualism and bilingual support to a focus on English acquisition, as well as its presentation of second languages as a problem and a deficit to be overcome (BEA, 1978; BEA, 1984; Crawford, 1998; Gandara, 2015; Loveless, 1998; Moran, 1988; Ruiz, 1984; Stein, 1985; Stewner-Manzanares, 1988; Wiese & Garcia, 1998; Wright, 2005).

The 1988 and 1994 Reauthorizations: Standard Based Reform, Local Autonomy, and Research-Based Revisions

Another outcome of the sociopolitical shift that occurred during these reauthorizations was the positioning of the standard based reform movement coupled with increased local autonomy as the means to achieve and ensure educational and academic excellence (BEA, 1988; BEA, 1994; Cairney, 2012; Gandara, 2015; Loveless,

1998; McGuinn, 2011; Superfine, 2013). Superfine (2013) described standard based reform as “aimed at ensuring that all students learn particular sets of skills and knowledge and required fundamental changes in the operation of schools by aligning elements of schooling such as curriculum, teacher training, testing, and professional development with standards” (p. 201). However, researchers also highlighted that while this standard based reform agenda was being placed upon schools, other policies were simultaneously and paradoxically rooted in the idea of local control (BEA, 1988; BEA, 1994; Cairney, 2012; Gandara, 2015; Loveless, 1998; McGuinn, 2011; Superfine, 2013). Through the 1988 reauthorization, the education of ELs again shifted as local control and autonomy were amplified, giving schools more flexibility and freedom to determine the form of education or program service they felt best served their ELs (BEA, 1988; BEA, 1994; Crawford, 1998; Cubillos, 1988; Gandara, 2015, Stewner-Manzanares, 1988; Wiese & Garcia, 1998; Wright, 2005). This reauthorization was strongly influenced by the creation of the Bilingual Education Initiative, which was created to address the inadequate education of LEP students by attempting to “increase flexibility in federal programs for LEP students to enable local school district to determine the best method of teaching LEP students” (Stewner-Manzanares, 1988, p. 8). Consequently, in the 1988 reauthorization SAIPs were given significantly more funding so that schools were provided the resources and the opportunity to create programs they felt were most efficacious for their specific EL population. However, researchers stressed these SAIPs often omitted the native language completely and concreted the goal and purpose of these programs as being rapid English acquisition and regular class reintegration (BEA, 1988; BEA, 1994; Bennett, 1986, Crawford, 1998; Cubillos, 1988; Gandara, 2015, Stewner-Manzanares, 1988;

Wiese & Garcia, 1998). In other words, the bilingual aspects of these programs were further eroded and often removed completely. This reauthorization also stipulated that ELs were not to enroll in these programs for a duration longer than 3 years. Gandara (2015) claimed that these legislative measures “effectively ended the notion that bilingual education could be used for the purpose of developing bilingual individuals because the program was designed to end as soon as enough English was acquired” (pp. 114-115). Moreover, Gandara (2015) highlighted that this 3-year enrollment maximum was in actuality antithetical to research on language acquisition, citing the work of Hakuta, Butler, and Witt (2000) who concluded that it takes at least 5 to 7 years to develop mastery of academic English. This reauthorization also expanded the family engagement components amended in 1984 and called for materials about EL programs to be shared with parents and families in their native languages. Finally, this reauthorization also attempted to bolster school capacity by focusing on training and retaining highly qualified staff specifically for their language programs (BEA, 1988; BEA, 1994; Bennett, 1986, Crawford, 1998; Cubillos, 1988; Gandara, 2015; Stewner-Manzanares, 1988).

Interestingly, the 1994 reauthorization, renamed ESEA the Improving America's Schools Act (IASA), and offered a brief reprieve for ELs. Language was once again added to Title VII that emphasized programs which developed bilingual capacities and bilingual proficiency would be given funding and grant priority (IASA of 1994). This reauthorization once again strongly encouraged schools to support and instruct ELs through a bilingual approach. Moreover, this reauthorization mirrored the language found in the 1974 reauthorization in that non-ELs were also encouraged to participate in these programs, once again alleviating concerns that ELs were being segregated and also

promoting the concept of cultural understanding (BEA, 1994; Crawford, 1998; Gandara, 2015; Garcia & Wiese, 2002; Genesee & Boyson, 1999; Loveless, 1998; Menken, 2008; Menken, 2010; Moran, 2013; Wright, 2005). In fact, Gandara (2015) in describing the 1994 reauthorization stated that “with support to build a cadre of well-prepared teachers, instructional materials, and pedagogical strategies that could equalize education for English learners, it appeared that support for bilingual instruction was back” (p. 115). Unfortunately, this reauthorization and its impact on EL was short-lived, as in 2001 No Child Left Behind (NCLB) would categorically transform education and education policy, particularly for ELs.

No Child Left Behind (NCLB) and the Every Student Succeeds Act (ESSA): The Shift to Accountability, English Acquisition, and the Continuation of Reactive Reform

NCLB, the 2001 reauthorization of ESEA, grandiosely claimed that all students will reach proficiency by 2014 through strict accountability measures. This accountability agenda, developed from the standard-based approach that influenced the late 80’s and early 90’s, hinged on the conclusions of *A Nation at Risk*, that public schools are failing nationwide, and that accountability and standardized testing would offset these failings and produce achievement and academic excellence (Abedi, 2004; Abedi, Hofstetter, & Lord, 2004; Abedi & Gandara, 2006; Gandara, 2015; Garcia & Wiese, 2002; NCLB, 2002; Menken, 2008; Menken, 2010; Superfine, 2013; Wright, 2005). NCLB dictated that standardized testing held schools accountable by requiring them to provide evidence demonstrating “adequate yearly progress” (Menken, 2010, p. 122), and schools that failed to do so, faced severe consequences and ramifications, even the threat of being closed

down entirely. This accountability agenda encompassed and applied to ELs as well, resulting in the prioritization of rapid English acquisition and restrictive programs oriented around testing and English-only instruction (Abedi, 2004; Abedi, Hofstetter, & Lord, 2004; Gandara, 2015; Garcia & Wiese, 2002; Menken, 2008; Menken, 2010; Moran, 2013; Wright, 2005).

With the implementation of the NCLB (2001), BEA and Title VII, were removed entirely, as nearly all the previous terminology was redefined, and funding now became available to schools educating ELs through Title III grants (Abedi, 2004; Abedi, Hofstetter, & Lord, 2004; Gandara, 2015; Garcia & Wiese, 2002; NCLB, 2002; Menken, 2008; Menken, 2010; Moran, 2013; Wright, 2005). Title III grants once again shifted the core tenets of instructing and supporting ELs from a bilingual framework to one that focused primarily on English acquisition and English proficiency, as programs and the title itself were designated as “Language Instruction for Limited English Proficient (LEP) and Immigrant Students” (Wright, 2005 p. 20). Whereas the 1994 reauthorization reincorporated bilingualism, with NCLB, there was an evident change in orientation and terminology, as the emphasis of these programs reverted back to rapid English acquisition, removing the term bilingual from the act completely and leaving students’ first languages, as well as their non-English knowledge and skills, largely discounted and ignored. Gandara (2015) emphasized the extent of this shift on the federal level by mentioning that the Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Affairs established in 1974 was now supplanted by the Office of English Language Acquisition, Language Enhancement, and Academic Achievement. Language in the act still stipulated that schools nationwide create EL programs that fit their specific needs, and these programs

tended to focus on the following areas: (a) newcomer programs: for non-English speakers or NEPS (Non-English Proficient), (b) transitional and developmental programs: for the LEP (Limited English Proficient) students, and (c) immersion programs: where ELs receive some additional pullout language services while maintaining a regular class schedule (Genesee & Boyson, 1999). Even among these three general manifestations, individual schools still retain the freedom to combine immersion programs with transitional and newcomer classes, as long as they comply with the malleable requirements listed under Title III, which essentially stated that “schools may use any method they believe is most effective for this purpose [English acquisition]” (Gandara, 2015, p. 120). Thus, this legislative discretion has led to a multitude of programs coined EL with little to no consistency between them, all centered on English acquisition. Additionally, while the trend of local autonomy continued in theory and in the language of the act, encouraging schools to continue determining the most efficacious program and forms of diverse language instruction for their ELs, the extreme pressure from the NCLB accountability agenda and high stakes testing indirectly suffocated local implementation and innovation as teachers and schools oriented learning and language acquisition around achieving on these tests (Abedi, 2004; Abedi et al., 2015; Gandara, 2015; Menken, 2008; Menken, 2010; Wright, 2005).

Menken (2010) stressed the damaging effects of high-stake testing and accountability on ELs, as funding was tied to demonstrating sufficient progress on these exams, the purpose of EL programs transitioned from bilingual language development to “instruction that focuses on test preparation in the form of rote memorization and drills, at the expense of teaching methods proven effective in meeting the needs of this student

population” (p. 126). NCLB’s accountability measures mandated that ELs also evince adequate progress, which was validated through three Annual Measurable Achievement Objectives (AMAOs):

- 1) AMAO 1 – schools and districts must show measurable improvement in the percentage of ELs achieving proficiency.
- 2) AMAO 2 – ELs must make annual progress towards achieving English proficiency.
- 3) AMAO 3 – a percentage of ELs must achieve proficiency on the math, reading, and science exams administered to non-ELs; i.e. ELs now fall under Title I and Title III stipulations.

While these three objectives outlined how NCLB, accountability, and testing applied to ELs, researchers highlighted the variability, inconsistency, and future complications these objectives produced in districts and schools, as states selected what percentage of ELs showed measurable improvement and adopted their own set of criteria for determining English proficiency (Boyle, Taylor, Hurlburt, & Soga, 2010; Gandara, 2015). Moreover, the specific language in Title III of NCLB (2001) advised that ELs be assessed via instruments that were most likely to yield accurate data. This suggests that ELs be assessed in their native language, as research had confirmed the inaccuracy of ELs being tested in English only, and the fact that English only tests were not designed with any consideration of ELs and therefore did not assess their proficiency with fidelity. In fact, this clause also suggests this instrument be used for at least 3 years and up to 5 in certain cases (Abedi, 2004; Abedi et al., 2015; Gandara, 2015; Haertel, 2007, Menken, 2008). However, even though this clause implied modifying exams to assess students in

their native languages, it was not occurring in states and schools. Haertel (2007), in coordination with the Coachella Unified School District, who was suing the state of California over these absent accommodating assessments, discovered that only 3 percent of ELs were receiving any sort of testing accommodation. Moreover, Abedi (2004) stressed that applying the NCLB testing and accountability agenda to ELs was inherently flawed from its conception because of not only the language barrier and the tests inability to yield accurate results, but also the fact that ELs scoring at high levels would result in their removal from EL programs, meaning their scores would no longer be pooled with the EL subgroup, perpetually situating ELs as low-performing. NCLB impacted how programs were conceptualized and assessed, and the pressure of accountability and adequate progress generated a litany of detrimental classroom practices. Ruiz (1984) detailed the nefarious effects of policy framing language as a problem, with NCLB language was not only framed as problematic, but as an inhibitor of funding, as low scores and a lack of progress resulted in restricted funding and punitive measures. In fact, Menken (2010) stated that “testing policy has created a disincentive for schools to serve ELLs at all, because these students are seen to pull down schoolwide test scores” (p. 126). Thus, some schools intentionally avoided ELs and EL programs altogether, and researchers have indicated this extreme pressure and burden coerced states and schools to adopt English-only policies, practices, and programs to help ensure the continuation of funding by concentrating primarily on English acquisition (Abedi, 2004; Abedi et al., 2015; Artiles, Klingner, Sullivan, & Fierros, 2010; Gandara, 2015; Gandara & Baca, 2008; Gandara & Hopkins, 2010; Gershberg et al., 2004; Menken, 2008; Menken, 2010; Menken & Solorza, 2012). This pressure resulted in temporary English-only programs

catered directly to test achievement, English inundation, and rapid reintegration with regular classes, rather than authentic language acquisition and development. Artiles et al. (2010) spoke to this directly, stating that “these policy changes considerably restrict the educational opportunities available to these learners” (p. 102). Menken (2008) also detailed this restrictive and confining impact, elaborating upon the experiences of an EL teacher living through the NCLB transition, documenting how English only test preparation took precedence, stifled innovation, and completely eliminated bilingual support. Similarly, researchers discovered that newcomer EL programs in Arizona segregated ELs from their peers and provided them with English-only instruction for the sole purpose of being placed back into mainstream classes (Gandara & Orfield, 2012; Lillie, Markos, Arias, & Wiley, 2012). While NCLB and its accountability agenda clearly had detrimental effects on ELs, it did still position these students as an area of focus for education and generated new avenues of funding by intertwining and including ELs under the umbrella of Title I. Nonetheless, with the approval of Every Student Succeeds Act (ESSA) reactive steps were made to mitigate and ameliorate the issues generated by NCLB.

The latest reauthorization, ESSA, was ratified in December of 2015. With NCLB’s 2014 ambitious goal of ubiquitous proficiency behind, ESSA was signed in an attempt to address concerns and issues generated from NCLB. ESSA essentially hoped to eschew the punitive and strict stipulations under NCLB by providing states and schools with greater flexibility and control over educational policy and assessment, as long these measures were evidence-based (Aragon, Griffith, Wixom, Woods, & Workman, 2016; Callahan & Hopkins, 2017; Darling-Hammond, Bae, Cook-Harvey, Lam, Mercer,

Podolsky, & Stosich, 2016; ESSA, 2015; Gershberg et al., 2004; McGuinn, 2016; Parsi & Losh, 2016; Snyder, Witmer, & Schmitt, 2017). Due to criticism over the NCLB's testing emphasis, ESSA reacted by expanding the scope of assessment services, allowing states and schools to determine which assessments best suit their population and their needs, as well as allowing parents to opt students out of testing. Additionally, ESSA stipulated that schools provide accountability plans with five indicators. Aragon et. al (2016) listed these indicators as "1) proficiency on assessments, which may include growth in proficiency in high school; 2) growth in proficiency in grades below high school or another academic indicator; 3) high school graduation rates; 4) progress of ELs toward proficiency; and 5) a fifth "other" indicator" (p. 10). With this reauthorization, ELs are clearly still an area of focus, as they were explicitly incorporated within the 5 indicators. The amendments in ESSA, specific to ELs, spawned directly from the concerns and complications created by NCLB. Superficially, ESSA removed NCLB's limited English proficient label and replaced it with English Learners, but the most significant changes ushered in by ESSA related to classification reporting and assessing progress for ELs, with a focus on former ELs and newly arrived ELs, as well as an expanded conceptualization of accountability goals and indicators. With NCLB, school accountability reports incorporated the scores of newly arrived ELs, but with ESSA, two assessment options were created to address previous oversights and concerns generated by NCLB: (1) schools could willingly exempt newly arrived ELs from testing for the first year or test them and exclude their first year EL scores from their accountability reports; (2) schools could choose to phase in newcomers over a 3 year period. During, phase 1, their first year, ELs would take exams, but they would not count toward accountability purposes. Phase 2, or year 2,

would require ELs to again take these exams, but now growth between the two assessments would be considered in terms of school accountability. Finally, during Phase 3, EL scores would be counted towards school performance and reported in the same way as non-EL students. These options sought to address reporting and accountability concerns instigated by NCLB and highlighted by researchers. Namely, these options attempted to counter the trend of schools intentionally avoiding ELs and designating students as EL, as well as the myriad issues affiliated with testing a newly arrived non-English speaker in an English only exam and then utilizing those scores as a reflection of a school's performance (Abedi, 2004; Abedi et al., 2015; Aragon et al., 2016; Darling-Hammond et al., 2016; ESSA, 2015; Menken, 2008; Menken, 2010; Menken & Solorza, 2012). Reporting and monitoring progress also transitioned for former ELs under ESSA. Now, ESSA "allows states to include former EL students in the EL subgroup for up to four years after they are reclassified" (Aragon et al., 2016). Previously, NCLB allowed schools to report the scores of reclassified ELs, those students who have been exited from EL programs and services, under the EL subgroup for only two years, but this act expanded that range to continue monitoring ELs and their progress. This added stipulation stemmed from concerns over the inherent and affixed deficient positioning of ELs initiated and sustained through assessments. In other words, this stipulation intended to apply the scores of high achieving ELs, ELs who have been reclassified and mainstreamed, to help augment the EL subgroup accountability reports and scores (Abedi, 2004; Abedi et al., 2015; Aragon et al., 2016; Darling-Hammond et al., 2016; Hopkins, Thompson, Linquanti, Hakuta, & August, 2013; ESSA, 2015). Moreover, recent research on NCLB and its effects on ELs exposed that reclassified ELs were often

disregarded and neglected as they transitioned into regular courses and this stipulation hoped to ameliorate these concerns through extending their received services and supervision, as well as providing schools with a more comprehensive and organic system for long term monitoring of EL progress (Aragon et al., 2016; Darling-Hammond et al., 2016; ESSA, 2015; Gandara, 2015; Hopkins et al., 2013; Robinson, 2011; Slama, 2014). Finally, ESSA furthered legislation on monitoring progress for ELs through goals and indicators, as schools were now required to create “long-term goals around academic progress, including a goal to increase the percentage of the state’s ELs achieving English proficiency – measured yearly by a proficiency assessment. States must also create interim progress measures of academic progress” (Aragon et al., 2016, p. 14). This caveat also hoped to ameliorate reclassification and progress concerns by annually and actively monitoring EL progress. Moreover, by providing states the autonomy to determine their proficiency assessment, ESSA attempted to assuage concerns over assessments not yielding accurate data (Abedi, 2004; Abedi et al., 2015; ESSA, 2015; Gandara, 2015; Haertel, 2007, Menken, 2008, Menken 2010). With ESSA, steps were taken to reactively mitigate concerns derived from NCLB and its impact on ELs, and research on ELs and EL programs were being considered in those steps; however, most US states still subscribe to their state English-only policy and the ramifications of NCLB, accountability, testing, and its focus on rapid English acquisition still affect ELs today.

Discussion

The vague, myopic, and reactive nature of educational language policy can be largely attributed to two major sources: (1) the absence of local actors and agents in the creation of this policy and (2) the influence of socio-political considerations,

developments; and pressures; i.e. policymakers and political leaders selectively incorporating research that aligns to a particular agenda and ignoring comprehensive research on language acquisition as well as major court decisions and court precedents coercing policy development. Even in 1968, Estes expressed that a major flaw in ESEA and the programs that fall under it are the lack of involvement with local actors. Estes (1968) stated:

One of our greatest concerns related to programs under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act is the fact that, frequently, principals and teachers are bypassed in planning them. Principals and teachers may not even have an opportunity to participate in the decision-making process in relation to these programs. The most significant plans and decisions all too often are made at the superintendent's level or in the state department of education (p. 84).

Fifty years later, this lack of local involvement and contextual consideration still underpins policy for ELs and EL programs. In 2014, Malsberry and Applegate analyzed the experiences of an EL teacher, discovering that schools and their actors often feel isolated and burdened with policy because it fails to contextualize and explicate implementation. Malsberry and Applegate (2014) concluded that “we know of no formal mechanism to assess policy effects in classrooms early and frequently after policy implementation. We need a feedback loop between government-backed policy and the classroom, and increased transparency around how policy is enacted” (p. 39). Interestingly, Artiles et al. (2010) had already called for a similar mechanism, recommending that policymakers “improve information infrastructures to gauge policy

impact” (p. 115). Similarly, Gershberg et al. (2013) and Menken (2008) conducted case studies on EL programs and policy implementation for ELs, and while these case studies were situated in drastically different contexts, one being in New York and the other in California, they both annotated the convoluted process of enacting policy for local actors. Specifically, these studies detailed how EL teachers ultimately become classroom and school policymakers due to the lack of clarity around implementation, which leads to de facto and ad hoc policies at the local level. De facto policies referred to the local creation of English-only practices and programs derived from the federal emphasis on English acquisition and English testing. Ad hoc policies referred to the organic and idiosyncratic daily manifestations of implementation orienting instruction (Gershberg et al., 2013; Menken, 2008). Since local agents and actors ultimately become the implementors of policy, then logically their experiences, their expertise, and research involving them should be the framework for future policy. Unfortunately, this review documented how language policy results largely from sociopolitical influence and pressure, which is why every reauthorization reacted to previous oversights and attempted to provide some additional transparency for states, schools, and teachers. In other words, the vague, myopic, and reactive nature of language policy is orchestrated and confined by sociopolitical circumstances and the fact that competing political factions regulate the goals and aims of language policy, and selectively cite research when it sustains and supports their agenda.

The vague, myopic, and reactive nature of language policy is fostered and facilitated by being bounded to and constrained by socio-political considerations and developments. This review highlighted that the shift from equal access and bilingual

education to achievement, accountability, and English-acquisition mirrored the social and political shift away from Civil Rights legislation and ideologies towards the conservative focus on excellence, standardization, and accountability. This shift was not the result of research on language acquisition and mastery, but the result of political and court pressures. Halperin (1975) in reviewing ESEA after 10 years, denoted this complicated relationship between policy and research, stating that “educational research and development has become something of a pariah on the priority list of federal policymakers in education” (p. 9). Gershberg et al. (2013) reiterated this relationship when they stated that “Little additional scholarly research exists that informs either the debate or the policy changes at the state or the federal level” (p. 9). Moreover, Gandara (2015), thoroughly documented research on language acquisition and the benefits of bilingual instruction, citing the comprehensive studies conducted by Genesee, Saunders, Christian, and Lindholm-Leary (2008), Slavin and Cheung (2005), and Umansky and Reardon (2014), all of whom concluded that bilingual programs better serve ELs, but these findings do not reflect the current nomenclature or orientation of language policy and programs. For example, Gandara (2015) cited Hakuta et al. (2000) who revealed that language mastery takes 5 to 7 years, but even in ESSA, EL programs operate on a 3-year clause, and if a school enrolled an EL for 5 to 7 years in Tennessee, they would be designated as a Focus school and face state intervention. Research has also demonstrated that bilingual dual language programs, those that enroll ELs and non-ELs simultaneously, not only facilitate language acquisition for all students involved, but they also alleviate concerns about ELs being segregated from their peers and create more holistic learning experiences (Gandara & Orfield, 2010; Genesee & Gandara, 1999). Here, language

policy directly contradicts research even though ESSA (2015) stressed evidence-based approaches to every aspect of education. Still, ESSA (2015) took gradual steps towards ameliorating this contradiction, by incorporating assessment flexibility and providing schools more autonomy to select programs and interventions catered to their specific population; two reactive amendments rooted in the findings confirmed by the Working Group on ELL Policy (Hopkins et al., 2013). However, these concessions were minimal, and the assessment flexibility stipulated in ESSA, diverges significantly from the formative assessments recommended by Hopkins et al. (2013). If language policy and EL programs are aimed at facilitating authentic language mastery, then they must comprehensively consider research on language, involve the expertise of local actors, and exist outside the whims of political factions and transitions.

Conclusion

In 2019, the U.S. Department of Education released *The Condition of Education 2019* which encapsulated the comprehensive findings of the National Center for Education Statistics annual analysis of education domestically. In this report, ELs were listed as nearly 10% of the entire student body nationally, or about 4.9 million students, and the report also highlighted that this population had grown from nearly 3.8 million students in 2000. This growth mirrors international statistics as well, and according to the United Nations 2017 Migration Report, the “number of international migrants worldwide has grown faster than the world’s population” (p. 5). Although this immigrant population is not entirely comprised of ELs, it still indicates the global trend of migration and the fact that this student body subgroup is consistently and comprehensively growing. However, while this population is growing both domestically and internationally, the

U.S., and U.S. education policy are still failing to meet their needs, foster language acquisition, and sustain achievement for this subgroup. In fact, *The Condition of Education 2019* designated ELs as the lowest-scoring subgroup at the 4th, 8th, and 12th grade levels in terms of both reading and math assessment. Gandara (2015) annotated that since 2003, the gap between English learners and English speakers in fourth grade have widened even further. Clearly, even the most recent reauthorization, ESSA, has failed to facilitate language development and acquisition, and is in actuality hindering ELs, because this policy still shares the vague, myopic, reactive, and socio-politically constrained orientation of its predecessors.

Policy researchers espouse political transitions and policy forums as a space for legitimate policy innovation and development. A space where competing ideals, ideas, and research can be debated, juxtaposed, and synthesized to ensure policy develops in consideration of all its constituencies (Anderson, 1975; Brewer & deLeon, 1983; Cairney, 19 Dye, 1978; Jann & Wegrich, 2007; Lasswell, 1956; Loveless, 1998; May & Wildavsky, 1978). However, these researchers also acknowledge that the ultimate authority will always be the interest group in power. Thus, even when policy forums and groups make recommendations, like with the Working Group on ELL Policy (Hopkins et al., 2013), those recommendations may be insignificantly incorporated or selectively applied by those in power. However, research, rooted in the expertise of local actors, principals and teachers implementing policy and engaging with ELs, should serve as the foundation for language policy and could counter not only the coercive influence of socio-political shifts, developments, and interest groups but also by contextualizing the nuances of language instruction and policy implementation, it could assuage the vague

and reactive nature of language policy. In this orientation, research could serve as the bridge between political ideologies, and rather than EL policy oscillating between two extremes, policy could reincorporate bilingualism and then be continually improved, revisited, and revised by those engaging directly with these students.

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CHAPTER 3

Reframing Language Acquisition Policy & Programs: A Unique Perspective on English as an Additional Language (EAL) Education

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Domestically, and internationally, recent migration trends have escalated rapidly. English as an Additional Language (EAL) students, services, and programs have proliferated to address the diverse language needs of this transitioning population. In fact, according to United Nations 2017 Migration Report, the “number of international migrants worldwide has grown faster than the world’s population” (p.5). With this growth, EAL research has escalated exponentially. Research tends to focus on the forms and orientations EAL education programs take, i.e., the positive impact of bilingual programs and bilingual orientations (Ambers, 2012; Carhill-Poza, 2015; Doughty & Long, 2008; Garcia & Sylvan, 2011; Haneda & Alexander, 2015; Martin-Beltran, Daniel, Peercy, & Silverman, 2017). Other researchers have focused on structured and unstructured immersive programs, where students are integrated with the school’s general population, often receiving a pull-out service where learning is reinforced with an EAL instructor (Bowman, 2010; Calderon et. al, 2011; Gershberg, Danenberg, & Sanchez, 2004; Malsbary & Applegate, 2016; Menken, 2008; Menken, 2010; Sullivan 2011; Umansky & Reardon, 2014). Research has also explored the ramifications of isolated and separate EAL classes, where students spend the entirety of their day receiving only EAL instruction with fellow EAL students and a specific EAL instructor (Gershberg, Danenberg, & Sanchez, 2004; Li, 2007; Malsbary & Applegate, 2016; Menken, 2008;

Menken, 2010; Umansky & Reardon, 2014). More recently, research has explored the influence of English-only policies and English-only programs now developing across the U.S. (Bowman, 2010; Callahan & Shifrer, 2016; Garcia & Wiese, 2002; Genesee & Boyson, 1999; Harrison & Lakin, 2018; Wright, 2005). However, much of this research is U.S. based and often neglects to address the explicit role of policy, its interpretation, implementation, and its direct role in structuring and orienting these programs, as well as how that policy influences practices. As mentioned previously, the impact of migration on education has recently escalated internationally, including in the UK context, where the number of migrants has nearly doubled in the last 17 years, from 4.4 million in 2000 to 8.8 million in 2017 (United Nations, 2017). Demie (2017) contends that in the last 20 years the EAL population in the UK quadrupled and now comprises nearly 20% of the entire student body. These statistics indicate that EAL students, programs, and policies to support them are becoming increasingly relevant and necessary in the UK context.

This study focused on how EAL policies and programs are implemented within a multi-academy trust in England, specifically a secondary academy within the trust. Through interviews, artifacts, and classroom observations this research examined how students speaking marginalized, non-English languages are educated, supported, and oriented within the secondary academy setting. The school leader, a teacher, and the assessment director of the multi-academy trust discussed policy implementation and programs offered to meet the needs of marginalized language students. Framed by McClelland's Theory of Needs (2009) this unique single-case study analyzed how policy impacted access to achievement, affiliation, and power on students who are learning a second language.

UK Context

The study site was a secondary academy recently added to a multi-academy trust located in the UK. As a secondary academy, it serves students from age 11-16 and can be considered a part of a “chain of schools under the control of a strategic management executive comprising, for example, private sponsors or parental groups” (Salokangas & Chapman, 2014, p. 372). This transition meant the academy was now under control of a new leadership structure, with incorporation of a chief executive officer, and tied to a larger entity, the multi-academy trust. Moreover, this provided the academy more localized control, as the new leadership structure recreated policies and plans for its academies and utilized its constituents in this process. In terms of student body, as of 2018, the secondary academies EAL population was listed at 3% of the total school body, i.e. about 40 students. While this is a relatively small number of students, this population was previously almost entirely nonexistent, and, since the number of languages spoken within the school rose from 12 to 18 in just 2 years. Moreover, this specific area of England has been identified as having the fastest growing EAL student population (EMTAS, 2018). Finally, within the academy itself, positions, policies, and supports have recently been developed and modified to address this population increase.

Study Purpose

While this substantial body of literature investigating EAL education exists, research tends to focus on instructors, programs, and efficacious EAL instructional practices. Consequently, there are relatively few studies that have delved into the specifics of how policy is interpreted and implemented to support EAL students within schools and classroom settings. Malsbary and Applegate (2016) expounded on this

absence in the field when they stated, “we know of no formal mechanism to assess policy effects in classrooms early and frequently after policy implementation. We need a feedback loop between government-backed policy and the classroom, and increased transparency around how policy is enacted” (p. 43). This study sought to address this missing feedback mechanism and analyze the classroom impact of policy by exploring how EAL policy is interpreted and implemented within a secondary academy in a multi-academy trust in the UK. Moreover, the purpose of this study is to illuminate the processes of policy interpretation and implementation for EAL learners, because as Demie (2017) noted “there is a need to develop a national EAL policy and research strategy in England that better meets the needs of EAL learners” (p. 652). The overarching question guiding this study is as follows:

1. How do a school leader, an assessment director, and an EAL teacher interpret and implement policy for students from diverse language backgrounds?

Methodology

Adaptive Embedded Single-Case Study

To understand policy interpretation and implementation within the secondary academy, I conducted an adaptive embedded single-case study (Yin, 2018). The secondary academy and its policy were well suited for a single-case study design because it exemplified an extreme or unusual single-case (Flyvbjerg, 2011; Yin, 2018). The secondary academy’s uniqueness derived from the fact that it recently transitioned into a local and private trust, it recreated and reoriented its policies due to this transition, and it experienced an influx in EAL students because of increased Eastern-European immigration. The secondary academy constituted a unique context that allowed me to

“understand the limits of existing theories and to develop new concepts, variables, and theories that are able to account for the deviant cases” (Flyvbjerg, 2011, p.307) due to its substantial EAL growth and policy development created to support this student population.

Since this study pursued the interpretation and implementation of the academy’s policy, separate embedded data sources for interpretation and implementation were required (Yin, 2018). Analysis of these separate embedded data sources followed from the adaptive case study design. Yin (2018) emphasized the importance of modifying case study design based on new discoveries during data collection. Thus, in response to participants’ emphasis on meeting the needs of EAL students, I adopted McClelland’s Theory of Need’s (2009) as the theoretical framework for operationalizing interpretation and implementation through the concepts of affiliation, achievement, and power.

Theoretical Framework

McClelland’s Theory of Needs (2009) states that human motivation stems from three basic needs: the need for achievement, affiliation, and power. In essence, some individuals are motivated by their need for achievement, and require setting and accomplishing goals with feedback throughout. Some individuals are motivated by their need for affiliation: their desire for collaboration and a general sense of belonging to a group. Still others are motivated by their need for power, craving recognition, influence and control. While this nearly 60-year-old theory has been heavily applied to the business sector, its emphasis on individual needs and motivation makes it suitable for educational contexts. In this study, achievement was linked to success in the classroom and within the academy at large, affiliation was tied to integration and collaboration within the academy

and the classroom, and power was connected to having agency and influence over classes, schedules, supports, and communication outlets, as well as being connected to recognition within classroom spaces for successes.

Data Collection

Data collection took place over a two-week period during school hours. The first week focused on data sources related to policy interpretation, namely, interviews, and shadowing of participants. The second week focused on data sources related to implementation, namely classroom observations, artifacts, documents, and images. To understand the interpretation of policy the school leader, the assessment director, and the EAL teacher were interviewed for 45-60 minutes using a semi-structured interview protocol (Creswell, 2014). Participants were questioned about how they interpret their policy in reference to EAL. Additionally, all three participants were shadowed and any comments, interactions, or experiences connected with EAL policy interpretation were recorded in field notes. To capture implementation, English classroom observations were conducted. English courses were selected as the site for classroom observations because this context confronts the language limitations of EAL students most directly. English classroom observations were conducted for four periods a day across a two-day span. These courses lasted 55 minutes each, and observation was conducted for the entirety of each period. Finally, an informal conversation was conducted with each classroom teacher after the two days of observation to ascertain the relative success and language capabilities of their EAL students, as well as assessing the level of supports needed by each student. These informal conversations were recorded as field notes and analytical memos (Creswell, 2014; Saladana, 2015).

Data Analysis

Data analysis was conducted in three stages. The initial stage was inductive cycles of in vivo, open coding of the interviews, observation field notes, and analytical memos from shadowing and observations (Onwuegbuzie, Frels, & Hwang, 2016; Saldana, 2015). From this initial stage of analysis (see Table 3), participants' emphasis on meeting the needs of the students, within the school, within the classroom, and within the community, led to the integration of McClelland's Theory of Needs (2009) in the next stage of analysis. The second stage of analysis utilized deductive provisional coding, as participants' descriptions of policy interpretation and meeting student needs were categorized as meeting their needs for achievement, affiliation, or power (Onwuegbuzie et al., 2016; Saldana, 2015). During this stage any statements, codes, observations, or documents relating to success within the school, classroom, and community were tied to the need for achievement, those that referred to collaboration or a sense of belonging and community were tied to the need for affiliation, and any that focused on control and influence over communication, resources, supports, and course schedules were tied to the need for power (see Table 4). The final stage of analysis focused on pattern matching and explanation building across the data, as congruent themes and patterns from the first two stages served to confirm and disconfirm how policy interpretation was espoused and described against how it was implemented and enacted in the classroom and across the academy (Yin, 2018). In other words, the final stage of analysis sought to corroborate patterns and themes from the descriptions of policy interpretation and implementation with those that emerged during the observations of policy enactment and implementation in the classroom and across the academy.

Table 3

First Round in-vivo Coding

In Vivo Code	Definition	Relevance
“very multilingual”	Academy’s experience with EAL pop.	Highlights tradition of multilingualism – goes on to list countries – to be referenced regularly later.
“a lot of support – differentiation & scaffolding”	How academy interprets & implements policy	Emphasis on individual student and their level
“meeting that level of need at that moment”	Individual implementation & time-sensitive - monitoring	3 rd time student needs have come up – early in conversation (4:18 timestamp).

Table 4

Provisional Coding with McClelland's Needs Theory (2009)

Provisional Code	Definition	In-vivo root codes
Student Centered Supports (power)	Student requested & directed supports – as per their demand	“one to one with devices” – “Google translate” – “visual/pictorial timetable”- “work for that particular child”
Multilingual & Bilingual Tradition (affiliation)	History of languages & home language support – integration	“very multilingual” – “Pakistan, Portugal, France, Lithuania, etc.” - “growing & growing every year” – “encourage the home language”
Student Inclusion (affiliation & achievement)	Program orientation – inclusion across academy & within classrooms	“put them in regular classes straight away” – “timetables for all regular classes” – “English being modeled at its highest level” – “experiencing English that is correct”

Findings

According to the secondary academy's official website, policy on EAL students is as stated:

As a school, we are aware that bilingualism is strength and that EAL students have a valuable contribution to make. [Secondary Academy] School values and commits to provide support for EAL learners. This policy is in place to ensure any barriers to learning these students can face are lifted (Secondary Academy Website, 2019).

This bilingual and strength-based orientation was reified in both the interviews and the observations I conducted, but ultimately, the interpretation and implementation of this policy focused on and resulted in addressing, meeting, and supporting individualized student needs. When framed by McClelland's Theory of Need's (2009), this individualized implementation is intertwined with meeting students' needs for achievement, affiliation, and power in the classroom and within the academy through a full immersion program.

Achievement

In meeting the achievement needs of EAL students and supporting their diverse language needs, the secondary academy structures a rigorous, monitored, and individualized orientation towards each student. Every EAL student is immediately immersed within the mainstream culture and orientation of the school. In fact, EAL students are placed in the highest-level English course available for their year because this experience will immerse them in a setting where the highest English expectations are being modeled, expressed, and reinforced. Initially, I was apprehensive about this model

because of the potentially unrealistic expectations upon a new student whose first language is non-English. However, after repeated observations, I witnessed how these students participated and achieved within these spaces. In this context, EAL students are held to the most rigorous language standards available and are fully immersed in a classroom where language is being modeled at its highest level. The EAL students in these classrooms are also held to the same standards and expectations as their monolingual peers. Additionally, the espoused policy of seeing bilingualism “as a strength” is concretized by fact that these students are engaging with English at its most sophisticated level within the academy.

During my classroom observations, I witnessed direct instruction, group work, and individual activities within each English classroom. In a Year 10 class, I observed a lesson on the components, themes, and figurative aspects of a poem. While in this class, the teacher repeatedly called upon both EAL students for their responses to the material and they repeatedly identified correct information and sub-themes from the poem. Again, EAL students were held to the same standards as their peers and were fully immersed in the classroom setting. In another class, I observed an EAL student collaboratively working on a group project. This student largely led and facilitated the group work, and then presented their findings and final product to the class. With each of these observations I also annotated that the EAL students carried devices, individualized sheets, and dictionaries if any issues in language comprehension arose.

The EAL students’ needs and their access to achievement are sustained through individualized supports and a consistent system of monitoring and feedback. Both the classroom teacher and the EAL teacher monitor each EAL student’s progress weekly, so

if gaps in learning, language, or other issues arise, then the classroom teacher, the EAL teacher, and the student can proactively address the concern. The EAL teacher facilitates conversations with not only the classroom teachers, but the EAL students themselves as well. Then, individualized supports are crafted and catered to each EAL student so that any past and any potential issues are addressed. The EAL instructor highlighted that even upon their arrival, all EALs receive an individualized “visual timetable” to help support them through the transition into a new school and new courses. Moreover, EAL students are provided individual accommodations to help facilitate their achievement, and the EAL instructor emphasized they were not given homework, but rather “the key words so they can translate and understand the keywords before the next lesson.” While the EAL teacher expressed that this constant proactive and reactive support is exhaustive, it still aligns to the bilingual orientation of their policy towards students from diverse language backgrounds. Here, EAL students are being provided resources, supports, and materials in their first language to facilitate their achievement in their English courses. This individualized approach was reiterated by the headteacher as well as the assessment director, who in reference to educating EAL students stated, “it's kind of like scaffolding and you know, do it all individually.” Conversely, when achievement isn't being facilitated, this system of monitoring and providing first language supports helps mitigate this lack of achievement and provides alternative modes of access to the content to ensure achievement. These structures and strategies also address EAL student's need for affiliation within the academy, the classroom, and the academy's larger community as well.

Affiliation

In implementing policy to support EAL students, the secondary academy also focuses on meeting the student's need for affiliation. This need is predominantly met through two ways: within the academy itself, as students are immersed within the mainstream culture of the academy, and through the academy's efforts to connect with EAL students' families and to support their bilingualism and home language.

EAL students need for affiliation is immediately addressed through the immersive orientation of their education. By engaging with the mainstream culture of the school and maintaining a regular course load, these students are continually bound to their peers and not isolated within specific EAL classrooms. The EAL teacher explained it in the following way: "what we do is we place them in the highest English class straightway. . . our aim is for them to see English modeled correctly." This orientation creates a sense of affiliation rather than alienation, as students are embedded in the mainstream culture and normal school routine, including their language arts and English courses. This affiliation also manifests in the classroom. This collaborative interaction I referenced previously, was a scenario that played out in two other classes during my observations. In each of these instances, the EAL student engaged in collaborative group activities and was held to the same standards and expectations as their peers. Here, EAL students weren't given simplified instructions, remedial materials, but were given the same activities, materials, and guidelines as their peers. In fact, when describing a previous EAL student, the assessment director highlighted that "in the four years he was at the school, he took advantage of everything he could, he got involved in everything he could. He felt that finally he belonged somewhere." In the classroom, EAL student's need for affiliation was

furthered through the sense of community fostered by the individual teachers and the academy's immersive and structured progression.

EAL student's sense of affiliation isn't restricted to only their sense of belonging within the academy and the classroom itself. Through the bilingual orientation of the academy and its policy, EAL students are also provided an outlet to retain their affiliation to their first language, their home culture, and their family in relation to the academy. Prior to stepping foot in a classroom, all EAL students and their families are invited into the academy to meet with administration and the EAL instructor. During these meetings, previous academic records are analyzed so that student's educational experience can be ascertained, and strategic plans can be developed. This conversation is informal and collaborative in nature, with families, students, and academy faculty all invited to deliver input. This initial conference affiliates the students, their family, and their language with the academy by presenting the academy as a space where these components are welcome, appreciated, and will be utilized to generate their academic orientation. The bilingual orientation of the academy's policy also creates an outlet for affiliation by providing access to materials, resources, and supports in the EAL student's first language. Through the access to resources and supports in the student's first language, their sense of affiliation and belonging to their previous education and culture is sustained even in this novel setting, rather than stifled and negated completely, like with English-only orientations and policies. Finally, it would be irresponsible to not address the racial dynamics within the academy when considering EAL students need for affiliation; of the 16 EAL students observed, all were white and this mirrors the academy's demographics. While the impact of this White prevalence in the academy's student population and the

EAL student body specifically is outside the scope of this study, it is at least worth noting that EAL student affiliation might also be facilitated by this racial homogeneity. The strategies and structures that facilitated meeting EAL students' needs for affiliation also created the mechanisms and procedures for meeting their needs for power within the academy.

Power

The academy's bilingual policy and orientation also supported meeting EAL students need for power, control, and recognition. By seeing these students as "valuable contributors" the students are given agency and influence prior to ever engaging with the academy itself. In the academy, this need is addressed through the implementation of communication systems that allow EAL students control and influence over their schedules, supports, and their future trajectory within the academy. The initial conference referenced in the previous section, also aids in providing EAL students and families access to power, control, and influence over their educational experience. During this meeting, EAL students directly control and construct their schedules; that is, their first interaction with the academy immediately allocates a space for agency. Moreover, control and influence are reinforced by the system of communication established between the EAL instructor, the classroom instructor, and the student. Through this system, EAL students can request supports, resources, and additional outside materials to grasp any content or language gaps. The EAL teacher exemplified this control, conveying that when EAL students reach out for support they may "see a [language] tutor every day. There are some who, they might have two tutors." In addition, EAL students are given control over their placement in classes, as the EAL teacher referenced that EAL students "if they do

need to come out of a class for a little while, they can.” Thus, this system also produces an opportunity for EAL students to provide individualized feedback about their instruction and learning, and to remove themselves if content or coursework seems too challenging. Here, EAL students attain direct influence over their learning and their education on a regular and monitored basis.

By immersing EAL students within the mainstream academy, they are allotted the same opportunities for recognition as their peers. During classroom observations, I viewed multiple instances of EAL students being praised and recognized by both their peers and their classroom teachers. In these instances, EAL students are “valuable contributors” within the classroom space and are recognized for those contributions. This recognition was so deeply rooted, the EAL students were the group leaders during collaborative projects. While this recognition might not be formal or academy-wide, these experiences still address the EAL student’s need for power by providing recognition in the classroom. Furthermore, the headteacher recognized EAL students access to power by elucidating the academy’s recent emphasis on student support, saying, “we’ve done a lot of work with support staff, so that the structures are in place to support. So support for the youngsters is able to be delivered by the adults that are working directly with those audiences and know their needs.” Again, this statement underlines the academy’s commitment to meeting EAL student needs and providing them the agency to ensure those needs are met.

Limitations

The limitations of this study stemmed from the fact that it was my first case study in the field, and in many ways, it met Yin’s (2018) conception of a pilot study, meaning

there were a variety of concepts and understandings I could only gain through experiencing a study and conducting research in the field. Thus, the adaptive nature of this case study was rooted in those field experiences. The incorporation of McClelland's Theory of Need's (2009) resulted from the first round of analysis, but, had I been more versed in theory, I might have proactively integrated this framework and thus, bolstered my study by extensively applying it to all data sources during the collection phase. It is also worth noting the limitations theory can have on a study. In other words, by deductively applying the Needs Theory (2009) framework during the latter stage of analysis, there may have been other ways policy was implemented that rest outside the scope of this framework.

Additionally, this study was limited by the small sample size studied and the limited duration of the time spent with the population in study. Ideally, these observations would be intermittently conducted throughout the course of the school year rather than across a week. These observations would also be conducted in more classrooms than just the English course as well. Moreover, while multiple instances of EAL student success and effective participation were observed during that period, it was an extremely brief window, and these achievement patterns might be an exception rather than a regular occurrence. My conception of achievement also failed to incorporate standardized test results, as well as local scores and grades; incorporating these quantitative indicators would have furthered the authenticity of the EAL student's achievement because these scores could clearly express the exact levels of student achievement according to national systems of measurement. In addition, while all participants referenced meeting with EAL student families and developing strategies with families, I did not witness one of these

meetings and observed this process in action. Another limitation of working with this population is the tradition and history of bilingualism in the European context. While these findings are noteworthy, it is important to highlight that these students come from countries where bilingualism is the norm and an expectation.

Finally, the lack of student voice is a limitation in this study. To fully encapsulate a language program's implementation, the incorporation of student voice would have furthered the validity of the findings, since it was their needs being met through this policy interpretation and implementation. To reiterate, in seeking to understand how policy is implemented and how student's needs for achievement, affiliation, and power are met, it seems only logical to probe into student experience to see if there is consistency and alignment between the perceptions of the staff and the perceptions of the students themselves. If EAL student voices were built into this study, the impact of the individualized supports and resources might also provide other educators with additional tools to help facilitate instruction and programs at their schools and academies.

Discussion and Implications

Research

This study has implications for future research on EAL learners, programs, and policies. The application of McClelland's (2009) Needs Theory to different educational spaces instigates the intersection of power and affiliation within educational spaces, two components that are often absent in empirical research. Moreover, when working with marginalized groups, like second language learners, it is critical to understanding how power dynamics, affiliation, and alienation impact these populations across different settings. Additionally, this study explicitly explored how policy is interpreted and then

implemented. If policy is to guide states, districts, administrators, teachers, and education at large, then the effects of and manifestations of policy need to be explored, analyzed, defined, and assessed regularly. Finally, this study implies that future research conducted with EAL students necessitates exploring networks and systems of communication within and across schools, academies, and districts.

Policy

This study also has implications for future policy. Specifically, when creating policy in reference to EAL students and families, bilingual frameworks generate a more inclusive, holistic, and individualized approach to language acquisition and achievement. While bilingual programs and endeavors tend to meet resistance due to diverse language needs and a lack of funding, this study suggests that nonetheless, bilingual policy orientations and support mechanisms provide students with the means to achieve. Finally, this study highlights the necessity of developing feedback mechanisms along with policy, so that stakeholders, administrators, teachers, and all involved parties have the means to analyze, assess, and modify policy. This process might elucidate the most efficacious policies in reference to specific populations and specific contexts.

Practice

A major implication this study offers to educational leaders, administrators, and teachers is reframing the way in which EAL students are educated. All too often EAL students are placed in remedial courses and on remedial tracks, which was contrasted directly in this study. EAL students were immersed within the most rigorous language courses available and achieved within these spaces when provided adequate supports and resources. Schools or academies with a similar population might emulate this orientation

and trajectory for their EAL students. This study also highlighted the impact networks and systems of communication have when working with EAL students. By developing systems of direct communication, outlets for feedback, and proactive planning with students and families, educators can consistently monitor student achievement and language acquisition.

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CHAPTER 4

The Policy Feedback Loop: A Case Study Charting and Analyzing EL Policy

Implementation in the Southeastern U.S.

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In 2019, the U.S. Department of Education released The Condition of Education 2019 which encapsulated the comprehensive findings of the National Center for Education Statistics annual analysis of education. In this report, the English Learner (EL) population was listed as nearly 10% of the U.S. student body, or about 4.9 million students. The report also highlighted that this population increased from the nearly 3.8 million students in 2000. However, while this population is growing, the U.S. is still failing to meet the needs of ELs, foster language acquisition, and sustain achievement for this subgroup (Condition of Education, 2019). In fact, the Condition of Education 2019 designated ELs as the lowest-scoring subgroup at the 4th, 8th, and 12th grade levels in terms of both reading and math assessment. Specifically, in terms of reading proficiency, 4th grade EL students scored, on average, 37 points lower than their peers, 8th grade ELs scored 43 points lower, and 12th grade ELs scored 49 points lower than their peers. Moreover, these statistics highlight that more recent EL policy has negatively impacted EL student achievement, as 4th grade ELs in 2003 were only 23 points behind their peers, whereas in 2013 that gap grew to 25 points (Gandara, 2015). These statistics indicate that despite policies and programs being specifically created and funded to support and serve ELs, they are still performing significantly below their peers, and policies, programs, and

the ensuing impact are not creating legitimate growth, achievement, and language acquisition.

The detrimental impact of recent federal educational policy, specifically, No Child Left Behind (NCLB) and Every Student Succeeds Act (ESSA) on ELs and English as a Second Language (ESL) programs is also documented in the literature. Research on language policy highlighted that the shift towards accountability, achievement, and high stakes testing ushered in by NCLB also instigated the shift to English-only policies, programs, and practices, a shift that has hindered language acquisition and achievement (Abedi & Gandara, 2006; Gandara, 2015; Gandara & Hopkins, 2010; Gershberg, Danenberg, & Sanchez, 2004; Menken, 2010; McGuinn, 2011; McGuinn & Hess, 2005; Wright, 2005). However, research has also emphasized the need for further contextualized exploration of policy, policy implementation, and the impact of that implementation according to individuals who enact that policy (Carhill-Poza, 2015; Crawford, 1998; Estes, 1968; Gershberg, et. al, 2004; Halperin, 1975; Martin-Beltran, Daniel, Peercy, & Silverman, 2017; Reyes & Garcia, 2013; Wright & Choi, 2006). Moreover, researchers articulated the need to chart and delineate the relationship between EL policy, the programs that fall under that policy, and the practices that constitute these programs according to local actors and agents implementing the policy, creating the programs, and enacting instructional and leadership practices (Artiles, Klingner, Sullivan, & Fierros, 2010; Carhill-Poza, 2015; Gandara, 2015; Gandara & Baca, 2008; Gandara & Hopkins, 2010; Genesee & Boyson, 1999; Gershberg, et. al, 2004; Garcia & Sylvan, 2011; Menken, 2008; Menken & Solorza, 2012; Stewner-Manzanares, 1988). Finally, researchers and practitioners have also highlighted the lack of research evaluating EL

policy implementation and as a means of policy feedback, evaluation, and development (Ambers, 2012; Bowman, 2010; Combs, Evans, Fletcher, Parra, & Jimenez, 2005; Crawford, 1998; Gandara & Hopkins, 2010; Haneda & Alexander, 2015; Malsbary & Applegate, 2016; Menken, 2008; Umansky & Reardon, 2014). Furthermore, as highlighted earlier, trends in migration and the number of EL students are rising exponentially, indicating that policy considerations and concerns are being confronted not just domestically but now globally as well.

This study focused on how EL policy influences programs and practices at a high school in the southeastern United States, specifically a high school oriented by English-only state legislation. Through the analysis of interviews, documents, artifacts, as well as student and staff support, this study examined how EL policy impacted programs and practices at the high school, and how students are educated, supported, and oriented within the school. The principal, assistant principal, EL secondary lead, the district EL coordinator, and the school's EL teacher discussed the policy, programs, and practices offered to meet the needs of their EL students. Framed by Srivastava and Thomson's (2009) framework analysis, this critical single case study included an analysis of how policy impacted programs and practices at the high school. In addition, this design afforded the means to provide evaluative feedback on local and state policy by exploring the perspectives and experiences of actors engaging with that policy at the local level.

Study Purpose

While a substantial body of literature investigating EL instructional practices, EL programs, and their efficacy exists individually, there are relatively few studies that have explored the connection between national and state policy, localized implementation, and

how local policy implementation influences programs and practices. Moreover, educational policy, including its implementation tend to be stagnant, isomorphic, and disconnected at the national level, yet simultaneously convoluted and interpretive at the local level (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Gandara, 2015; Gandara & Hopkins, 2010; Gershberg et al., 2004; Lingard, 2011; Menken, 2010; Roach, et al., 2011). With U.S. EL policy specifically, researchers also highlight the disconnect between federal and state EL policy with best practices for ELs, as more recent English-only state policies and their implementation have actually inhibited language acquisition (Gandara, 2015; Gandara & Hopkins, 2010; Gershberg et al., 2004; Menken, 2010; Umansky & Reardon, 2014). Thus, this study explores the impact of policy implementation, according to the local actors and agents implementing said policy, to clarify the relationship between policy, programs, and practices as well as offer evaluative feedback for local, state, and national EL policy. In other words, this study will explore the relationship between EL policy, EL programs, and EL practices, to fully articulate and delineate the policy to program to practice process. Through this investigation, findings will offer evaluative feedback for both local policy and national policy by extrapolating the specific connection or disconnection between national and state policy with its localized implementation. Policy researchers repeatedly emphasize the need for further qualitative policy studies, derived from innovative models and conceptual frames, in diverse and alternative fields, such as EL policy (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Harriet & Firestone, 1983; Jann & Wegrich, 2007; Lingard, 2011; Roach, et al., 2011; Srivastava & Thomson, 2009; Starke, 2013). At the national level, both domestically and internationally, educational policy formation tends to be mimicked or borrowed across states, institutions, and organizations,

leading to monolithic policies devoid of contextual considerations and room for legitimate innovation, as policies are borrowed (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Jann & Wegrich, 2007; Lingard, 2011; Roach, et al., 2011). This study will not only assess how this isomorphic tendency impacts EL policy, but it also utilized a conceptual framework to explore the impact of policy and policy implementation. Moreover, this conceptual frame, coined framework analysis, has demonstrated a pragmatic capacity for an array of data analysis, as well as the capacity to offer substantive feedback for both local and national policy (Cooley, 2008; Finlay et al., 2015; Marais & Peterson, 2013; Midgley et al., 2015; Patel & Agbenyega, 2013).

Researchers also recommended that future EL studies investigate practices, programs/instructional models, classification, language orientations, and policy, comprehensively and contextually through the involvement of local actors (Ambers, 2012, Bowman, 2010, Carhill-Poza, 2015; Calderon et. al, 2011; Estes, 1986; Garcia & Slyvan, 2011; Haneda & Alexander, 2015; Li, 2007; Malsbary & Applegate, 2016; Martin-Beltran, et. al, 2017; Sullivan 2011). Since the responsibility of localized policy implementation and policy communication has historically been a part of a school leader's role, then policy implementation needs to be explored through these individuals. In fact, even in 1992, Heck emphasized the role of the principal as a "communicator" (p. 30) within their spaces and this communication included communicating policies and implications for implementation. Ten years later, Hope (2002) reiterated this point, by stating that "principals are at the forefront of implementing the changes and bringing about the realities embodied in implementing policy mandates" (p. 42-43). In 2003, to meet the challenge of implementing policy and change, Hale and Moorman, demanded

that shifts in policy necessitate formal training and support for principals, as well as calling for a greater emphasis on policy within principal preparation programs. Korach and Cosner (2009) espoused similar sentiments when they labeled principals as the “major actors” (p. 265) within schools, responsible for communicating and implementing state and district policies. Clearly, policy implementation and communication fall on the shoulders of school principals, which might also partially explain the isomorphic development of education policy. If school principals are tasked with communicating and implementing policy in addition to their other responsibilities, then it is easier to learn, borrow, and mimic how others accomplish these aims, which is why policy in educational spaces, specifically EL educational policy, warrants further examination through the perspectives of principals, classroom teachers, and other local actors. Finally, EL scholars have articulated the need for more evaluative and assessment-based research on both national and local policy as a means of policy development (Ambers, 2012; Bowman, 2010; Combs, et. al, 2005; Crawford, 1998; Gandara & Hopkins, 2010; Haneda & Alexander, 2015; Malsbary & Applegate, 2016; Menken, 2008; Umansky & Reardon, 2014). Malsbary and Applegate (2016) expounded on this lack of policy evaluation and knowledge in the field when they stated “we know of no formal mechanism to assess policy effects in classrooms early and frequently after policy implementation. We need a feedback loop between government-backed policy and the classroom, and increased transparency around how policy is enacted” (p. 43). This study addressed this feedback gap by reviewing the historical impact of policy on ELs, then by pinpointing specific schools, their EL policies, programs, and practices, and investigating

the relationship between how policy is enacted, implemented, and supported in the classroom to inform and develop both local and national policy.

The purpose of this study is to address the policy feedback gap by investigating the process of how local EL policy is interpreted from the national and state level, and then supported and enacted at the K-12 level. Additionally, this study seeks to chart how this interpretation and enactment manifests across and within a school, how policy influences EL programs and practices, and how this localized implementation relates to the state and national policies. Thus, I hope to create the means to analyze EL policy with innovative conceptual and theoretical frames, to provide transparent policy feedback as well as to delineate the specifics of policy enactment in the EL context, highlighting how policy influences programs and practices. This study will be oriented by the following research question:

1. How does policy impact decisions on EL programs or instructional models (Genesee & Boyson, 1999; TN Department of Education, 2017) and classroom practices (Garcia & Slyvan, 2011) according to district leaders, school leaders, and an EL teacher?

Study Site and Participants

The study site is a high school located in the southeastern United States serving around 910 students, with 45.5% of their students on free and reduced lunches. Additionally, the student body is listed as 55% white, 21% African American, 12.8 % Hispanic, and the remaining 11.2% listed as other (Schooldigger.com; Greatschools.org). While the EL population is listed below 10%, the site served this study because their EL program and position were recently added to support this growing student population.

This high school is one of 23 within the district and, for the purposes of this study, will be referred to as Henderson High School. The participants were purposefully selected to fully incorporate both administrative and teacher perspectives on policy, programs, and practices. The participants included Henderson's principal, who will be referred to as Dr. Sturridge, the assistant principal, Mrs. Trent, the EL teacher, Mrs. Milner, the district EL coordinator, Mr. Tovar, and the secondary EL coordinator, Mrs. Poe¹.

Critical Single Case Study

To understand perspectives on policy and how policy impacts programs and practices, I conducted a critical single-case study (Flyvbjerg, 2011; Yin, 2018). Henderson High School and its policies were well suited for a single-case study design because it exemplified a critical case as a site apt to assess current theory in context (Flyvbjerg, 2011; Yin, 2018). Henderson High School epitomized a critical case as a space suitable for testing theory and theoretical propositions, especially when paired with framework analysis. Henderson represented a critical context that allowed me to “determine whether the [theoretical] propositions are correct or whether some alternative set of explanations might be more relevant” (Yin, 2018, p.85). Due to the recent increase in EL students, the addition of EL staff and programs, Henderson served as space to explore perspectives on policy as well as how policy impacts programs and practices because it had a “strategic importance in relation to the general problem” (Flyvbjerg, 2011, p.307). In this case the general problem was the disconnect between EL research and policy, as well as the absence of administrative and teacher input when creating,

¹ To ensure the confidentiality of the respondents, pseudonyms have been assigned to all participants.

discussing, and evaluating EL policy. Thus, Henderson High School when investigated through framework analysis, with its capability to incorporate current theoretical propositions, served as a critical case that allowed me to test theory and research on EL policy, programs, and practices, while also ascertaining perspectives and feedback on that policy.

Framework Analysis

To explore localized policy implementation, this study incorporated Srivastava and Thomson's (2009) conceptual policy frame, framework analysis. Framework analysis was intentionally developed for qualitative policy studies to provide researchers with a flexible conceptual frame from which to investigate policy. Framework analysis aligns to this study for several reasons, but at its core, framework analysis was created for qualitative research; that is, it allots avenues and strategies for the incorporation of a wide array of data sources. Thus, the framework facilitated analyzing several sources accumulated for this study. Additionally, the second step of the framework, incorporating a thematic frame, allowed for not only the inclusion of a priori concepts affiliated with the topics of study, but also allowed for examination of those concepts in context. Therefore, my thematic frames permitted me to explore policy, programs, and practices both individually, comprehensively, and comparatively. These thematic frames were focused on conceptualizations of policy, programs, and practices. My a priori thematic framework for policy was structured around Roach, et al. (2011) and DiMaggio and Powell's (1983) conceptualization of coercive, mimetic, and normative isomorphic policy, coupled with the concepts of de jure, de facto, and ad hoc policies highlighted by Gershberg et al. (2013) and Menken (2008). De jure policies referred to the formal and

fixed district level policies towards ELs, whereas de facto policies referred to the general pattern of orienting EL programs, their policies, and their practices solely on English acquisition due to the influence of de jure policies. Finally, ad hoc policies are:

individual and idiosyncratic in nature at the school and often the classroom level, they are not usually governed directly by any district or state policies or plans, and they arise in a highly decentralized and often organic manner (Gershberg et al., 2004, p. 75).

This conceptualization of policy allowed me to connect and situate de jure English-only state policies in relation to Roach, et al. (2011) and DiMaggio and Powell (1983) conceptualization of coercive, mimetic, and normative isomorphism, as well as providing the means to explore the individual de facto and ad hoc policies, programs, and practices they produce. My a priori thematic framework for programs was oriented around the work of Genesee and Boyson (1999), as well as the Tennessee Department of Education's ESL Instructional Models (2017). Finally, my a priori thematic framework for practices was oriented around Garcia and Sylvan's (2011) practices for second language learners. Both Ritchie and Spencer (1994) as well as Srivastava and Thomson (2009) highlighted that a priori thematic frames are tentative and flexible; that is, while they provided structure for my analysis, I was still able to investigate and annotate policies, programs, or practices that do not fall within the thematic frames. Furthermore, the final steps of framework analysis, charting and mapping, enabled me to create a representation and a model of the relationship between EL policy, programs, and practices in its specific localized context. This framework is aligned to this study because this study seeks to investigate specific policies in specific schools, and as Srivastava and

Thomson (2009) emphasized “framework analysis provides an excellent tool to assess policies and procedures from the very people that they affect” (p. 78). Researchers from a variety of disciplines, whose studies utilized framework analysis, highlighted its pragmatic capacity for exploring policy and implicated that this frame be employed in alternative disciplines to not only delineate the specifics of policy implementation but to also offer evaluative feedback on that policy (Cooley, 2008; Finlay, Franke, McKay, & Sims-Gould, 2015; Marais & Peterson, 2015; Midgley, Parkinson, Holmes, Stapley, Eatough & Target, 2015; Patel & Agbenyega, 2013; Ritchie & Spencer, 1994; Srivastava and Thomson, 2009).

Data Collection

Data collection took place over a two-month period involving interviews, documents, artifacts, schedules, and online resources related to supporting ELs. To understand perspectives on policy and how policy impacted programs and practices, all participants were interviewed for 45-60 minutes using a semi-structured interview protocol (Creswell, 2014). Participants were questioned about both the effectiveness of current EL policy as well as how this policy impacted their programs and practices. Interviews were conducted remotely and recorded via Zoom. Additionally, any comments, interactions, or topics emphasized during the conversation that related to policy assessment or policy impact were recorded as field notes and analytical memos (Creswell, 2014; Saladana, 2015). To fully capture the impact of policy on programs and practices, professional development supports, training materials, district provided documents, student support documents, student schedules, teacher assessment rubrics and other items that dealt directly with student support were collected and analyzed. In total

over 50 different items relating to EL programs and practices were collected and incorporated into this study.

Data Analysis

Data analysis was conducted in three stages. The initial stage was inductive cycles of in vivo, open coding of the interviews, documents, artifacts, supports, field notes and analytical memos (Creswell, 2014; Onwuegbuzie, Frels, & Hwang, 2016; Saldana, 2015). From this initial stage of analysis (see Table 5), in vivo codes were then analyzed utilizing deductive provisional coding, as participants' responses were placed in one of four domains: policy, programming, practices, or policy evaluation (Onwuegbuzie et al., 2016; Saldana, 2015). During this stage any statements, codes, or documents relating directly to policy and policy implementation were tied to the policy domain, those that referred to EL programs or programmatic decisions were tied to the program domain, and any that focused on practices were tied to the practice domain; any statements or codes that evaluated or offered feedback on policy were tied to the policy evaluation domain (see Table 6). The final stage of analysis focused on thematic coding, employing pattern matching and explanation building across the data, then utilizing the research-based a priori thematic frames to confirm or disconfirm how policy impacted programs and practices, as well as how that policy was evaluated (Yin, 2018). In other words, the final stage of analysis sought to corroborate the research-based a priori frames against the patterns or themes that emerged across the four domains to confirm, disconfirm, and map the effectiveness of that policy as well as how policy impacts programs or practices (see Table 7).

Table 5

First Round in-vivo Coding

In Vivo Code	Definition	Relevance
“compliance standards”	State & federal legal requirements	When first probed on policy – immediate response is framed by state/federal requirements of that policy.
“Sheltered instruction”	How academy supports ELs directly	EL programmatic form – ELs meet with Mrs. Milner for specific/set block
“collaborative reader sheets”	Individualized SIOP support	One of the practices/supports Mrs. Milner uses and provides to colleagues (interaction)

Table 6

Second Round Deductive Coding by Domain

Domain	Definition	In-vivo root codes
Policy	De jure – fixed policy	“compliance standards” -“Service time”- “percentage of growth met”
Program	De facto programs	“Sheltered instruction” -“structured content immersion”
Practice	SIOP model + classroom practices	“SIOP practices” -“collaborative reader sheets” – “hands on activities”
Policy Evaluation/Feedback	Pro Bilingual	“bilingual education ... greater benefit to the newcomers” – “personal philosophy ... goes against what the state requires” – “English-only is very limiting”

Table 7

Final Round Thematic Coding with A priori frames

A priori frame	Domain	Relevance
Coercive, mimetic, and normative isomorphic policy (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Roach, et al., 2011)	Policy	Isomorphic policy: coercive and mimetic – de jure policies (fixed and formal) de facto programs & ad hoc practices
de jure, de facto, and ad hoc policies (Gershberg et al., 2013; Menken, 2008)		
6 Program Alternatives (Genesee & Boyson, 1999; TN Department of Education, 2017)	Program	Influence of de jure on de facto programs & EL numbers (hybrid model)
8 practices (Garcia & Sylvan, 2011)	Practice	Emphasis on SIOP model and 8 components – encompasses 6 of G & Syl's practices

Findings

Ultimately, at Henderson High School, EL policy exhibited both coercive or mimetic isomorphism due to the stipulations of state legislation. This isomorphic influence mandated and instigated local de jure English-only policy, supported with, or sustained through de facto programs, which generated ad hoc classroom policies or practices rooted in the SIOP model (see Figure 1). Specifically, their de jure English-only policy resulted in de facto hybrid programs, where EL students receive a targeted block of sheltered instruction services while also being immersed in regular courses. Moreover, the de facto hybrid programs produced ad hoc classroom policies or practices established around or derived from the eight components of the SIOP model, rather than Garcia and Sylvan's (2011) eight pedagogies or practices for second language learners. Finally, participants offered substantive or evaluative feedback for EL policy and reinforced research on language policy, articulating that the isomorphic influence of English-only policy complicates instruction and classroom practices, restricting student language acquisition and inhibiting individualized, differentiated, and scaffolded education for EL students.

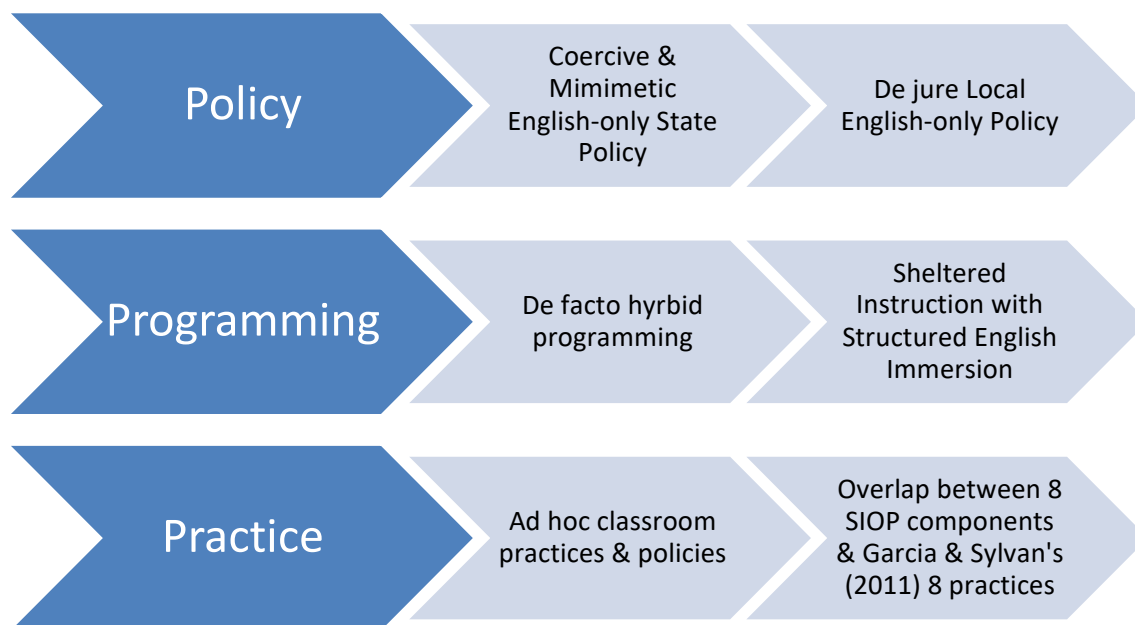


Figure 1. Map of Policy to Practice Process at Henderson High School. This map displays how policy and policy implementation manifests into programs and practices at Henderson.

Policy

When looking at the state driven English-only policy that overarches and orients EL education at Henderson High School, it becomes obvious this policy originated from both mimetic and coercive isomorphism. Roach, et al. (2011) defined coercive isomorphism as “mandated change or isomorphism that is brought about by strong cultural pressure to conform” (p. 77), whereas mimetic isomorphism “is driven by an institution’s need for certainty when faced with ambiguous technologies or goals” (p. 77). Thus, being faced by the mandates of NCLB and ESSA, with their extreme focus on accountability, data, and growth states were coerced into creating policies in response to these ambiguous goals, which led to English-only adoption, and other states mimicked this process, especially in more conservative regions like the southeastern US (Abedi, 2004; Abedi, Hofstetter, & Lord, 2004; Gandara, 2015; Menken, 2008; Menken, 2010; Wright, 2005). At Henderson High School, this overarching English-only policy impacted their ELs by creating de jure and fixed policies that resulted in de facto hybrid programming.

English-only state policy impacted the de jure policies, those formally fixed by law, within Henderson High School in several ways, but namely, through the stipulations of required service time, the direct instruction students receive, EL student growth indicators, and the number of EL teachers available. Each participant stressed the importance of service time with ELs and meeting service time compliance requirements as well as meeting growth requirements. Instruction was obviously also impacted by the English-only policy because it insinuates that all instruction materials, and assessment be in English. Mrs. Trent, the assistant principal, when speaking on this stated that “we’re in

an English only state, which means all instruction has to be done in English. . . It's not really like a mandate or policy somewhere, just in these classes speak English. . . It's automatic English all day.” These formal de jure policies also resulted in meeting additional state requirements. Mrs. Poe, when questioned about the state’s policy immediately highlighted that it, “lists guidelines about service times and score cut off scores and growth score requirements.” The growth and data requirements led Henderson High School to integrate ELLevation, an online electronic data repository where teachers, Mrs. Milner, and even Mrs. Poe could develop individual student profiles to track growth and provide potential accommodations. These compliance pieces were equally as significant to Mr. Tovar, who when initially probed about policy responded with, “the caveat there is that we're working within the framework of the compliance pieces that the federal and the state government provide.” Finally, each participant expressed the de jure policy of teacher hiring and retention being dependent on EL student numbers. Dr. Sturridge expressed this most plainly: “the number of teachers is based on the population.” In other words, EL support is dependent on the number of students rather than the actual needs of the students. This de jure policy also impacted the de facto, by practice, policies and program that manifested within Henderson High School. Henderson’s de facto policies resulted in a hybrid programmatic model of sheltered instruction blended with structured English immersion.

Programming

De facto policies and programs, those that originate through practice, manifested at Henderson High School through a hybridized model, that blended elements of sheltered instruction with structured English immersion (Genesee & Boyson, 1999; TN

Department of Education, 2017). In describing her courses, Mrs. Milner highlighted that her EL students receive “pullout sheltered instruction or an English language development course” while also engaging in what Mrs. Poe referred to as “content-based instruction models” such as algebra, history, etc. Thus, EL students receive sheltered services for a portion of the day while also being immersed in the regular school population and coursework. Mrs. Milner emphasized that the sheltered blocks serve to reinforce learning from those content-based classes, as well as to develop their language mastery. Moreover, Mrs. Milner highlighted that the sheltered groups are organized according to student language level, stating, “we have newcomers beginners, intermediate advanced, I’m already subdividing them into three classes, because those are the available blocks that I have.” Here, EL students are immersed in regular courses while still receiving a targeted sheltered EL block. However, it is critical to remember that these programmatic decisions are also tied to staffing and EL student numbers, as Dr. Sturridge identified when asked about Henderson’s EL program “because of numbers, there’s just one EL, ESL specialist” which means Mrs. Milner is essentially responsible for these students, supporting their coursework, and their language acquisition because staffing is not available to offer additional services. While staffing and student numbers limit services, Mr. Tovar highlighted that this is also a strength at Henderson and other schools within the district because “there’s a lot of autonomy at the building level to do some of that work. And we, as a district, really try to work with our administrators to give some of that flex.” In other words, Mrs. Milner is given the freedom to determine which programmatic models best fit Henderson’s EL students’ needs and which best supports

them. Moreover, through Henderson's commitment to the SIOP model, Mrs. Milner has been able to influence the ad hoc, or daily, policies and practices of her colleagues.

Practices

The ad hoc policies, or daily classroom level policies and practices, at Henderson High School were conceived and oriented through the SIOP model and its eight components, coupled with individualized support and accommodations through ELLevation. While my analysis incorporated Garcia and Sylvan's (2011) practices as a thematic frame, there were still several occurrences of overlap between these two. Specifically, SIOP's Lesson preparation and Building background components encompass Garcia and Sylvan's (2011) concepts of learner centered classrooms and heterogeneity and singularities in plurality. Teachers build background and prepare lessons; thus, teachers understand that each EL student is at a different developmental level and stage of language acquisition than their peers, even though they may be the same age and speak the same native language (Vogt, Echevarria, & Short, 2016). Additionally, SIOP's components of Strategies, Interactions, Practice and Application, and Lesson delivery all mirror Garcia and Sylvan's (2011) concepts of collaboration among faculty, collaboration among students, language and content integration, local autonomy, and experiential learning (Vogt, Echevarria, & Short, 2016). Finally, SIOP's review and assessment component incorporates similar concepts to Garcia and Sylvan's (2011) notion of plurilingualism from the students up. All the eight SIOP components, as well as Garcia and Sylvan's (2011) practices can be found in Table 4.

The emphasis of the SIOP components on framing daily practices was reiterated throughout each interview and demonstrated through student supports, schedules, and

Table 8

SIOP Model & Garcia & Sylvan's (2011) practices

SIOP Component	Garcia & Sylvan's Practices (2011)
Lesson preparation	Heterogeneity and singularities in plurality
Building background	Collaboration among students
Comprehensible input	Collaboration among faculty
Strategies	Language and content integration;
Interaction	Learner-centered classrooms;
Practice and application	Plurilingualism from the students up
Sheltered lesson delivery	Experiential learning
Review and assessment	Localized autonomy and responsibility

artifacts all constructed around these components. Mr. Tovar highlighted this initiative and commitment saying “we’ve implemented SIOP, kind of train the trainer models” districtwide. Mrs. Poe reiterated this commitment to development and training, indicating that between SIOP and ELLevation she had “done a ton of training, I think I’ve trained over 2400 teachers since January of this year.” The impact of this training was communicated by Mrs. Milner who repeatedly mentioned the collaborative work done amongst the staff to best serve their ELs. Specifically, Mrs. Milner recalled a collaborative experience with her science department: “I said send me a lesson and I went through it and manually chunked the text and broke it down into graphic organizers for the students and said: you can do this with any of your content.” Mrs. Milner also mentioned that with all classroom content teachers she sends them individual accommodations through ELLevation, stating that “with ELLevation, I can go in and pull up strategies and assign them to a child so that the teacher can log in and see that.” These strategies and collaborative efforts encompass several of Garcia and Sylvan’s (2011) concepts, specifically collaboration among staff, language and content integration, learner centered classrooms, and fosters an awareness to heterogeneity and singularities in plurality. Mr. Tovar spoke to the districtwide commitment to learning, having learner centered classrooms, and utilizing collaboration to nurture responsible and effective autonomy:

“our perspective in the district is, when we implement these strategies, we come at it from the perspective of, this strategy is going to help all students within your classrooms, because then teachers can see that, hey, this is something that is going to be impactful for all learners.”

Finally, the ad hoc policies and practices that manifested at the classroom level, also prioritized the SIOP component of review and assessment, which shared similarities with Garcia and Sylvan's (2011) concept of plurilingualism from the students up. In this context, Garcia and Sylvan (2011) explain it as "the locus of control for language practices lies with the students" (p. 397), and at Henderson High School this manifested through review and assessment, where EL students are provided control over their individual language goals and trajectory for their language development. In explaining this process, Mrs. Milner specified that "when I set the goals, I pull the kids over and we do a one-on-one conference." This strategy and student access to control was reiterated by Mrs. Poe at the district level:

"having a student interview and really seeing and setting goals with our students to say, here, here's where you are, and what classes would you like to take, and really getting some interests and buy in from the student about the classes that that they would like to be involved in."

However, while Henderson High School utilizes the SIOP model and ELlevation to support its students and staff, each participant offered substantive feedback for language policy.

Perspectives and Policy Feedback

When probed about language policy feedback, each participant espoused the need for a shift towards bilingualism in some capacity. For some individuals, a bilingual approach would provide a better diagnostic understanding of student strengths and background knowledge, meaning EL students could be assessed in their native language to inform and develop an academic path that considered and catered to those strengths

and that knowledge. Interestingly, both Dr. Sturridge and Mrs. Trent, the buildings administrators, advocated for this component, citing the fact that English-only policy prevents schools from determining the specific academic levels and background skills students already possess in their first language. Additionally, several participants indicated the drastic need of bilingual supports and orientations for newcomers. Mrs. Milner, speaking about her newcomer course and students concluded:

I feel that bilingual education would be of greater benefit to the newcomers that we get, just because they could try and have more of a balance between getting communication in their native language and English and trying to bridge that and slowly wean away from it.

This sentiment was echoed at the district level as well, where Mrs. Poe indicated that “my personal philosophy kind of goes against what the state requires, in that I feel like bilingual education would be a greater benefit to newcomers.” Mr. Tovar also espoused the need for a more holistic and bilingual approach for newcomers, but not just for academic reasons, mentioning that:

When you acknowledge that you're bringing to the table a student's primary language, which means customs and culture, really who that student is, and who those families are in a system, it really does start to validate them, and folks can see themselves within the learning systems and then you think about opportunities for post-secondary education. Kids have to see themselves in systems in ways that are positive. Within the English only system, I think what happens is that we really ask our kiddos to focus on the English only component and we lose aspects of what they bring to the table in terms of that language in terms of that culture. I

think that would be something I think that needs to change. Now we can do that. And we try to do that with you know, family engagement opportunities, and then teachers do that within the classroom to really help students learn about each other. But when you look at it from a systems perspective, it's designed to really I guess, push the agenda of ensuring that our folks have English proficiency potentially at the cost of losing all of those other aspects of that particular child.

For Mr. Tovar, an English-only policy not only limits the academic experience and development of EL students, but it also has nefarious consequences for their identity and career trajectory.

While each participant espoused the need for more bilingual integration and criticized English-only policy, there were also some positive evaluations of portions of the policy as well as strategic recommendations. Dr. Sturridge highlighted that training on English-only implementation would behoove the entire staff, noting “that there hasn't been anything that I'm aware of, something that someone has said to me, we're doing some direct learning around the implementation of English only.” Moreover, Dr. Sturridge recommended that schools serving ELs would benefit from a policy of community language support: “since we're wanting them to learn English, if we could support parents in some way to learn English as well.” Finally, Mr. Tovar praised the flexibility recent shifts in this policy provided in terms of local autonomy and control: “there's a lot of flexibility in the policy. And I think it allows local school systems to really do what's best for students do what's best for language learners.” However, Mr. Tovar then went on to say, “but I think start at the state level, and talk about how we should consider bilingual education.” Clearly, while recent modifications offered

flexibility in terms of local control, the influence of the English-only stipulation still limits and inhibits education for ELs at Henderson High School.

Discussion

At Henderson High School, isomorphic state policy impacted local implementation through the adoption of a de jure English-only policy, supported by a de facto hybrid programmatic model, and sustained through ad hoc practices constructed around the 8 components of the SIOP model. Through a de facto hybrid programmatic model, coupling sheltered instruction and structured English immersion, and a school wide commitment to ad hoc SIOP oriented practices, Henderson negotiated and complied with state requirements while also trying to best serve their ELs and meet student needs. However, all participants also acknowledged the adverse effects of their state's English-only policy, expressing its restrictive and confounding impact, as newcomers fail to receive the supports and services they need, and schools lack the bilingual resources capable of assessing their students initially, individually, and comprehensively.

Through a schoolwide commitment to the SIOP model, Henderson, and its staff, support the daily needs of their ELs throughout their structured immersion in mainstream courses. Here, daily, ad hoc practices are framed by the 8 components of the SIOP model; however, each participant identified the limits of these practices due to the influence and impact of English-only policy. For administrators, policy limited practice because schools and teachers cannot adequately assess and access student skills and background knowledge in their first language. If bilingual assessments were encouraged and available, participants felt these might produce practices and resources that better accommodate individual EL student needs and strengths, as well as providing an

instrument to ascertain student background knowledge in their native language. Moreover, participants also identified English-only policy as being particularly detrimental to newcomers. For newcomers, participants identified that English only policy not only restricted their language acquisition by eliminating comprehensible resources in their first language, but also it also impacted their cultural identity and development, as Mr. Tovar touched upon: “within the English only system . . . we lose aspects of what they bring to the table in terms of that language, in terms of that culture.” While Henderson High School incorporates a de facto hybrid programmatic, paired with ad hoc daily practices rooted in the SIOP model to support their ELs, ultimately, the detrimental impact of de jure and isomorphic English-only policy restricts and inhibits their ability to best serve this student population.

Implications

Research

This study has implications for future research on EL learners, programs, teachers, administrators, and policy. For researchers, the application of Srivastava and Thomson’s (2009) framework analysis, when intentionally coupled with a critical case study design, offered a pragmatic approach to assessing the extent of current research and theory via a priori thematic frames. Moreover, framework analysis further demonstrated its capacity to contextualize, diagnosis, and evaluate policy according to the individuals enacting and implementing policy. If policy is to guide states, districts, administrators, teachers, and education at large, then the effects of and manifestations of policy need to be explored, analyzed, defined, and assessed regularly through those same individuals to provide substantive feedback on that policy, and framework analysis afforded the

measures to do so. Thus, through this pairing, researchers might further evaluate policy and elucidate policy implementation in different regions, contexts, and with different populations to create a more comprehensible and comprehensive depiction of policy implementation and effectiveness. Finally, this study implies that future research conducted with policy implementation also investigate the extent and forms of training provided to support and enact that policy. While this study sought to explore how policy related to programs and practices, what became clear was the absence of explicit training on policy implementation, as Dr. Sturridge, Mr. Tovar, Mrs. Poe, and Mrs. Milner all expressed that their familiarity with policy came from their own agency and perusing state handbooks and guides individually and independently, rather than any state sanctioned training or professional development. If schools are to be tasked with official state requirements, then state departments must provide more than handbooks and documents to elucidate the enactment of those requirements, and research into policy implementation training could indicate if this was an anomaly at Henderson High School or if other schools, administrators, and teachers are experiencing a similar lack of support and guidance.

Policy

This study also has significant implications for future policy. Specifically, when creating policy in reference to EL students and families, bilingual frameworks generate a more inclusive, holistic, and individualized approach to language acquisition and achievement. Each participant advocated for this amendment to their current English-only policy, especially for their newcomers. While bilingual programs and endeavors tend to meet resistance due to diverse language needs and a lack of funding, this study

suggests that nonetheless, bilingual policy orientations are not only supported by research on language acquisition, but are also the methods that schools, administrators, and teachers are requesting. Finally, this study highlights the necessity of developing feedback mechanisms along with policy, so that stakeholders, administrators, teachers, and all involved parties have the means to analyze, assess, and modify policy. This process might elucidate the most efficacious policies in reference to specific populations and specific contexts. In other words, state departments partnered with state institutions and districts might produce a potential feedback mechanism through regular, rigorous, and repeated research on policy and its implementation so that, as schools are tasked with constant and continual improvement, so too is policy.

Practice

A major implication this study offers to educational leaders, administrators, and teachers is developing the way in which EL students are educated according to local contextual considerations. All too often, EL students are placed in remedial courses and on remedial tracks, or only receive EL coursework and services for the duration of their school day. At Henderson High School EL students were educated in a hybridized model to meet and serve their specific needs, and the district supported these programmatic decisions. Henderson's sheltered instruction blocks blended with structured English immersion allowed for ELs to develop their language acquisition while also engaging with the mainstream student body and regular coursework. Schools with a similar population might emulate this orientation for their EL students. This study also highlighted the impact the SIOP model, and its components can have across a school, particularly when paired with a data repository such as ELLevation. This study identified

that the SIOP model, when implemented schoolwide with fidelity, not only mirrors Garcia and Sylvan's (2011) best practices for ELs, but it can also help support and sustain language acquisition as well as content mastery.

Limitations

The limitations of this study stemmed from the fact that there were a variety of concepts and understandings I could only gain through the experience of conducting research in this specific field and space. For example, participant emphasis and reliance on the SIOP model for framing and formulating classroom practices revealed that the SIOP model would have been a more suitable a priori framework than Garcia and Sylvan's (2011) eight pedagogies and practices. Since participants consistently referred to the SIOP model and student lesson plans, documents, and supports were created around the SIOP model's eight components, this study would have been bolstered by extensively applying these eight to all data sources during the collection phase. However, this limitation also allowed me to explore the differences and similarities between the SIOP Model's eight components and Sylvan and Garcia's (2011) eight pedagogies and practices, which still presented the space to test current research and theory against current practices. Moreover, the overlap between these two frameworks for practices when working with ELs, offers an interesting intersection for potential future research.

Additionally, this study was limited by the small sample size studied and the limited duration of the time spent with the population in study. Ideally, observations would be intermittently conducted throughout the course of the school year to fully document the implementation of SIOP-based classroom practices. While the student documents, student supports, and even lesson templates communicated and captured the

practices, observations would have provided further depth to how these practices manifest and unfold in the classroom space. In addition, while all participants referenced EL specific events, conversations, and even interviews, I did not witness any during the time of the study, largely due to the influence of COVID.

Finally, the lack of student voice is a limitation in this study. To fully encapsulate how policy impacts the classroom and classroom policies, the incorporation of student voice would have furthered the validity of the findings, since those practices are ultimately aimed at instigating and fostering their language acquisition. To reiterate, in seeking to understand how policy impacts classroom policies and practices, it seems only logical to probe into student experience to see if there is consistency and alignment between the perceptions of the staff and the perceptions of the students themselves. If EL student voices were built into this study, the impact of these SIOP-based supports and resources might also provide other educators with additional tools to help facilitate instruction and programs at their schools.

Significance

This study is significant for several reasons, but predominately, this study incorporated the perspectives of actors implementing policy to better understand how policy impacts programs and practices, as well as to better understand the effectiveness of that policy. For schools, administrators, and teachers serving EL students, this study is significant because it offered a template and a model for serving ELs when the student population is close to 10%. By structuring an EL program in a hybridized model, schools can immerse their EL students in regular courses in a structured and supported approach, while also ensuring those students receive sheltered instruction as well. Moreover, this

study is significant because while participants praised the flexibility recent shifts in EL policy now afforded, highlighting the autonomy it provided for them to create a hybrid programmatic model supported through SIOP practices, each participant strongly advised amending their current state sanctioned English-only policy by incorporating a more bilingual approach. Although each participant voiced different justifications for this amendment, their perspectives reified the literature and research on language acquisition, recognizing that a bilingual approach would better meet the needs of their ELs and provide a better means of accommodating and differentiating for this student body. Finally, this study is significant because it identified how important experience with ELs and serving ELs can be for administrators and teachers when endeavoring to implement EL policy. Dr. Sturridge, in explaining his transition to Henderson, mentioned that his previous schools did not serve any EL students, but since coming to Henderson and working with EL students, his perspective on policy had shifted drastically: [initially] I was more like - they need to learn English, need to take the test in English. But now after working with them. I know when they go home, they don't use English. It would be helpful [bilingual education]." For Dr. Sturridge, working with and serving an EL population, transformed his perspective on English-only policy. Similarly, policymakers, particularly those responsible for the maintenance and modification of EL policy, need to have intimate knowledge and experience with this student subgroup, if that policy is to serve them best.

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CHAPTER 5

FINDINGS, DISCUSSION, IMPLICATIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

According to the National Center for Education Statistic's latest report on English Language Learners, this subgroup now comprises nearly 10% of the entire student population nationally (English Language Learners in Public Schools, May 2021). This report also highlighted that this population had grown by a half million in the last eight years, with some states having nearly 20% of their students now designated as EL. Research has explored EL programs, practices, and the policies that influence them in several bounded areas during this growth (Gandara, 2015; Gandara & Hopkins, 2010; Gershberg et al., 2004; Menken, 2010; Umansky & Reardon, 2014). However, there are few studies that reviewed policy towards this subgroup historically, while also focusing on the specific impact of EL policy on programs and practices. Additionally, recent research on policy and policy implementation espouses the use of innovative conceptual and theoretical frames to understand how policy manifests and to assess policy (Cooley, 2008; Finlay et al., 2015; Marais & Peterson, 2013; Midgley et al., 2015; Patel & Agbenyega; 2013). Thus, this study incorporated both McClelland's Theory of Needs (2009) and Srivastava and Thomson's (2009) framework analysis to investigate EL policy.

The purpose of this study was to elucidate the complicated history of EL policy and its impact, as well as to address the policy feedback gap by investigating the process of how specific and local EL policy is interpreted from the national and state level, and then supported and enacted at the K-12 level. Additionally, this study sought to chart how this interpretation and enactment manifested across and within a school and an academy,

how policies influenced EL programs and practices, and how this localized implementation related to the state and national policies. Through this process EL policy was analyzed with innovative conceptual and theoretical frames and provided transparent policy feedback as well as delineating the specifics of policy enactment in the EL context, highlighting how policy influences programs and practices.

The findings from this study are divided according to the two overarching research questions. Initially, I will focus on the history of EL policy and the role that research played in the development of this policy. Next, I will elucidate how EL policy and policy implementation manifested in two very distinct settings, one tied to a bilingual policy approach and the other dependent upon English-only legislation. I will then discuss connections between all three articles, as well as potential implications from this study, and lastly, recommendations for future studies.

Findings

This study was comprised of three articles all focused on EL policy and EL policy implementation. This format allowed for EL policy to be historically contextualized through a systematic review of literature related to educational language policy, the implementation of those policies, their impact on schools, classrooms, and student, and the role research played in these developments. Moreover, this format provided the structure to then explore EL policy and policy implementation both domestically and internationally, as well as through different theoretical and conceptual frames. The study design was intentionally constructed this way to answer the following questions:

1. Historically, how have educational policy and shifts in policy impacted ELs?
 - a. What contributed to new policy and shifts in policy?

- b. What role has research played in this process?
- 2. How does policy impact decisions on EL programs or instructional models (Genesee & Boyson, 1999; TN Department of Education, 2017) and classroom practices (Garcia & Slyvan, 2011) according to school leaders, resource coordinators, and EL teachers?

Three Article Approach & Rationale

All three articles were rooted in exploring EL policy and the impact of its implementation. Through this format I was able to investigate both the historical impact of policy, as well as its current impact in two distinct settings. The first article focused on the historical origins of EL policy through a systematic review that examined historically and holistically language and EL policy from the Bilingual Education Act (BEA) to EL policy today under ESSA. Moreover, this study explored and delineated the complex relationship between research and policy and illuminated the influence of research on policy and policy on research. This systematic review of empirical studies on educational and EL policy from 1968, and the signing of the BEA, to EL policy today, focused on policy shifts and transitions, as well as the impact of these shifts at the K12 level. The second and third articles then explored how policy and policy implementation affect schools and ELs currently. This format allowed me to both explore policy implementation in two international settings, but also to contrast how locally created bilingual policy at an academy impacted ELs against how state stipulated policy impacted ELs in the southeastern secondary school in the US.

Research Question 1 Findings

This section will highlight the major findings from this systematic review that answered the following research questions: historically, how have educational policy and shifts in policy impacted ELs? What contributed to new policy and shifts in policy? What role has research played in this process? Data for this article came from 62 articles, books, policy briefings, policy documents, and book chapters included in the final systematic review matrix. This review identified the vague, myopic, and reactive nature of educational language policy historically, concluding that policy is more often modified and developed due to the influence of socio-political considerations, developments, and pressures rather than through the influence of language research. Moreover, the vague and myopic nature of EL policy resulted largely from the lack of school, administrator, and teacher involvement.

Sociopolitical Pressure

The vague, myopic, and reactive nature of language policy is fostered and facilitated by being bounded to and constrained by socio-political considerations and developments. This review highlighted that the shift from equal access and bilingual education to achievement, accountability, and English-acquisition mirrored the social and political shift away from Civil Rights legislation and ideologies towards the conservative focus on excellence, standardization, and accountability. This shift was not the result of research on language acquisition and mastery, but the result of political and court pressures. Halperin (1975) in reviewing ESEA after 10 years, denoted this complicated relationship between policy and research, stating that “educational research and development has become something of a pariah on the priority list of federal

policymakers in education” (p. 9). Gershberg et al. (2013) reiterated this relationship when they stated that “Little additional scholarly research exists that informs either the debate or the policy changes at the state or the federal level” (p. 9). Moreover, Gandara (2015), thoroughly documented research on language acquisition and the benefits of bilingual instruction, citing the comprehensive studies conducted by Genesee, Saunders, Christian, and Lindholm-Leary (2008), Slavin and Cheung (2005), and Umansky and Reardon (2014), all of whom concluded that bilingual programs better serve ELs, but these findings do not reflect the current nomenclature or orientation of language policy and programs. For example, Gandara (2015) cited Hakuta et al. (2000) who revealed that language mastery takes 5 to 7 years, but even in ESSA, EL programs operate on a 3-year clause, and if a school enrolled an EL for 5 to 7 years in Tennessee, they would be designated as a Focus school and face state intervention. Research has also demonstrated that bilingual dual language programs, those that enroll ELs and non-ELs simultaneously, not only facilitate language acquisition for all students involved, but they also alleviate concerns about ELs being segregated from their peers and create more holistic learning experiences (Gandara & Orfield, 2010; Genesee & Gandara, 1999). Here, language policy directly contradicts research even though ESSA (2015) stressed evidence-based approaches to every aspect of education. Still, ESSA (2015) took gradual steps towards ameliorating this contradiction, by incorporating assessment flexibility and providing schools more autonomy to select programs and interventions catered to their specific population; two reactive amendments rooted in the findings confirmed by the Working Group on ELL Policy (Hopkins et al., 2013). However, these concessions were minimal, and the assessment flexibility stipulated in ESSA, diverges significantly from the

formative assessments recommended by Hopkins et al. (2013). If language policy and EL programs are aimed at facilitating authentic language mastery, then they must comprehensively consider research on language, involve the expertise of local actors, and exist outside the whims of political factions and transitions.

The Lack of Local Expertise and Involvement

This review also identified that EL policy tends to be vague and myopic because failed to incorporate feedback or involvement from educators and administrators. Even in 1968, Estes expressed that a major flaw in ESEA and the programs that fall under it are the lack of involvement with local actors. Estes (1968) stated:

One of our greatest concerns related to programs under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act is the fact that, frequently, principals and teachers are bypassed in planning them. Principals and teachers may not even have an opportunity to participate in the decision-making process in relation to these programs. The most significant plans and decisions all too often are made at the superintendent's level or in the state department of education (p. 84).

Fifty years later, this lack of local involvement and contextual consideration still underpins policy for ELs and EL programs. In 2014, Malsberry and Applegate analyzed the experiences of an EL teacher, discovering that schools and their actors often feel isolated and burdened with policy because it fails to contextualize and explicate implementation. Malsberry and Applegate (2014) concluded that “we know of no formal mechanism to assess policy effects in classrooms early and frequently after policy implementation. We need a feedback loop between government-backed policy and the classroom, and increased transparency around how policy is enacted” (p. 39).

Interestingly, Artiles et al. (2010) had already called for a similar mechanism, recommending that policymakers “improve information infrastructures to gauge policy impact” (p. 115). Similarly, Gershberg et al. (2013) and Menken (2008) conducted case studies on EL programs and policy implementation for ELs, and while these case studies were situated in drastically different contexts, one being in New York and the other in California, they both annotated the convoluted process of enacting policy for local actors. Specifically, these studies detailed how EL teachers ultimately become classroom and school policymakers due to the lack of clarity around implementation, which leads to de facto and ad hoc policies at the local level. De facto policies referred to the local creation of English-only practices and programs derived from the federal emphasis on English acquisition and English testing. Ad hoc policies referred to the organic and idiosyncratic daily manifestations of implementation orienting instruction (Gershberg et al., 2013; Menken, 2008). Since local agents and actors ultimately become the implementors of policy, then logically their experiences, their expertise, and research involving them should be the framework for future policy. Unfortunately, this review documented how language policy results largely from sociopolitical influence and pressure, which is why every reauthorization reacted to previous oversights and attempted to provide some additional transparency for states, schools, and teachers. In other words, the vague, myopic, and reactive nature of language policy is orchestrated and confined by sociopolitical circumstances and the fact that competing political factions regulate the goals and aims of language policy, and selectively cite research when it sustains and supports their agenda.

Research Question 2 Findings

This section will highlight the major findings of the second two articles, as each explored language policy, language policy implementation, and the impact of those policies on programs and practices. These two articles were guided by the following research question: How does policy impact decisions on EL programs or instructional models (Genesee & Boyson, 1999; TN Department of Education, 2017) and classroom practices (Garcia & Slyvan, 2011) according to school leaders, resource coordinators, and EL teachers?

UK Unique Case Study and McClelland's Theory of Needs (2009)

The interpretation and implementation of EL policy at the secondary academy focused on and resulted in addressing, meeting, and supporting individualized student needs. When framed by McClelland's Theory of Needs (2009), this individualized implementation is intertwined with meeting students' needs for achievement, affiliation, and power in the classroom and within the academy through a full immersion program.

Achievement

In meeting the achievement needs of EAL students and supporting their diverse language needs, the secondary academy structured a rigorous, monitored, and individualized orientation towards each student. Every EAL student is immediately immersed within the mainstream culture and orientation of the school. In fact, EAL students are placed in the highest-level English course available for their year because this experience will immerse them in a setting where the highest English expectations are being modeled, expressed, and reinforced. Initially, I was apprehensive about this model because of the potentially unrealistic expectations upon a new student whose first

language is non-English. However, after repeated observations, I witnessed how these students participated and achieved within these spaces. In this context, EAL students are held to the most rigorous language standards available and are fully immersed in a classroom where language is being modeled at its highest level. The EAL students in these classrooms are also held to the same standards and expectations as their monolingual peers.

The EAL students' needs and their access to achievement are sustained through individualized supports and a consistent system of monitoring and feedback. Both the classroom teacher and the EAL teacher monitor each EAL student's progress weekly, so if gaps in learning, language, or other issues arise, then the classroom teacher, the EAL teacher, and the student can proactively address the concern. The EAL teacher facilitates conversations with not only the classroom teachers, but the EAL students themselves as well. Then, individualized supports are crafted and catered to each EAL student so that any past and any potential issues are addressed. The EAL instructor highlighted that even upon their arrival, all EALs receive an individualized "visual timetable" to help support them through the transition into a new school and new courses. Moreover, EAL students are provided individual accommodations to help facilitate their achievement, and the EAL instructor emphasized they were not given homework, but rather "the key words so they can translate and understand the keywords before the next lesson." While the EAL teacher expressed that this constant proactive and reactive support is exhaustive, it still aligns to the bilingual orientation of their policy towards students from diverse language backgrounds. Here, EAL students are being provided resources, supports, and materials in their first language to facilitate their achievement in their English courses. Conversely,

when achievement isn't being facilitated, this system of monitoring and providing first language supports helps mitigate this lack of achievement and provides alternative modes of access to the content to ensure achievement. These structures and strategies also address EAL student's need for affiliation within the academy, the classroom, and the academy's larger community as well.

Affiliation

In implementing policy to support EAL students, the secondary academy also focuses on meeting the student's need for affiliation. This need is predominantly met through two ways: within the academy itself, as students are immersed within the mainstream culture of the academy, and through the academy's efforts to connect with EAL students' families and to support their bilingualism and home language.

EAL students need for affiliation is immediately addressed through the immersive orientation of their education. By engaging with the mainstream culture of the school and maintaining a regular course load, these students are continually bound to their peers and not isolated within specific EAL classrooms. The EAL teacher explained it in the following way: "what we do is we place them in the highest English class straightway. . . our aim is for them to see English modeled correctly." This orientation creates a sense of affiliation rather than alienation, as students are embedded in the mainstream culture and normal school routine, including their language arts and English courses. This affiliation also manifests in the classroom. This collaborative interaction I referenced previously, was a scenario that played out in two other classes during my observations. In each of these instances, the EAL student engaged in collaborative group activities and was held to the same standards and expectations as their peers. Here, EAL students weren't given

simplified instructions, remedial materials, but were given the same activities, materials, and guidelines as their peers. In fact, when describing a previous EAL student, the assessment director highlighted that “in the four years he was at the school, he took advantage of everything he could, he got involved in everything he could. He felt that finally he belonged somewhere.” In the classroom, EAL student’s need for affiliation was furthered through the sense of community fostered by the individual teachers and the academy’s immersive and structured progression.

EAL student’s sense of affiliation isn’t restricted to only their sense of belonging within the academy and the classroom itself. Through the bilingual orientation of the academy and its policy, EAL students are also provided an outlet to retain their affiliation to their first language, their home culture, and their family in relation to the academy. Prior to stepping foot in a classroom, all EAL students and their families are invited into the academy to meet with administration and the EAL instructor. During these meetings, previous academic records are analyzed so that student’s educational experience can be ascertained, and strategic plans can be developed. This conversation is informal and collaborative in nature, with families, students, and academy faculty all invited to deliver input. This initial conference affiliates the students, their family, and their language with the academy by presenting the academy as a space where these components are welcome, appreciated, and will be utilized to generate their academic orientation. The bilingual orientation of the academy’s policy also creates an outlet for affiliation by providing access to materials, resources, and supports in the EAL student’s first language. Through the access to resources and supports in the student’s first language, their sense of affiliation and belonging to their previous education and culture is sustained even in this

novel setting, rather than stifled and negated completely, like with English-only orientations and policies.

Power

The academy's bilingual policy and orientation also supported meeting EAL students need for power, control, and recognition. By seeing these students as "valuable contributors" the students are given agency and influence prior to ever engaging with the academy itself. In the academy, this need is addressed through the implementation of communication systems that allow EAL students control and influence over their schedules, supports, and their future trajectory within the academy. The initial conference referenced in the previous section, also aids in providing EAL students and families access to power, control, and influence over their educational experience. During this meeting, EAL students directly control and construct their schedules; that is, their first interaction with the academy immediately allocates a space for agency. Moreover, control and influence are reinforced by the system of communication established between the EAL instructor, the classroom instructor, and the student. Through this system, EAL students can request supports, resources, and additional outside materials to grasp any content or language gaps. In addition, EAL students are given control over their placement in classes, as the EAL teacher referenced that EAL students "if they do need to come out of a class for a little while, they can." Thus, this system also produces an opportunity for EAL students to provide individualized feedback about their instruction and learning, and to remove themselves if content or coursework seems too challenging. Here, EAL students attain direct influence over their leaning and their education on a regular and monitored basis.

By immersing EAL students within the mainstream academy, they are allotted the same opportunities for recognition as their peers. During classroom observations, I viewed multiple instances of EAL students being praised and recognized by both their peers and their classroom teachers. In these instances, EAL students are “valuable contributors” within the classroom space and are recognized for those contributions. This recognition was so deeply rooted, the EAL students were the group leaders during collaborative projects. While this recognition might not be formal or academy-wide, these experiences still address the EAL student’s need for power by providing recognition in the classroom.

US Critical Case Study and Framework Analysis

Henderson High School exhibited *de jure* English-only policy due to English-only state stipulations that resulted in *de facto* hybrid programs, where EL students receive a targeted block of sheltered instruction services while also being immersed in regular courses. Moreover, their *de facto* hybrid programs produced *ad hoc* classroom policies and practices established around and derived from the eight components of the SIOP model, rather than Garcia and Sylvan’s (2011) eight pedagogies and practices for second language learners. Finally, participants offered substantive and evaluative feedback for EL policy and reinforced research on language policy, articulating that the isomorphic influence of English-only policy complicates instruction and classroom practices, restricting student language acquisition and inhibiting individualized, differentiated, and scaffolded education for EL students.

Policy

When looking at the state driven English-only policy that overarches and orients EL education at Henderson High School, it becomes obvious this policy originated from both mimetic and coercive isomorphism. Roach, et al. (2011) defined coercive isomorphism as “mandated change or isomorphism that is brought about by strong cultural pressure to conform” (p. 77), whereas mimetic isomorphism “is driven by an institution’s need for certainty when faced with ambiguous technologies or goals” (p. 77). Thus, being faced by the mandates of NCLB and ESSA, with their extreme focus on accountability, data, and growth states were coerced into creating policies in response to these ambiguous goals, which led to English-only adoption, and other states mimicked this process, especially in more conservative regions like the southeastern US (Abedi, 2004; Abedi, Hofstetter, & Lord, 2004; Gandara, 2015; Menken, 2008; Menken, 2010; Wright, 2005). At Henderson High School, this overarching English-only policy impacted their ELs by creating de jure and fixed policies that resulted in de facto hybrid programming.

English-only state policy impacted the de jure policies, those formally fixed by law, within Henderson High School in several ways, but namely, through the stipulations of required service time, the direct instruction students receive, EL student growth indicators, and the number of EL teachers available. Each participant stressed the importance of service time with ELs and meeting service time compliance requirements as well as meeting growth requirements. Instruction was obviously also impacted by the English-only policy because it insinuates that all instruction materials, and assessment be in English. These formal de jure policies also resulted in meeting additional state

requirements. The growth and data requirements led Henderson High School to integrating ELLevation, an online electronic data repository where teachers, Mrs. Milner, and even Mrs. Poe can develop individual student profiles to track growth and provide potential accommodations. These compliance pieces were equally as significant to Mr. Tovar, who when initially probed about policy responded with, “the caveat there is that we're working within the framework of the compliance pieces that the federal and the state government provide.” Finally, each participant expressed the de jure policy of teacher hiring and retention being dependent on EL student numbers. Dr. Sturridge expressed this most plainly: “the number of teachers is based on the population.” In other words, EL support is dependent on the number of students rather than the actual needs of the students. Henderson’s de facto policies resulted in a hybrid programmatic model of sheltered instruction blended with structured English immersion.

Programming

De facto policies and programs, those that originate through practice, manifested at Henderson High School through a hybridized model, that blended elements of sheltered instruction with structured English immersion (Genesee & Boyson, 1999; TN Department of Education, 2017). Thus, EL students receive sheltered services for a portion of the day while also being immersed in the regular school population and coursework. Mrs. Milner emphasized that the sheltered blocks serve to reinforce learning from those content-based classes, as well as to develop their language mastery. Moreover, Mrs. Milner highlighted that the sheltered groups are organized according to student language level, stating, “we have newcomers beginners, intermediate advanced, I’m already subdividing them into three classes, because those are the available blocks

that I have.” Here, EL students are immersed in regular courses while still receiving a targeted sheltered EL block. However, it is critical to remember that these programmatic decisions are also tied to staffing and EL student numbers, as Dr. Sturridge identified when asked about Henderson’s EL program “because of numbers, there's just one EL, ESL specialist” which means Mrs. Milner is essentially responsible for these students, supporting their coursework, and their language acquisition because staffing is not available to offer additional services. While staffing and student numbers seem to limit services, Mr. Tovar highlighted that this is also a strength at Henderson and other schools within the district because “there's a lot of autonomy at the building level to do some of that work. And we, as a district, really try to work with our administrators to give some of that flex.” In other words, Mrs. Milner is given the freedom to determine which programmatic models best fit Henderson’s EL students’ needs and which best supports them. Moreover, through Henderson’s commitment to the SIOP model, Mrs. Milner has been able to influence the ad hoc, or daily, policies and practices of her colleagues.

Practices

The ad hoc policies, or daily classroom level policies and practices, at Henderson High School were conceived and oriented through the SIOP model and its eight components, coupled with individualized support and accommodations through ELlevation. While my analysis incorporated Garcia and Sylvan’s (2011) practices as a thematic frame, there were still several occurrences of overlap between these two. Specifically, SIOP’s Lesson preparation and Building background components encompass Garcia and Sylvan’s (2011) concepts of learner centered classrooms and heterogeneity and singularities in plurality, meaning teachers building background and

preparing lessons understand that each EL student is at a different developmental level and stage of language acquisition than their peers, even though they may be the same age and speak the same native language (Vogt, Echevarria, & Short, 2016). Additionally, SIOP's components of Strategies, Interactions, Practice and Application, and Lesson delivery all mirror Garcia and Sylvan's (2011) concepts of collaboration among faculty, collaboration among students, language and content integration, local autonomy, and experiential learning (Vogt, Echevarria, & Short, 2016). Finally, SIOP's review and assessment component incorporates similar concepts to Garcia and Sylvan's (2011) notion of plurilingualism from the students up.

The emphasis of the SIOP components on framing daily practices was reiterated throughout each interview and demonstrated through student supports, schedules, and artifacts all constructed around these components. Mr. Tovar highlighted this initiative and commitment saying "we've implemented SIOP, kind of train the trainer models" districtwide. Mrs. Poe reiterated this commitment to development and training, indicating that between SIOP and ELLevation she had "done a ton of training, I think I've trained over 2400 teachers since January of this year." The impact of this training was communicated by Mrs. Milner who repeatedly mentioned the collaborative work done amongst the staff to best serve their ELs. Specifically, Mrs. Milner recalled a collaborative experience with her science department: "I said send me a lesson and I went through it and manually chunked the text and broke it down into graphic organizers for the students and said: you can do this with any of your content." Mrs. Milner also mentioned that with all classroom content teachers she sends them individual accommodations through ELLevation, stating that "with ELLevation, I can go in and pull

up strategies and assign them to a child so that the teacher can log in and see that.” These strategies and collaborative efforts encompass several of Garcia and Sylvan’s (2011) concepts, specifically collaboration among staff, language and content integration, learner centered classrooms, and fosters an awareness to heterogeneity and singularities in plurality. Finally, the ad hoc policies and practices that manifested at the classroom level, also prioritized the SIOP component of review and assessment, which shared similarities with Garcia and Sylvan’s (2011) concept of plurilingualism from the students up, where EL students are provided control over their individual language goals and trajectory for their language development.

Discussion

In conducting a systematic review of EL policy from the BEA up through ESSA and policy today, it became blatantly clear that US EL policy has oscillated between bilingualism and support for students first language and culture, and the English-only and English acquisition agenda, due to political shifts and the agendas those shifts brought with them. When framed this way, the development of US EL policy occurs not through research-based findings but rather according to the priorities of those in power, with occasional concessions coerced through court decisions, such as *Lau v. Nichol* and *Castañeda v. Pickard*. Moreover, by contextualizing language policy in two very contrasting settings, the benefits of a bilingual orientation, as well as the flexibility of funding and increased local autonomy seen in the UK, revealed that EL education and support in the US is more often restricted by policy, resources, and funding, rather than by student ability, teacher practices, or school shortcomings.

Benefits of Bilingual Policy and Limitations of English-Only

At the UK secondary academy, I witnessed as a bilingual and strength-based orientation successfully supported ELs due to systems of monitoring, communication, and intervention. Moreover, when framed by McClelland's Theory of Need's (2009), ELs were provided access to achievement, affiliation, and power within the academy. In this context, ELs were provided an outlet to retain their first language, their home culture, and their family in relation to the academy. Prior to stepping foot in a classroom, all EAL students and their families are invited into the academy to meet with administration and the EAL instructor. During these meetings, previous academic records are analyzed so that student's educational experience can be ascertained, and strategic plans can be developed. This initial conference, mirrors sentiments expressed by Dr. Sturridge and Mrs. Trent, who both emphasized that bilingual concessions would allow them to better understand their students, especially their newcomers, by identifying their academic level and strengths. While this conversation is informal and collaborative in nature, families, students, and academy faculty are all invited to deliver input. This initial conference affiliates the students, their family, and their language with the academy by presenting the academy as a space where these components are welcome, appreciated, and will be utilized to generate their academic orientation. The bilingual orientation of the academy's policy also creates an outlet for affiliation by providing access to materials, resources, and supports in the EAL student's first language. Through the access to resources and supports in the student's first language, their sense of affiliation and belonging to their previous education and culture is sustained even in this novel setting, rather than stifled and negated completely, like with English-only orientations and policies. Which echoes

sentiments espoused by Mr. Tovar, who, when referencing the impact of English-only policy on newcomers stated, “I think what happens is that we really ask our kiddos to focus on the English only component and we lose aspects of what they bring to the table in terms of that language in terms of that culture.” For the UK academy, their ELs and their language needs are framed as a “strength and . . . EAL students have a valuable contribution to make” (Secondary Academy Website, 2019), whereas for Mr. Tovar, English-only policy is “designed to really I guess, push the agenda of ensuring that our folks have English proficiency potentially at the at the cost of losing all of those other aspects of that particular child.” This stark juxtaposition of policy and experience, conveys the nefarious impact of English-only policy against the benefits of a bilingual policy, which was also captured when systematically reviewing literature and research on EL policy.

Gandara (2015), thoroughly documented research on language acquisition and the benefits of bilingual instruction, citing the comprehensive studies conducted by Genesee, Saunders, Christian, and Lindholm-Leary (2008), Slavin and Cheung (2005), and Umansky and Reardon (2014), all of whom concluded that bilingual programs better serve ELs, but these findings do not reflect the current nomenclature or orientation of language policy and programs. Research has also demonstrated that bilingual dual language programs, those that enroll ELs and non-ELs simultaneously, not only facilitate language acquisition for all students involved, but they also alleviate concerns about ELs being segregated from their peers and create more holistic learning experiences (Gandara & Orfield, 2010; Genesee & Gandara, 1999). Here, language English-only policy directly contradicts research even though ESSA (2015) stressed evidence-based approaches to

every aspect of education. However, states continue to utilize English-only policies and stress rapid English acquisition despite these findings, and despite the perspectives of administrators and teachers.

Research or Resources?

Another stark contrast between the US and UK case studies, and another factor discovered through the systematic review, was the influence of funding on policy and policy implementation. Since the UK academy had recently transitioned into a multi-academy trust, it meant that funding would now be pooled between those partnered schools. The EAL teacher explained this very straightforwardly, “I haven't really needed to buy any resources recently . . . our EAL money comes from a central pot now.” Here, the EAL teacher acknowledged that recently resources had become more readily available due to this shared funding and emphasized that funding often goes directly towards tutor services, EMTAS trainings, and individual student supports as needed. Moreover, the EAL teacher noted that this transition fostered better collaboration between schools in the trust, because they were sharing funds rather than competing for them; meaning, they could now amalgamate needs or issues from two academies to receive EMTAS or other professional development trainings to address those needs and issues. Whereas at Henderson High School, funding was mentioned by all participants as being an inhibiting factor to fully supporting their ELs, because their funding is explicitly intertwined with student numbers rather than student needs. Dr. Sturridge said this most succinctly, “the number of teachers is based on the population.” Furthermore, Mrs. Poe, who is working on initiating co-teaching across the district, mentioned one of greatest inhibitors of this training has been a lack of adequate staffing and funding to implement

co-teaching with fidelity at each school. Mrs. Poe mentioned that she would “love” to get Mrs. Milner trained through the co-teaching model, but the lack of adequate staffing at Henderson means they won’t receive co-teaching training until EL student numbers rise and more funding, and thus, more staffing become available. The issue of funding also arose through the systematic review of EL policy.

While the 1974 reauthorization, and its impact offered the prospect of what bilingual education might be: programs structured around immersive, culturally inclusive classrooms with native language supports, and research dedicated to the improvement and betterment of EL services, this prospect was short-lived, as an economic downturn would strip funding from education and facilitate conservative amendments to BEA (Crawford, 1998; Epstein, 1977; Gandara, 2015; Halperin, 1975; Leibowitz, 1980; Petrzela, 2010; Schneider, 1976; Stewner-Manzanares, 1988; Superfine, 2013; Teitelbaum & Hiller, 1977; Wiese & Garcia, 1998). In fact, even in 1975, Halperin indicated that the funding across the separate titles of ESEA, including BEA, lacked continuity and the simple truth that funding was inadequate, highlighting that the research labs proposed in Title III were barely operating and they had “no real resources to move their investments from product development into large-scale classroom practice” (p. 9). Moreover, Halperin (1975) identified the blossoming disconnect between policy and authentic empirical research, as research funding and investment had already begun to be reduced. Here, less than 10 years after the approval of BEA, funding was already falling below the apportioned amount and being reduced. This trend continued across conservative reauthorizations and culminated in NCLB, where EL services and programs transitioned to being an inhibitor of funding, as low scores and a lack of progress resulted

in restricted funding and punitive measures (Abedi, 2004; Abedi et al., 2015; Gandara, 2015; Haertel, 2007; Menken, 2008; Menken, 2010).

Local Autonomy

A final consideration that emerged in both case studies as well as in the systematic review was the emphasis on local autonomy and control. For the secondary academy, the transition to a multi-academy trust advanced local autonomy, as they reconstructed their language policy and how they would support their EL students while fully immersed within the academy. Moreover, interventions, trainings, and initiatives were also placed under their control, meaning the secondary academy could determine what professional developments and professional supports were most needed and would best serve their student body. However, at Henderson High School, and under English-only policy, Mr. Tovar mentioned recent shifts in policy had provided some flexibility in terms of local control and autonomy, but he also went on to say that “I come from two states that are bilingual states. So it's been a huge shift for me in terms of mindset. And how I'll just, I'll speak frankly, how limiting the English only component is here.” While Mr. Tovar admits Henderson and his district have the freedom to determine the most efficacious programs and practices to serve their ELs, the influence of English-only policy is still restricting their ability to support and educate their EL students. This minimal concession of autonomy or control in US EL policy also emerged in the systematic review.

ESSA (2015) took gradual steps towards ameliorating the concerns and issues created by NCLB. ESSA (2015) incorporated assessment flexibility and provided schools more autonomy to select programs and interventions catered to their specific population;

two reactive amendments rooted in the findings confirmed by the Working Group on ELL Policy (Hopkins et al., 2013). However, these concessions were minimal, and the assessment flexibility stipulated in ESSA, diverges significantly from the formative assessments recommended by Hopkins et al. (2013). Moreover, this same group strongly advised against the continuation of English-only policy, but that recommendation was not amended to ESSA (2015).

Implications of the Study

This study has implications for policy, research, and practice because it explored policy implementation historically, as well as in two very international and contrasting settings facing similar challenges and circumstances.

Policy

This study has significant implications for future policy. Specifically, when creating policy in reference to EL students and families, bilingual frameworks generate a more inclusive, holistic, and individualized approach to language acquisition and achievement, and in the US case study, each participant advocated for this amendment to their current English-only policy, especially for their newcomers. While bilingual programs and endeavors tend to meet resistance due to diverse language needs and a lack of funding, this study suggests that nonetheless, bilingual policy orientations are not only supported by research on language acquisition, but are also the methods that schools, administrators, and teachers are requesting domestically. When determining their EL policy at the secondary academy, the only approach considered among the staff and leadership teams, was a bilingual orientation, and this commitment was evinced through the collaborative networks created there. Finally, this study highlights the necessity of

developing feedback mechanisms along with policy, so that stakeholders, administrators, teachers, and all involved parties have the means to analyze, assess, and modify policy. This process might elucidate the most efficacious policies in reference to specific populations and specific contexts. In other words, state departments partnered with state institutions and districts might produce a potential feedback mechanism through regular, rigorous, and repeated research on policy and its implementation so that, just as schools are tasked with constant and continual improvement, so too is policy.

Research

This study has implications for future research on EL learners, programs, teachers, administrators, and policy. For researchers, the application of Srivastava and Thomson's (2009) framework analysis, when intentionally coupled with a critical case study design, offered a pragmatic approach to assessing the extent of current research and theory via a priori thematic frames. In addition, the application of McClelland's Theory of Needs (2009) to different educational spaces instigates the intersection of power and affiliation within those spaces, two components that are often absent in empirical research. Moreover, when working with marginalized groups, like second language learners, it is critical to understanding how power dynamics, affiliation, and alienation impact these populations across different settings. In the third article, framework analysis further demonstrated its capacity to contextualize, diagnosis, and evaluate policy according to the individuals enacting and implementing policy. If policy is to guide states, districts, administrators, teachers, and education at large, then the effects of and manifestations of policy need to be explored, analyzed, defined, and assessed regularly through those same individuals to provide substantive feedback on that policy, and

framework analysis afforded the measures to do so. Thus, through this pairing, researchers might further evaluate policy and elucidate policy implementation in different regions, contexts, and with different populations to create a more comprehensible and comprehensive depiction of policy implementation and effectiveness. Finally, this study implies that future research conducted with policy implementation also investigate the extent and forms of training provided to support and enact that policy. While this study sought to explore how policy related to programs and practices, what became clear was the absence of explicit training on policy implementation, as Dr. Sturridge, Mr. Tovar, Mrs. Poe, and Mrs. Milner all expressed that their familiarity with policy came from their own agency and perusing state handbooks and guides individually and independently, rather than any state sanctioned training or professional development. If schools are to be tasked with official state requirements, then state departments must provide more than handbooks and documents to elucidate the enactment of those requirements, and research into policy implementation training could indicate if this was an anomaly at Henderson High School or if other schools, administrators, and teachers are experiencing a similar lack of support and guidance.

Practice

A major implication this study offers to educational leaders, administrators, and teachers is developing the way in which EL students are educated according to local contextual considerations. All too often EL students are placed in remedial courses and on remedial tracks, or only receive EL coursework and services for the entire duration of their school day. At Henderson High School EL students were educated in a hybridized model to meet and serve their specific needs, and the district supported these

programmatic decisions. Henderson's sheltered instruction blocks blended with structured English immersion allowed for ELs to develop their language acquisition while also engaging with the mainstream student body and regular coursework. Whereas, at the secondary academy ELs were immersed within the most rigorous language courses available and achieved within these spaces when provided adequate supports and resources. Schools with a similar population might emulate this orientation for their EL students. This study also highlighted the impact the SIOP model, and its components can have across a school, particularly when paired with a data repository such as ELLevation. This study identified that the SIOP model, when implemented schoolwide with fidelity, it not only mirrors Garcia and Sylvan's (2011) best practices for ELs, but it can also help support and sustain language acquisition as well as content mastery. Finally, an implication for practice is the impact networks and systems of communication have when working with EAL students. At the secondary academy, developing systems of direct communication, outlets for feedback, and proactive planning with students and families, educators were consistently monitor student achievement and language acquisition. Moreover, this communication system might offer a potential space to develop parental English acquisition programs and support, a need according to Dr. Sturridge.

Recommendations for Future Studies

This study sought to trace the history of EL policy to gauge its impact on education for ELs, as well as to articulate the factors that led to policy developments and modifications. This study also assessed and explored EL policy in context to better understand how that policy impacts programs and practices in two distinct, contrasting, and international spaces. For future researchers looking to assess and explore policy both

historically and in context, I would strongly recommend commencing research by conducting a historical or systematic review of that policy. While interviewing US participants, having this historical knowledge of policy available streamlined our conversations because I was familiar with the specifics of that policy and the caveats referred to by participants. Additionally, I would recommend incorporating a comparative case study approach because policy implementation and policy impact are traditionally described as a nebulous and muddled process (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Dye, 1978; Gandara, 2015; Gandara & Hopkins, 2010; Gershberg et al., 2004; Lingard, 2011; Menken, 2010; Roach, et al., 2011). Thus, having multiple sites and cases could potentially further validate findings across multiple school sites, provide contrasting findings, or offer measures for richer description and depth of analysis with that policy. Finally, for future researchers looking to assess or evaluate policy, I would recommend Srivastava and Thomson's (2009) framework analysis because it offers a pragmatic approach to analyzing and assessing policy in context and according to the individuals implementing that policy. Additionally, if researchers are looking to test or assess current research theory, I would recommend pairing framework analysis with a critical case study design because the a priori thematic frames can serve as theoretical postulations to be assessed and analyzed, much like they did in the 3rd article of this study.

Concluding Thoughts

In the U.S. context, this study highlighted the influence political factions, and their agendas have on policy and policy development. In exploring EL policy and its impact historically, concurrently, and internationally, it became blatantly clear that in the U.S. policy tended to oscillate between bilingual and English-only approaches according

to the political party in power, rather than through innovations, findings, and implications evinced from empirical research. While ESSA (2015) stressed evidence-based approaches to every aspect of education, and specifically focused on ELs as one of the five accountability indicators, EL students, EL teachers, and EL programs are still being stifled by English-only policy. While research has emphasized the benefits of bilingual approaches, this study identified that in an English-only state, participants reiterated the value and necessity of this approach as feedback for that policy. If educational policy is to exist outside the whims of political parties, their agendas, and their actors, then research rooted in the expertise of local educators must serve as the bridge to ameliorate this oscillation and the nefarious influence of political agendas and actors. Moreover, by partnering state institutions and organizations with districts, collaborative initiatives and projects could not only generate organic contemporary feedback on policy and its impact but could also elucidate the specific nuances of policy implementation, identify effective programs and practices for implementation, and provide states with more efficacious measures for policy training. In this orientation, as schools improve and refine their practices and programs, research might identify and articulate these, simultaneously improving and refining policy as well.

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APPENDIX

Appendix 1 – Article 1

Appendix 1a – 1st Stage Codebook Excerpt

In Vivo Code	Timeframe	Policy development/impact
“resources for educational programs”	BEA	Impact – specific materials/items/funding for ELs
“no real resources”	78-84	Impact -lack of actual supports for ELs in schools
“progress of ELs toward proficiency”	ESSA	Development – stipulation added to include growth for progress indication; no longer standardized score comparison to peers

Appendix 1b – 2nd Stage Codebook Excerpt

Key Word/Thematic Code	Definition	In-vivo root codes
ESEA & BEA: the Liberal Front	First federal policy – significant development and moderate impact due to ambiguity	“Financial Assistance to Local Educational Agencies for the Education of Children of Low-Income Families” - “development and dissemination of materials” – “intentionally vague in its goals and purposes”

1978-1984: the Conservative Counter	Shift from bilingual – English focus – significant development and impact	“no real resources” - “limited English proficiency” – “languages other than English were seen as a problem”
NCLB & ESSA: Accountability & English Acquisition	Most recent policies – significant development and impact	“adequate yearly progress” - “progress of ELs toward proficiency” - “Language Instruction for Limited English Proficient (LEP) and Immigrant Students” – “policy changes ... restrict the educational opportunities available”

Appendix 2 – Article 2

Appendix 2a – 1st Stage Codebook Excerpt

In Vivo Code	Definition	Relevance
“very multilingual”	Academy’s experience with EAL pop.	Highlights tradition of multilingualism – goes on to list countries – to be referenced regularly later.
“a lot of support – differentiation & scaffolding”	How academy interprets & implements policy	Emphasis on individual student and their level
“meeting that level of need at that moment”	Individual implementation & time-sensitive - monitoring	3 rd time student needs have come up – early in conversation (4:18 timestamp).

Appendix 2b – 2nd Stage Codebook Excerpt

Provisional Code	Definition	In-vivo root codes
Student Centered Supports (power)	Student requested & directed supports – as per their demand	“one to one with devices” – “Google translate” – “visual/pictorial timetable”- “work for that particular child”
Multilingual & Bilingual Tradition (affiliation)	History of languages & home language support – integration	“very multilingual” – “Pakistan, Portugal, France, Lithuania, etc.” - “growing & growing every year” – “encourage the home language”

Student Inclusion (affiliation & achievement)	Program orientation – inclusion across academy & within classrooms	“put them in regular classes straight away” – “timetables for all regular classes” – “English being modeled at its highest level” – “experiencing English that is correct”
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Appendix 3 – Article 3

Appendix 3a – 1st Stage Codebook Excerpt

In Vivo Code	Definition	Relevance
“compliance standards”	State and federal legal requirements	When first probed on policy – immediate response is framed by state/federal requirements of that policy.
“Sheltered instruction”	How academy supports ELs directly	EL programmatic form – ELs meet with Mrs. Milner for specific/set block
“collaborative reader sheets”	Individualized SIOP support	One of the practices/supports Mrs. Milner uses and provides to colleagues

Appendix 3b – 2nd Stage Codebook Excerpt

Domain	Definition	In-vivo root codes
Policy	De jure – fixed policy	“compliance standards” - “Service time”- “percentage of growth met”
Program	De facto programs	“Sheltered instruction” - “structured content immersion”
Practice	SIOP model + classroom practices	“SIOP practices” - “collaborative reader

		sheets” – “hands on activities”
Policy Evaluation/Feedback	Pro Bilingual	“bilingual education ... greater benefit to the newcomers” – “personal philosophy ... goes against what the state requires” – “English-only is very limiting”

Appendix 3c – 3rd Stage Codebook Excerpt

A priori frame	Domain	Relationship
Coercive, mimetic, and normative isomorphic policy (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Roach, et al., 2011) de jure, de facto, and ad hoc policies (Gershberg et al., 2013; Menken, 2008)	Policy	Isomorphic policy – de jure policies - de facto programs & ad hoc practices
6 Program Alternatives (Genesee & Boyson, 1999; TN Department of Education, 2017)	Program	Influence of de jure on de facto programs & EL numbers (hybrid model)

8 practices (Garcia & Sylvan, 2011)	Practice	Emphasis on SIOP model and 8 components – encompasses 6 of G & Syl's practices
Contextual – diagnostic – evaluative – strategic (Srivastava & Thomson, 2009)	Policy Feedback	Mostly evaluative & contextual – see Mrs. Poe + Mrs. Milner + Mr. Tovar (strategic)

VITA

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