BILINGUAL EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES:
AN ANALYSIS OF THE CONVERGENCE OF POLICY, THEORY AND RESEARCH

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Bilingual education policy in the United States public school system has a long-standing social and political history plagued by a forty-year debate about its goals and effectiveness. Policy has been informed by theory aimed at identifying best methods to provide English instruction to English Language Learners (ELLs), and research on bilingual education program effectiveness. However, perceptions about language based on cultural and political values have also played a considerable role, and fuel the national debate. On one side of this debate, critics argue bilingual education hinders ELLs' ability to assimilate and rapidly acquire the dominant language of the US. Proponents of bilingual education, on the other hand, see it as an enrichment program, benefiting both ELLs and native English speakers cognitively and politically within an increasingly globalized context. This study examines the forces (second language acquisition theory in bilingual education, research on program effectiveness, the history of bilingual education policy-making, and the influence of language ideology) comprising bilingual education, with the outcome being twofold. The first is to dispel common misperceptions perpetuated within the debate about bilingual education by unearthing the multiplicities of it through qualitative reviews of each component lending itself to the phenomenon. Second, to illustrate how policy-making is encompassed by language ideologies as evidenced particularly within bilingual education policy shifts over the past forty-years. The reviews in this study are designed to provide policy-makers and educators with a comprehensive account of bilingual education to improve and inform decision making about its future. The findings of these analyses suggest ideologically founded policy have led to legislation lacking alignment with theory and research demonstrating evidence of bilingual education program effectiveness.

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1. CHAPTER I

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The Bilingual Education Act (BEA) of 1968 was the federal government's first attempt of drafting and implementing comprehensive legislation to address the influx of limited English proficient students in the US public school system. Built upon a civil rights agenda generated from the legal, social, and economic equality extended in 1964 Civil Rights legislation, the Act drove federal funds to school districts serving an abounding number of linguistic minorities for the establishment of English language assistance programs. The legislation provided this targeted population access to English, and thus the general education curricula. It did not, however, explicitly require the use of students' native language in any programs designed with such aims, nor did it provide guidelines for establishing said programs. The Act was upheld by a host of landmark court cases, the preceding Equal Educational Opportunity Act of 1974, and the federal Office of Civil Rights' role in monitoring schools' adherence to regulations pertaining to the legislation.

Since its inception; however, and until 2001, the Act has been reauthorized on five occasions due to a variety of social, political, and economic factors. For instance, broadly setting the backdrop of the succeeding years of the 1968 Act were partisan administrations, varying brands of education reform, federally funded research blanketed in the gamut of paradigms, and the integration of national economies as an outgrowth of developments in communication, immigration, and technologies. With so many advances in research, globalization, as well as an expanding

awareness of a need for evidenced-based policy making[1]; ongoing public debate about the purpose and validity of bilingual education has emerged at the forefront of policy-making concerning English Language Learners (Crawford, 2004, Baker, 2006).

As political and educational goals unfolded during the forty-year history of bilingual education policy-making, shifts in legislation have arguably reflected sociopolitical determination shaped by a variety of factors, but most visibly, language ideologies. Such ideologies have influenced the nature and direction of second language acquisition and bilingual education theories, as well as research designed to inform policy-making. This presumption is reasonably evidenced by the sociopolitical circumstances of the Act's six reauthorizations in which policy shifted from an English centric orientation in the 1960s to a multicultural initiative in the 1980s and then rescinded again to an English-only policy in the 1990s and at the dawn of the twenty-first century. The last reauthorization has been exemplified in politically galvanized undertakings by select states to eradicate bilingual education, even as the federal government simultaneously states the need to enhance multilingual skills among citizens to prepare for global industry, to provide services to a diverse society, and to address global conflicts (Shaver, 2005, O'Connell & Norwood, 2007, GAO, "Upcoming reports"). These policy shifts are to some degree based on an affirmative reaction to the poor educational outcomes of language minority students. However, it is also fair to suggest that perceptions and attitudes of language based on culture and politics (language ideology) has likewise been a significant driver of these policy shifts. The sociopolitical backdrop of the forty-year history of the BEA evokes the question: Is what is known about the evidence produced by second language acquisition (SLA) theory and bilingual education research, concealed by language ideology that influences the politics of language policy designed for ELLs?

It is with this question in mind, and the sociopolitical context of bilingual education policy-making described, that I propose a successful educational experience for English Language

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[1] No Child Left Behind legislation calls for schools to base programs on "scientifically based research" and "reliable evidence". See US Department of Education, Proven Methods.

Learners (ELLs) is recurrently mitigated by the gap between bilingual education second language acquisition theory, policy, and research. Moreover, miscarried implementation of policies aligning with said theory and research providing evidence of success, accentuate what I term the "policy problem". The misalignment of these three components of bilingual education, along with the influences of ideology, have augmented the proliferation of underachievement among ELLs, misinformation about program effectiveness and second language acquisition, and ineffectual solutions to prevent such consequences. Throughout this dissertation, second language acquisition theory in bilingual education, policy-making, and research are explored in literature reviews. Tenets of qualitative research are utilized as a method of analysis, to provide policy makers and educators a comprehensive account of the complexities of bilingual education and why it has been a largely ineffective policy and practice in the US public school system. By way of these analyses, I close by examining whether and how ideological assumptions about the role of language in the US public school system drive language policy and planning, as well as how policy is built upon the factors identified. In doing this, I also investigate the level of regard for prevailing second language acquisition theory and research in today's bilingual education policy and planning for ELLs.

1.1.1   What is under Study

This dissertation examines the current state of bilingual education in the US and the breadth of evidence (SLA/bilingual education theory and research) it is founded on to unearth the complexities of the bilingual education phenomenon. There is a growing trend in the US of addressing language minority students' lack of English proficiency through English-only policy. Informed by language ideologies sustaining common misperceptions about bilingual education, program availability and treatment, and/or misrepresented research about the effectiveness of bilingual education, the Bilingual Education Act (now a component of the No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB)), as it moves towards an English centered policy, is illustrative of this trend.

A search within EBSCO and ERIC, two academic research databases providing text for more than 4,500 journals representing a multitude of disciplines exhibited a plethora of reviews and studies within the past ten or so years (contextualized within US bilingual education policy) measuring the "effectiveness" of bilingual education programs (Alanis & Rodriguez, 2008, Sung & Chang, 2008, Rolstad et. al. 2005a, 2005b, Thomas & Collier, 2002); a lesser number of reviews providing an analysis of current bilingual education legislation (Li 2007, Ovando, 2003, Crawford, 2004); few reviews examining the affects of language ideologies on policies and research (Ovando, 2003, Flores & Murillo, 2001, Gonzalez, 2001, Kloss 1998 [1977], Ricento & Burnaby, 1998, Garcia & Torres-Guevara, 2010); even far less reviews examining second language acquisition and bilingual education theory and policy (Stritikus & Garcia, 2003, Cummins, 1991); and a minimal number of reviews addressing how all three factors are impacted by language ideologies (Johnson, 2005; Gonzalez, 2001[2]). While there are few studies within the past ten years examining the convergence of theory, policy and research and the role of ideology, the available reviews and studies do however, suggest a common theme— we (i.e. policy makers and educators) have not found a means to adequately address the bilingual education phenomenon. There is a dearth of sufficient studies explicitly examining the convergence of all three components of the phenomenon and how these components have culminated into the poor outcomes seen among English Language Learners and bilingual education practice guided by policy imposed upon the public school system. If English Language Learners are to actively engage in and contribute to a largely English speaking society in a country that also aspires to participate in a multilingual world market place, it behooves policy makers and the general public to understand the history of policy-making, language acquisition theories, and research guiding bilingual education; as well as the ideologies that drive policy and planning, to improve decision-making about its structure and implementation.

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[2] Gonzalez (2001) edits a collection of essays that separately address different areas of bilingual education history, theory, and policy and how language ideology impacts these areas to varying degrees.

The purpose of this dissertation is not to suggest a solution to the bilingual education "policy problem," a task that would require far more than this investigation will offer. More importantly it is to set the foundation for such a task by developing an understanding of the many facets shaping bilingual education policy and planning in the US educational system. In this respect, this study tells a story about how, why, and under what circumstances the bilingual education phenomenon has unfolded.

In this study I explore the elements comprising the three major components of bilingual education (SLA/bilingual education theory, the history of bilingual education policy-making and research), and the impact of language ideologies. As Carspecken (1996) and others have suggested, research is rarely value free. Thus while I utilize a qualitative methodology, this analysis is vigilant of the delineation of systems of relations among social structures, culture, and individuals' decision-making within those social structures as manifested through language ideology. This type of inquiry places emphasis on the relationship between social structures (like educational policy) and the ideological patterns of thought contributing to the perceived failures of bilingual education. The qualitative approach positions the researcher at an etic standpoint that places the phenomenon within political and social assumptions that draw attention to how actions are limited by constraints within the system. I believe this to be a context well suited for the ideological assumptions associated with bilingual education, along with the study's aim to work through the complexities that have led to the inadequate education provided to one of the most disadvantaged, yet fastest growing populations in the public school system.

Through this method of inquiry, the third chapter of this dissertation will examine the existing knowledge about second language acquisition within bilingual education and key scholars' influence on bilingual education programs in the US public school system during its forty-year history. The fourth chapter introduces the foundation of the Bilingual Education Act and the input factors paving its political course over four decades. The nearly forty years of research that supports this trend— federally funded research, often reflecting politics and ideology, (along with subsequent research

from select studies challenging that work), is reviewed in the following chapter. The research reviewed examines the effectiveness question and what the evidence says about the viability of bilingual education. The sixth chapter of this study examines how the components of the bilingual education phenomenon amount to a system of relations influenced by language ideologies.

1.1.2. Questions

1. What central theories and scholars have influenced SLA/bilingual education theories and programs over the past forty years?

2. When and how have policy shifts occurred throughout the forty-year history of the Bilingual Education Act?

3. What has forty years of research indicated about the effectiveness of bilingual education programs designed to serve ELLs?

4. How are language ideologies manifested through theory, research and policy affecting the course of bilingual education in the United States?

1.1.3. About English Language Learners in US Public Schools

English Language Learners (ELLs) have significantly altered the landscape of public education in the United States. According to the National Clearinghouse for English Language Acquisition, just over the past decade (1998-2008) the number of ELLs in US public schools has increased 53%, while the PK-12 student population has only grown by 8% (NCELA, "The growing numbers"). Comprising the fasted growing public school student population in the country due to circumstances including legal immigration, admission of refugees fleeing native lands, and illegal entrants; ELLs, a group also referred to as Limited English Proficient (LEP) students, are predicted to constitute 40 percent of the school age population in 2030 (Collier & Thomas, 2002, ¶1, US General Accounting Office, US Census Bureau). While students from Spanish speaking countries embody 80% of all

ELLs in US public schools, (representing the most widespread population of ELLs), other ELL students in US public schools counting Vietnamese, Hmong, and Cantonese, some of the more sizeable groups for example, are also largely present (OELA, 2008, Loeffler, 2005, Kindler, 2002). Today more than 400 different languages and dialects are spoken by ELL students in the US public school system (OELA, 2008, Kindler, 2002).

Deriving from many different socioeconomic backgrounds, ELLs arrive in the US with countless linguistic resources stretching across the continuum of bilingualism. Researchers and educators have found that competency in a second language is not simply "knowing" or being able to speak that language, which makes labeling ELLs as either bilingual or monolingual ineffective in delineating their skill level. As Skutnabb- Kangas and McCarty (2006) point out, there are two competing views informing research on literacy and second language acquisition among ELLs. One would suggest that learning a language is an autonomous activity independent of social context and requiring direct instruction and scripted programs. The other view is ideologically founded and brands second language acquisition as a social engagement requiring interaction with other language users and the aptitude to adapt within language contexts. Colin (2007), in his review of ELLs' proficiencies, further builds upon this concept by noting bilingualism is reflected within a scale of skill levels in two areas: a) reading and writing, skills he refers to as "competencies," and b) listening and speaking, skills described as "abilities".

In addition to the differentiation of skill levels measurable among ELLs, the dilemma of educating students who speak a language other than English differ among language groups, and incorporate numerous variables both internal and external to the school environment. Some of these dilemmas emerge as an outcome of ELLs' academic readiness to begin school in the US at age- and grade-level, their extent of access to linguistic resources outside the school, or other external factors beyond a school's reach.

ELLs, for example, begin attending US public schools anywhere between kindergarten and twelfth grade with varying levels of formal education and language competency and ability in their

native and/or second language. This makes it difficult for these students and their educators to navigate the system. Other generalities about this population of students become visible within the degree and function of their language skills. Of those ELLs who are immigrants in the US, some begin school with limited or interrupted schooling in their native country due to political or cultural obstacles. These students at times lack reading competency and speaking ability in both their native language and the English language (Short & Fitzsimmons, 2007). Other ELLs attending public schools have very strong academic and language backgrounds from their native country, but may be short of the types of English proficiencies described by Colin (2007). And yet, there are still other ELLs, born and raised in the US, and exposed to the English language, North American culture, and the US public school system at an early stage in life, who often face the same barriers hindering the educational progress of their immigrant counterparts. Three of four ELLs in the elementary grade levels can be characterized within these latter circumstances, repealing the notion ELLs are largely foreign-born (Capps et. al., 2005). Most ELLs (76% elementary and 56% secondary students) are in fact US citizens (Capps et. al., 2005). ELLs born and raised in the US are commonly children of first generation immigrants. These students often derive in bilingual households and communities where English is just one of the languages spoken, leaving ELL students little access to the larger US cultural context, and academic and language support in English.   Very few of the ELLs that can be categorized within one of these social contexts are English proficient as per academic and language proficiency standards established by states across the country.

The affects of these generalities were evidenced in 2009 National Assessment of Education Progress (NAEP) data showing the average score of eighth grade Limited English Proficient (LEP/ELL) students below "basic" (NAEP, 2009). Due to the often inadequate, or simply

unavailable support, legions of these students underperform on English only assessments measuring ELLs' outcomes against the norm of their native English-speaking counterparts.[3]

ELLs poor outcomes in standardized tests has had a damaging social affect, as this student population is three times more likely to drop out of school compared to their native English speaking counter parts (Orfield et. al, 2004; Short & Fitzsimmons, 2007). What's more, a substantial number of ELLs attend low wealth school districts serving a myriad of other disadvantaged students with access to fewer material and human resources (Orfield et. al 2004; Cosentino de Cohen et. al., 2005). In fact, 70 percent of ELLs are enrolled in school districts that employ a significant number of teachers holding provisional or temporary certificates compared to their native English-speaking counterparts. Such school systems are positioned as training grounds for new and inexperienced teachers who are also transient, undermining continuity (Consentino de Cohen et. al., 2005). As a result, English acquisition for ELLs is mitigated by many interconnected social, economic, internal and external variables, including access to a quality education.

1.1.4. Language Acquisition (Bilingual Education) Program Options

ELLs, with so many factors placing them at risk of academic failure, are not fairing well in US public schools. Over the past forty years a variety of terms have been established to describe the programs designed to assist these students, one of the most widely accepted term being "bilingual education." However, since the program's arrival in the US public school scene a host of other terms have been developed with the intent of framing the program within understandings aligning with a particular policy-making context, theory, or research reigning during a given era. Due to the term's affiliation with each component driving the phenomenon, "bilingual education" has been used to describe instructional approaches, as well as specific legal and philosophical efforts to address

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[3] Criterion testing that measures students' growth over time, and within a specific skill, area is infrequently utilized to measure ELLs English proficiency across the curriculum (Colin 2007).

the needs of ELLs. For instance, in the program's early history the term "bilingual education"

depicts both legislative efforts to promote English acquisition as a singular goal while at the same

time addressing civil rights.   Later in the twentieth-century, it describes programs aimed at teaching

bilingualism in both the native and target language to promote multiculturalism. The latter goal,

aligning with theoretical and researched based understandings about how language is learned,

emphasized the value of the native language in promoting self-esteem, and assisting in the transfer

of skills from the native language to the target language. However, as the twentieth-century came

to a close, the concept of bilingual education, incorporating instructional models comparable to or

based upon the originals, is referred to as "language acquisition programs," a term clearly denoting

the US public school systems' renewed goal— to teach English proficiency. So it is important to

understand bilingual education, be it identified in the literature as "language acquisition programs,"

"language instruction educational programs," or "English language proficiency programs," each

refer to the same variety of instructional models designed for ELLs. Throughout this dissertation I

utilize the terms "bilingual education" and "language acquisition programs" interchangeably when

referring to such program alternatives (or instructional models).

Just as there is a menu of terms describing bilingual education, there is also a full spectrum

of instructional programs designed to teach English proficiency to ELLs. The debate about bilingual

education is often minimized to a controversy concerning English-only programs versus a perceived

notion of bilingual education as a program in which students are taught for years in their native

language (L1) before the target language (L2) is introduced into the curriculum (Mora, "Identifying

Fallacious") . For this reason, it is important that audiences of this study be exposed to the range of

programs available to students with limited English proficiency.

Since the formation of the Bilingual Education Act in 1968, at least eight major English

acquisition program alternatives for educating ELLs have been developed and implemented across

the country. The language program alternatives can be classified within two categories: i)

developmental language programs (programs that support both the development of the native

language (L1) and target language, English (L2)); and ii) English language based programs; each category designed with the primary goal of teaching ELLs how to speak, read, write, and listen in the English language. Some developmental language programs also have a secondary goal of teaching bilingualism to both native English speakers and speakers of another language.

The umbrella terms used to describe the types of bilingual education programs available are generally accepted and applied across the literature.   The varying instructional services or programs falling under these terms are not, however, universally defined (Zehler et. al., 2003).   For the purpose of this dissertation, programs are defined based on the indicators provided in the US Department of Education Office of English Language Acquisition's Descriptive Study of Services to LEP Students[4]. These indicators include: i) the length of time required for ELLs to be enrolled in ELL/LEP services in order to reach English proficiency, and ii) the extent to which the native language is used as a component of instruction (Zehler et. al., 2003).

The US Department of Education Descriptive Study identifies three broad categories of instructional services for ELLs: 1) services featuring no instruction specifically designed for ELLs (ELLs receive little or no support in the native or target language), 2) services supporting regular instruction, and 3) services where content instruction *is* specifically designed for ELLs (Zehler et. al., 2003). Within these three categories, eight programs in total are identified. These programs range from mainstream instruction to instruction that extensively utilizes the native language of the ELL student to support content instruction.

Colin Baker (2006), in a more recent review of instructional services for ELLs, describes up to ten different programs that fall within the same three primary categories described in the US Department of Education Descriptive Study. His ten programs include the eight programs discussed within the Descriptive Study[5]. However, unlike Zehler et. al. (2003)[6], C. Baker's (2006)

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[4] The Office of English Language Acquisition examined services to LEP students in an updated (2009) study titled, Bilingual Education Programs in the United States Classrooms, though the program descriptions remained unchanged from the 2003 report.
[5] Chart A in this study is a modified version of the original chart of program types published in Zehler et. al. (2003) and includes the ten programs identified by C. Baker (2006).

notion of "extensive LEP services" includes only those program models that seek to establish bilingualism and biliteracy. Four program alternatives identified by C. Baker (2006) fall within the LEP service models considered developmental in that they provide instruction specifically designed for ELLS. These programs account for 17 percent of the language acquisition programs offered throughout US K-12 public school systems.   Such programs include: Immersion, Maintenance/Heritage Language, Two-Way/Dual Language, and Mainstream Bilingual (C. Baker, 2006). Developmental programs incorporate the native language into English based content and language instruction, though at varying degrees depending on the philosophical groundings of the program. Two-Way/Dual Language programs, for example, have a goal of simultaneously developing bilingualism and biliteracy among native English speakers and ELLs. This program typically provides 50 percent of instruction in the native language and the other 50 percent of instruction in the target language, English. Lindholm-Leary (2001) and Thomas and Collier's (2002) findings suggest this is one of the more effective bilingual education programs.

 According to C. Baker (2006), at least four program alternatives can be classified within the English language based model. These programs account for about 71 percent of the language acquisition programs outlined in the US Department of Education Descriptive Study (Zehler et. al., 2003). The primary goal of these programs is to teach rapid English acquisition through content and language arts delivered in the English language. As explained by Zehler et. al. (2003), instruction in these programs is designed to supplement regular instruction. Programs falling within this category provide anywhere from less than two percent of instruction in the native language to 25 percent of instruction in the native language.   The most common program within this model is known as transitional bilingual education (C. Baker, 2006). While instruction in these programs are delivered in English, tertiary support in students' native language may at times be provided through

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[6] Extensive LEP Services described by Zehler et. al. include those providing less than 2 percent of instruction in the native language to services providing up to 25 percent of instruction in the native language.

a paraprofessional, teacher aide, or the primary teacher who may speak the native language of the students.

Other programs, such as the English-only Submersion program, classify ELLs with their English-speaking counterparts in general education classrooms through a mainstream strategy. English-only programs that do not provide any support in the native language account for nearly 12 percent of English based program instructional models (Zehler et. al., 2003).

Thus, today even with the continuum of program options available, of those ELLs enrolled in US public school programs, most are enrolled in English language based programs (Zehler, et. al., 2003). Nearly 12 percent of ELL students still do not receive any type of language support, leaving less than a quarter of ELLs being educated in a program affording support through the native language, whether it be minimal or significant use of the native language (Loeffler 2005, Zehler et. al., 2003, Crawford, 2004). Additionally, on the account of the variance in delivery, implementation of LEP programs has been at differing degrees of accuracy and adequacy across school districts. It is also often dependent upon schools' preparedness and resources to deliver these diverse program alternatives. Yet with the instantly recognizable rise of non-English speaking students in US public schools, it is the developmental language acquisition programs, which teach and encourage bilingualism, that are receiving the most criticism.

With nearly $1 billion in federal funding designated to "close the achievement gap for limited English proficient and immigrant students" and ELLs on average, scoring below established nationwide norms on standardized reading comprehension tests, and a rising number of ELLs dropping out of school; critics of bilingual education have begun to question the effectiveness and fate of these programs (OELA -Welcome, August & Shanahan, 2006; National Center for Education Statistics, 2004). However, whether ELLs are being served through language acquisition programs or being left to "sink or swim" in English-only classrooms, critics on both sides of the conundrum, within the political realm, and in education, concur and data suggest, ELLs are at risk of failing within the current US public school system (Zehler et. al, 2003). With so many strategies to assist

ELL students and with very little consistent research and policy demonstrating and recognizing the effectiveness of these programs, a national debate about the validity of bilingual education has ensued.

1.1.5 Evidence-Based Policy Making in Bilingual Education

Today and from its beginning, there has never been a comprehensive, nationwide strategy for instructing English Language Learners (ELLs) in US public schools. While federal law presumably protects these students' rights to an equitable education, there are few areas of consensus among research findings and language policy and planning about how best to address the language, academic, and social barriers ELLs face.

The historical role of second language acquisition (SLA) theory in bilingual education research on its effectiveness, and policy-making is telling of bilingual education's current state. Until the latter half of the twentieth-century, instructional programs designed for ELLs were rarely informed by theory or research. Rather, as some scholars suggest, bilingual education policy-making seemingly came into being from an inchoate fusion of philosophy and opinion. As such, political views, intuition and moral convictions guided program design, in place of theory and research (Crawford, 2004, Baker, 2001, Cummins, "Educational research").

Evidence based policy-making, a systematic approach to developing policy driven by facts and experience[7], did not appear to carry significant weight in bilingual education policy and planning until the mid-1970s (Crawford, 2004).   The notion of educational policy deriving from "evidence" is founded on the rather basic concept that proven evidence serves as a more effective knowledge base for developing good policy, than does ideologically constructed politics.

Scholars writing about distinct fields of policy, be it international relations or social issues, tend to agree on one dominant feature of sound policy-making— that it is dependent upon policy-

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[7] Definition of evidence based policy-making provided by George (1994).

makers having access to certain classifications of knowledge. At least four types of "knowledge" required to develop policy have been identified by scholars (Walt, 2005, Cummins et. al., 2001, Shaxon, 2005, Ricento, 2006, Crawford, 2004, Gonzalez, 2001, Mora, 2000). Walt (2005) summarizes these categories of "knowledge" well. First, it is believed policy-makers require factual knowledge (e.g., what population is affected, how many are affected, etc). Second, policy-makers need to know what works based on experience (i.e. ELLs acquire language with some form of support). Third, they need to be able to classify information based on an aggregate of precise characteristics (i.e. different language speakers encounter language specific barriers to learning English). Lastly, policy-makers depend upon theory to provide explanations for the relationship between events and outcomes.   As put forth by Walt (2005), "by providing...[policy-makers] with a picture of the central forces that determine real-world behavior, theories invariably simplify reality in order to render it comprehensible" (p. 26).   Thus, theories attempt to provide causal explanation for real world problems. In terms of language learning, theories can extend from those that provide explanations for language acquisition through conditioning, to constructivist theories concerning language transfer, to a cognitive based learning (to be explored in chapter three).

In order to address some of the knowledge needs of policy-makers, beginning in the 1970s second language acquisition and bilingual education research and theory were formulated in reaction to major developments in basic and applied research, as well as the cross over studies of psychology, sociology, and language acquisition theory into the field of bilingual education. Nonetheless, politically roused controversies over effective means to educate ELLs, be it through the use of the native language or English-only methods also continued to drive policy (Krashen, 1999, Crawford, 2004).   In the 1980s and 1990s school effectiveness and the characteristics that defined effective schools became a national priority in federally funded educational research (Crawford, 2004, Meyer & Fienberg, 1992). This revolution in methodological inquiry later served as the impetus for research on effective programs for ELLs (August & Hakuta, 1998). Yet, due to the broad range of cultivated theories and findings, practice and policy continued to vary across the

country. This was largely due to the flurry of questions and debates over methodology and findings that resulted from the arrival of new research brought on by the succession of disciplines and educational goals set forth in the latter half of the twentieth century.

One common thread of consensus that has emerged from four decades of evolving theories, and research in bilingual education is that ELL students require some type of language support to become effective communicators in the target language and productive citizens in a largely English speaking, US economy. The amount of instructional support and the time required to provide this support to ELLs, however, has been conceptualized in different ways. Accordingly, two paradigms have defined research within bilingual education. The most conservative research, often in response to politics tied to funding, or formulated around studies devoid of theoretical grounding (as later analysis of the research suggest in chapter six), indicates these students require little if any additional language support in the classroom. This has led to policies setting arbitrary timeframes for students to acquire the target language (English) in English-only instructional models (Crawford, 2004, Krashen, 1999). In the US today, the inability of language minorities to effectively communicate in English is often viewed as a deficiency. Consequently, English-only methods for teaching this group English is frequently advanced as the channel for rapid assimilation. However, there are little if any adequately designed studies the consensus of scholars point to as validating this contention (Cummins, 1999, 1991, Crawford, 2004, Krashen, 1999).

Paradoxically, research framed by theories in learning and second language acquisition in bilingual education suggest English-only methods are not the best way to impose English proficiency skills upon ELLs (specifically those who face many of the social, psychological and language barriers alluded to). Language acquisition theories of the latter half of the twentieth century and thereupon the twenty-first century, find ELL students require support in both the native and target language in order to become effective communicators, a process that could take five to seven years (Crawford, 2004, Cummins, 2001, 1981b, 1979, Krashen, 1982).

Another area charging the bilingual education research dialogue is research methodology. Methodology emerged to the forefront of educational research with the inception of No Child Left Behind (NCLB) legislation in 2001. Methodologically sound studies became defined as those that meet scientific standards established by the physical sciences.   Research based on these methodologies have a record of providing sound evidence of identifying problems and potential interventions, along with corroborating findings across studies and contexts (Cummins, "Educational research," Slavin, 2008).   However, many have argued that this definition has had the effect of persuasively minimizing the value of qualitative and quasi-experimental designs. Scholars have noted that if the definition of "evidence" is solely defined upon the product of research findings based on "scientific" methodology, the importance of causal explanation that could account for findings failing to produce positive outcomes when applied across contexts, is curtailed (Cummins, "Educational research", Slavin, 2008, Crawford, 2004). These same scholars heed the stringent criteria employed to assess the quality of research, based on whether it has met the criteria of "scientifically based," has eliminated and thereby made invisible, studies that could provide tremendous evidence for bilingual education policy and account for changing contexts affecting ELLs.   For instance, qualitative research in bilingual education has revealed that when programs are pedagogically based and well implemented with adequate materials, prepared instructional staff, monetary support, district wide support and such, programs are more effective (Darling-Hammond 2000, Hakuta, et. al. 2000, Howard, et. al. 2003, Lindholm-Leary, 2001). However, this type of finding would not be as apparent within scientifically based studies examining standardized test outcomes and measuring language proficiency (Cummins, "Educational research").

1.1.6 . Bilingual Education Policy and Practices in States with Increasing ELL Populations

Even with nearly four decades of bilingual education theories and research documenting the success of various program models and providing evidence of best practice, many school districts across the nation are struggling with maintaining and/or implementing programs based on findings.

Accounting for approximately 10% of K-12 enrollment in US public schools, LEP populations span the varied public school systems throughout the country from the one-house school districts in New York State's Suffolk County to districts educating millions of students, as is the case in California's Los Angeles Unified School District (Loeffler, 2005). Consequently, what was once seen as a challenge endemic to only large cities has now proliferated to rural and suburban regions. Most states are now sharing in the challenge of instructing students who have an insufficient command of the English language.

More than two-thirds of the nations ELL students are enrolled in seven[8] states considered to enroll some of the highest shares of ELLs (Loeffler, 2005, Capps et. al., 2005). Of those seven, two mandate language acquisition assistance programs primarily via a developmental bilingual education model: Illinois and Texas; two states: New Mexico and Florida, allow for both developmental bilingual education instruction and English-only instruction. One state: New York, provides instruction through a continuum of language acquisition models; and the remaining two: California and Arizona currently have legislation supporting Structured English-only (immersion) instruction. Massachusetts, while not one of the states with the highest shares of ELLs, does serve a significant number of ELLs relevant to its size. Additionally, it has a unique history paralleled to California and Arizona with regard to how the state has chosen to address the education of ELLs. For that reason, Massachusetts' bilingual education policy is noted in this section. Those states espousing English-only instruction for ELL students have set one year arbitrarily determined timelines for ELL students to learn English followed by mainstream education.

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[8] For a complete list of the ten states with the highest share of LEP students in PK-5 see Capps et. al 2005.

Several rigorous ballot initiatives in states with upward projections of ELL students have changed the course of bilingual education policy and practice. In 1998 California voters, led by the auspices of the national advocacy organization, *English for the Children* and its Chairman, Ron Unz, a business mogul lacking academic and practical background in educating ELL students, led the anti-bilingual education campaign for the passage of Proposition 227, "English for the Children" (Bartolomé & Leistyna, 2006, p.4). The initiative framed developmental bilingual education as a cognitive and social obstacle to acquiring proficiency in the English language, rather than an asset to be capitalized upon (Lee, 2006). Assaulting the then sparsely used and often ineptly applied developmental bilingual instructional programs in California, proponents of the initiative promised to teach the English language to the state's nearly 1.5 million ELL students within a one year Structured English Immersion (English-only) program where "youngsters not fluent in English are placed in a separate classroom in which they are taught English over a period of several months," and then mainstreamed into classrooms with their English speaking peers (English-publicity pamphlet cited in Bartolomé & Leistyna, 2006). However, as pointed out by Bartolome and Leistyna (2006), "in 2002-2003 it [Structured English Immersion] failed at least 1,479,420 children who remained limited in English" (p.5). Likewise, as of 2003, only 42% of students identified as ELL/LEP in 1998 were mainstreamed into English only classrooms, the remaining 58 percent showing diminutive gains in English proficiency (Bartolomé & Leistyna, 2006, Grissom, 2004). These statistics suggest it had taken most ELL students in the California education system, during that policy shift, at least five years to acquire English proficiency, a finding consistent with second language acquisition theories and aligning research (Crawford, 2003 cited in Bartolomé & Leistyna, 2006, Krashen, 1982, Krashen et. al., 1979, Cummins,1981b).

In 2000, Arizona also passed parallel legislation, Proposition 203, which as described by Rolstad et. al. (2005), was "the death knell for bilingual education" in the State. Politicians in Arizona, a state that was educating the third highest population of ELLs at the time, sought to save the State's nearly $20 million in education funding by ending the local flexibility in English language

acquisition program options. State politicians campaigned the best method to educate ELL

students was through English-only structured immersion programs. That following year school

district per pupil expenditures on ELLs ranged from $0 to $4,600, while a few years later (in 2004)

the state's Board of Education lowered standards for teachers working with ELLs. The number of

teacher preparation units required to teach ELLs was reduced from 21 units to four units (Rolstad

et. al., 2005). Test results were also telling of the abatement in services to ELLs. In 2005 scarcely

10% of ELLs met or exceeded standards in English writing on the Arizona Instrument to Measure

Standards (AIMS), the State's primary statewide assessment. Additionally, just 12% of ELLs

passed the state's standardized assessment in English reading that year (Riemer, 2005).

Massachusetts in 2002, influenced by the English-only initiative, also employed legislation

similar to California's Proposition 227 with the passage of *Question 2: English Language Education*

in the Public Schools. The legislation passed by a 70% vote even though the prior year,

Massachusetts Comprehensive Assessment System (MCAS) outcomes showed ELLs performing

at or above the state norm in districts identified as providing effective language acquisition

programs, particularly those with developmental programs (McGilvray & Hamerla, 2006, "Portraits

of Success", 1999). The State now offers an English-only structured immersion program, which

purpose is to teach English through content and language instruction in English based classrooms.

However, the program has not achieved its short term goals of teaching LEP students English

fluency within one year of intensive English-only instruction, as most of this state's LEP students

have remained in the immersion programs, have not acquired English proficiently, and are fairing

poorly on standardized tests (Massachusetts Department of Education, 2005). As observed by

State Representative, Carl Sciortino (2007) and former chairman of the Board of Education, Martin

Kaplan (2007), LEP students' "dropout rate increased by over 50 percent between 2002 and 2005

alone and is almost three times higher than the rate for non-LEP students"— a fact that could be

attributed to both the 2002 decline in special instructional support to LEP students and 2002

mandates for students to pass the MACAS in order to fulfill graduation requirements.

States that have turned to English-only instructional models and the outcomes they have experienced because of program choice, raise questions about the effectiveness of programs designed for ELLs as a whole. While English proficiency outcomes among ELLs in math and reading remain below standards in states passing English-only legislation, states such as New York, offering a unique array of language acquisition programs across the program alternatives, has seen a slightly higher success rate among ELLs. New York State currently serves the third largest population of LEP students in the nation. Over the past forty years, this state has experienced mixed success in meeting the needs of its diverse language learners representing more than 130 languages ("The Teaching of Language Arts"). As of 2006 nearly half of New York State's ELL student population made progress as per NCLB Annual Measurable Achievement Objectives (AMAO) in math and reading, compared to the aggregate average of 26 percent of ELLs passing in math and 19 percent passing in reading in the three states declaring English-only legislation (OLEA, 2008).

The intended goal of these individual state policies, which is to teach English proficiency to ELLs within an efficiency of time and resources, is a shared goal among parties subscribing to both ends of the bilingual education debate (Crawford, 2004, Baker 2001). This goal is not at issue. The fact is ELLs' path to English proficiency is fraught with many challenges. As this section examines, states' lack of preparedness to implement said policies is the beginning of the problem. But more importantly, well defined language policy and planning, as well as the use of theoretically grounded research to support policy and program choice, is insufficient at best. This is an issue that has been highlighted by the academic outcomes of ELLs within these states, and the ongoing debate concerning bilingual education.

1.1.7 Language Ideology

Ideology has often been identified as an underlying driver of bilingual education in western society (Tollefson, 1999, Crawford, 2004, Ricento 2006).   Ricento (2006) observes that how we interpret and conceptualize the role of language is an indicator of how policy-makers might develop policy established to value or minimize its use.

In the literature, ideology is often positioned as a set of implicit, and at times explicit, ideals imposed by the societal majority to catalogue the world around us to presumably encourage conformity. Mitchell (1986) saw it as a systematic culmination of symbolic representations reflecting historical dominance "that leaves untouched the question of whether the representation is false or oppressive" (p. 3-4).   When anchored to language, the field of ideology is boundless and has been defined under varied terms and conditions (Woolard, 1994). Some have characterized it within terms of evaluative reactions to attitudes about language (King, 2000).   Others believe it to be a broader system of institutionalized language assumptions molding beliefs and values that materialize within policies and social rules (Silverstein, 1979, Irvine, 1989, Thompson, 1990). Adding to this latter notion, Ricento and Burnaby (1998) note that language assumptions structure the framework for our reality, having social implications for the way people behave, engage in institutions, and attach importance to the world around them. Consequently, the way in which individuals understand their identity, purpose, and membership in society is largely mediated through their connection to the language they speak (Ricento & Burnaby, 1998, Tollefson, 1999).

Due to the epistemological and cultural inferences language ideology carries, it has been depicted as a valuable analytical tool that can be employed to do detailed analyses of the role of language within social institutions at both the macro and micro levels (Silverstein, 1992, Duranti, 1997, Woolard, 1994).   Since this study examines the political, theoretical and research based context of bilingual education in the US, I use the concept of language ideologies (particularly as it

relates to specific positions on language that shape social agendas, as a lens to review components of the phenomena.

Tollefson (1999) argues that language ideologies not only influence individuals' engagement in society, but at a macro level, serve to identify the essential qualities of a country's identity, political and economic power through well defined social agendas. The values behind the US English-only initiative, for example, champion homogeneous language policies as fundamental to the country's survival, and position the existence of other languages as a threat to stability (Tollefson, 1999, Crawford, 2004, Baker, 2001). Often indicative of social and political inferences about society that confer favor upon a select language based on its perceived value, language ideologies frequently have little to due with fact (Woolard, 1994). Rather, the ideology itself is employed by the dominant social group to regulate tools such as dictionaries, history books, and grammar rules within governing institutions (like schools), to shape perception about identity, political and economic power (Tollefson, 1999). This is marked in the uniformity of language use amongst these tools. While recipients of these tools may speak distinctive languages and dialects, only one language is decidedly acceptable across the spectrum of tools; that language being what has been deemed the standard language (Tollefson 1999).

Scholars of language ideology acknowledge positioning a single language as superior to all others becomes problematic when a system begins to empower a dominant language through government and educational uses that stratify social and economic equality based on individuals' ability to speak and speak well, the dominant language (Fairclough, 1995, Ricento, 2006, Tollefson, 1999, Hawkins, 2001, Flores & Murillo, 2001).

One of the most significant outgrowths of language ideology has been its imprint on social agendas that shape language policy and planning (Tollefson, 1999, C. Baker 2006). Tollefson (1999) identifies at least two social agendas reflected in school systems that have simultaneously been fabricated and justified by language ideologies in the US. The first of these two agendas is what Tollefson (1999) describes as the exclusion of ELL students' native language and heritage in

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instructional practices emphasizing the rapid acquisition of English (e.g. immersion, English-only programs). Opposition to native language instruction and use has been fueled by a belief that has become central to the mainstream debate concerning bilingual education. The notion that acquiring content by way of two languages impairs cognitive ability, preventing students from effectively learning the English language and assimilating into the "American" culture, has become a persuasive tactic in advancing the English-only movement in the US public school system (Stritikus & Garcia, 2003, Tollefson, 1999, Skutnabb-Kangas & McCarty, 2008, Crawford, 2004). This same concept is employed within adult immigrant education where the focus is again on rapid English acquisition as a prerequisite for assimilation and employment in the US (Tollefson, 1999).   This agenda, Tollefson (1999) argues, are formulated by language ideology associating the "standard" language, in this case English, with social and economic status.

The other prominent social agenda driven by language ideology that both Tollefson (1999) and Crawford (2004) discuss in their respective works, is its role within the rather new approaches to evaluating effective instructional practices.   As briefly mentioned at the beginning of this paper, in recent years there has been an upsurge in the call for "scientifically based" research in the social sciences that circumvent investigations of subjective variables such as equity and language status (Cummins, "Educational research"). These approaches are based on a scientific consensus emphasizing methodology— an emphasis that has been the foundation of No Child Left Behind (NCLB) legislation (the current basis for public education policy in the US). NCLB's rigorous criteria for scientifically based research has likened much of educational research to the medical model of testing random samples and control groups (US Dept of Ed., a). Tollefson (1999), like Cummins ("Educational research"), notes that under such a narrow definition of admissible research, often times, theories that cannot be empirically validated are rejected. This resultantly confines exploration of the possible social contexts in which meaning may emerge. Such contexts, for example, being the dual realities a language minority student may live in, speaking the second language in the classroom and the native language at home; or the cultural obstacles an ELL

student faces in the American classroom versus his or her indigenous like ethnic enclave common within immigrant gateway communities across the US. Scientific inquiry without consideration for these types of variables is what Tollefson (1999) cites as a separation between language and social action.

These two social agendas: 1) the positioning of rapid English acquisition alongside the dissolution of the native language as a prerequisite for social and economic mobility, and 2) the narrowing of the research agenda to exclude factors directly influencing how ELLs may learn language, is justified through language ideology rationalized by way of social, and political interests (Tollefson 1999, Wolfram & Schilling, 2006). It is ideology, framed within this context that I begin to explore its influence on the history of policy-making for ELLs in the US public school system.

1.1.7.1 Language Policy, Planning, and Ideological Positions

Language policy and planning in bilingual education addresses issues such as what primary language instruction will be given, how language education is put into practice, and attitudes and positions surrounding language principles. Since the inception of its formal academic existence, more than 35 years ago, language policy and planning has been largely structured around the position of "language as a problem" (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997). Illustrative of this notion is the title of one of the first academic conferences dedicated to the study of language policy and planning, the "1966 Conference on Language Problems". In his early review of the field, Cooper (1989) identifies 12 established and widely applied definitions of language policy and planning appearing in the literature. While some of the definitions appear to be specific to corpus planning[9], the definitions identified overwhelmingly define language as a problem requiring some type of solution, be it controlled, managed, or regulated. For instance, Thorburn (cited in Cooper, 1989) defines language planning as the application of the "amalgated knowledge of language to change the

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[9] An activity undertaken by planners, rather than politicians, that is designed to address the adequacy of language to meet desired functions.

language behavior of people" (p.30). Rubin and Jenudd (1971) see it as "characterized by the formulation and evaluation of alternatives for solving language problems" and "a political and administrative activity for solving language problems." Fishman (1973) described the field as "the organized pursuit of language problems." Tauli (1974) described language planning as "the methodical activity of regulating and improving existing languages" (cited in Cooper, 1989, p.30). Out of the 12 definitions provided by Cooper, only one frames language diversity as a positive societal attribute. As described by Das Gupta (1973), "language planning refers to a set of deliberate activities systematically designed to organize and develop the language resources of the community in an ordered schedule of time" (cited in Cooper 1983, p. 30).

How language policy and planning has been defined over the past century suggest understandings of language ideology have evolved little. Ricento's (2006) assessment of early twentieth century research in language policy and planning, notes that western-based approaches are founded on ideological assumptions about the role of language. First, language is a stable form of communication governed by concrete rules. Second, monolingualism is a prerequisite for social and economic unity. Lastly, language options are generally equal, but "rational choice" is applied to language use by participants, due to an informal understanding of the necessity of a common language to promote nation building (Ricento, 2006).

Research on effective practices in educating ELLs in US public schools suggest the debate about bilingual education tends to be about politics fashioned by language ideologies reflected in language policy and planning, more so than pedagogy. Ruiz (1984), in his study of language ideologies, characterized language within three positions: a) language as a problem, b) language as a right, and c) language as a resource (cited in Johnson, 2005). Utilizing a transformative theory to establish explanations for social change as it relates to the values assigned to language assumptions, Ruiz's positions portray the inner workings of institutional and social systems in addition to providing an explanation for how systems are structured by opposing perspectives. This perspective is influenced by areas of knowledge reaching across theoretical paradigms, including a

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functional shared vision of the structural components of society, and a collective understanding of the existing social and economic inequality within society determined by capitalist production. Suggesting individuals produce knowledge and meaning by delineating structures, Ruiz's (1984) positions accentuate the linkage between politics and planning (Ruiz, 1984, 1990, Morrow & Torres 1995, Smith, 2001).

Ruiz (1984) argues the two positions most often associated with determining policy and planning addressing language instruction for ELLs in the US tend to revolve around notions of "language as a problem" or "language as a right." Today, these positions are illuminated in the nationwide debates about the effectiveness of developmental language acquisition programs, and conversely the English-only movement, which emphasis has resulted in some states adopting English-only legislation.

"Language as a problem" has been expressed through multifold conditions since the inception of the Bilingual Education Act. The debates over developmental language acquisition programs often emerge within the misperceptions about the barriers and learning deficiencies caused by students learning two or more languages simultaneously (explored in chapter three on SLA theories in bilingual education). The well documented discussions about the operational problems with bilingualism at the cognitive level are symptomatic of this reality. However, the disputed points about bilingualism extend beyond assumptions about cognitive learning capabilities. Language often represents groups' cultural, social and economic identity, on both a national and regional level, and at many times a religious level. As noted by C. Baker (2001) and Bakhtin (1981), the struggle over language, on a group level, can become problematic in a nation where the dominant language represents a "world view." In such cases, the introduction of bilingualism can be interpreted as a threat to the dominant language and consequently lead to intergroup conflict and disunity (C. Baker, 2001, Bakhtin,1981).

The "language as a problem" position also reflects attitudes and deeply rooted tensions about changes in demographics and diversity, as well as competition for resources and dominance. As Schmidt (1998) explains,

> Language conflict….has tended to emerge on the political stage under two conditions: (a) when heightened competition between ethnic groups within a polity generates political mobilization and conflict along ethnic lines, and (b) when language is perceived as centrally important to the survival, enhancement, or both the identity and power position of one or more of the ethnic groups in the polity (p. 38-39).

Galindo (1997) suggests these feelings are brought to bear in anti-affirmative action legislation and anti-bilingual legislation in some states serving some of the largest populations of language minorities in the nation[10].

Ruiz's second position, "language as a right," originates from a perspective on language choice and use as a legal, civil, and constitutional right. C. Baker (2001) explains, "just as there are….individual rights in choice of religion, so it is argued there should be an individual right to choice in language and bilingual education" (2001, p.370). This viewpoint suggests that to persecute or discriminate against language minorities on the basis of their inability to speak English treads against the principles of a democratic and pluralistic society (C. Baker 2001). While 30 states have designated English as the official language of government business, these states do not prohibit government agencies from using other languages for public interest such as protecting public health and safety, education, criminal proceedings, and providing for national defense, to name a few (C. Baker, 2001). Currently in the US there is no sanctioned legislation declaring English as the official language of the nation, which as C. Baker (2001) describes, has led to ongoing "debates regarding the legal status of language minorities' rights…to gain short-term protection and a medium guarantee for minority languages" (C. Baker, 2001, p.371). As will be discussed in the last chapter of this study, the language as a right position is evident in early court

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[10] Today, the anti-immigrant legislation in a growing number of southern states may also be reflective of this ideology.

cases paving the course for the Bilingual Education Act, moving forward bilingual education mandates based on social morality and aimed at ensuring equal educational opportunities for ELLs in US public schools (C. Baker, 2001, Crawford, 2004).

The "language as a resource" position is the third posited by Ruiz (1984). It is a position that has gained scarce ground given the nation's hotly contested debates about bilingual education that tend to hinge around the ideological positions of "language as a problem" and "as a right". Nevertheless, the "language as a resource" position is mentioned here as its principles are incorporated into many innovative developmental bilingual programs of today. The position situates linguistic diversity as a social and economic resource serving as an agent in national integration. As such, the position counters the idea that one common language is an essential condition for national unity. Rather, as postulated by Kelman (1971) unity is achieved only when other social and economic determinants such as equity in the distribution of resources, justice, and fairness are present and all groups regardless of background or language are granted equal access to the economic advantages of the polity.

It is through the lens of language positions I describe the political history of bilingual education, policy shifts and the research determining the path of those shifts. In this dissertation I link these positions to language policy and planning in the US (for ELLs in the public school system) to explain the dimensions of the bilingual education phenomenon. The purpose of these reviews is to identify whether policy-making designed to benefit ELLs is in reaction to any of the three ideological position offered by Ruiz (1984); and how, or if, policy accounts for the prevailing theories in bilingual education and research findings. These issues are explored within chapter six, which examines whether the three components of bilingual education in the US portray an embodiment of language policy and planning that is consistent and effective in serving its primary constituents—English Language Learners.

1.1.8. Limitations of the Study

This study confines itself to the examination of three areas of the bilingual education phenomenon shaped by language ideology. As such, it presents some limitations. The research and data reviewed was done so from a policy analysis perspective rooted in the perception of language ideology as a driver of policy-making in the US. This perspective may highlight salient features of the problem, but in doing so may also cast a shadow on other important factors contributing to the phenomenon (Becker 1986). Becker refers to this consequence as ideological hegemony, the act of framing research in such a way that some key findings or conceptualizations may be overlooked. In addition, qualitative research, like any research approach, inherently carries its own set of limitations and biases as the research can be interpreted differently depending on the experiences and previous knowledge that has shaped the individual researcher. Accordingly, this study could be subject to varying interpretations depending on the background and experiences of the reader.

Finally, these issues are devoid of the voice of the constituents of bilingual education, particularly those that are most affected, ELL/LEP students.

2. CHAPTER II

2.1 ABOUT THE METHODOLOGY EMPLOYED IN THIS DISSERTATION

In this dissertation, I seek to build upon areas of knowledge informing the bilingual education phenomenon through a collection of integrative literature reviews, presenting facts that challenge perception and opinion. The reviews serve as the primary vehicle of analysis to explore what is known about the bilingual education phenomenon. Through the use of inductive exploratory research methods, these collective reviews establish a story about what has taken place throughout the history of this phenomenon and to what end theory, research and ideology have informed policy relevant to bilingual education.

Represented in three distinct chapters, the reviews examine the evolution of theories and practices influencing bilingual education, the history of the Bilingual Education Act, and research guiding its development— three components embodying the phenomenon. Due to the depth of data and information attributed to each component of the bilingual education phenomenon, the literature reviews (theoretical, historical narrative, and research synthesis) are applied to varying degrees. Each type of review has been selected to highlight the salient features of the components named. The theoretical review in chapter three, for example, examines the evolution of language acquisition theories as they pertain to bilingual education programs during three distinct eras of the cross over disciplines of education, linguistics, and psychology— disciplines that have casted the orientation of said theories and bilingual education practice. The literature review in chapter four is a historical narrative crafted to delineate a descriptive timeline of events and input factors impacting

policy shifts throughout the history of bilingual education in the US. The synthesis of research studies leveraging the bilingual education phenomenon is reviewed in chapter five. The aim of these three reviews is to unify concepts and thinking about bilingual education policy-making and its implications. Also, just as these chapters reflect three diverse approaches to reviews, the processes for including and screening criteria, as well as how data is organized, is unique to each review. To this end, each review discussed in this methodology chapter contains its own description of data criteria, screening, organizing, and analysis.

This methodology chapter, in all, serves three purposes. First is to establish what is meant by a literature review in educational research and the approaches taken to review works informing this study. Second, the chapter identifies criteria for inclusion, screening, and organizing procedures for each review, providing a basis for how methods of data and other materials are collected and analyzed. This is followed by a description of the principles of qualitative research applied throughout the body of the reviews and in chapter six. The epilogue (chapter six), which examines the interplay between the three components of bilingual education identified establishes a basis for understanding the problem through the lens of language ideology, policy and planning. In an attempt to advance pedagogical and policy-making strategies for improving ELL outcomes, the epilogue explores whether linkages between the components shaping the bilingual education phenomenon manifest language policy and planning built upon ideologies in lieu of other important factors designed to inform policy and practice, such as theory and research.

2.1.1. Literature Reviews in this Dissertation

A dissertation of integrative literature reviews delivers a systematic explanation of key findings and facts related to the phenomenon under study (Cooper, 1984, 1988, Fraenkel & Wallen, 2009, Randolph, 2009). As described by Hart (1998), some of the chief functions of a literature review are to identify variables relevant to the subject; establish relationships "between ideas and practice"; delineate the context of the phenomenon; to rationalize the "significance of a problem"; understand the phenomenon's structure; relate ideas and theory to practice; and to place the research in a historical context (p.27). The literature presented in this dissertation, as suggested by Pan (2004) demonstrates the depth of each topic and familiarizes the readership with key points and major debates shaping current understandings and knowledge about the phenomenon. Drawing from the methods of a historian and essayist, Willis (2007) explains, "each study [becomes] part of a broader effort to get closer and closer to the truth" (p. 74).

In the case of these reviews, chapter three, the first of the three reviews, lays the groundwork for the study, addressing such questions as, what is language acquisition theory in bilingual education *and* how have such theories and the paradigms that mold them, shaped past and current bilingual education policy and practice? This leads into the historical review of policy-making developed to serve students requiring bilingual education, and is followed by the research that supports the practice. Employing a holistic approach that examines the sum of the phenomenon's parts, the totality of this study merges pieces of the bilingual education story that at times may even conflict, to construct the phenomenon we see today (Fraenkel & Wallen, 2009).

2.1.2 The Evolution of Second Language Acquisition Theories in Bilingual Education

(Chapter Three- The Theoretical Review)

The rationale for bilingual education is often challenged by prevailing beliefs about how language is acquired (Crawford, 2004). Many for instance believe a language is acquired with little assistance,

while others may presume a second language can be learned by simply immersing oneself in the culture and language environment of the target language (Crawford, 2004). It is on account of such widely held perceptions of language acquisition that this chapter serves as an overview of primary paradigms influencing language acquisition theories, scholars of these paradigms, and their weight on current bilingual education practice. In recounting key understandings of dominant paradigms in the field, alongside the language acquisition theories they produced, the chapter constructs a basis for understanding how individuals' ability to acquire a first and second language has informed current practices in bilingual education. A theoretical review of this nature is utilized to summarize prevailing theories, as well as describe the relationships, parallels, and framework of such theories (Cooper 1988). The review also presents the suppositions theorists have identified and expanded upon through an established history of work in the field.

In recent reviews, scholars have noted the important role of theory in bilingual education practice (Crawford, 2004, Brown, 2007, Baker, 2006). Theory serves as a basis for answering questions that address why a circumstance or individual evolves the way it does and how different treatments may produce varying outcomes. Language acquisition theory examines the process by which individuals learn and acquire language and the relationship between the learner and his/her environment (Long, 1990). Second language acquisition theory, in particular, encompasses a range of academic fields, most notably adult language acquisition and foreign language studies; however, over the past ten years the field has expanded to include subfields including bilingual education (Brown, 2007, Long, 1990). In fact, states with the largest populations of ELLs have dedicated standards and curriculum based on what is now known within second language acquisition pedagogy and theory. For instance, New Mexico, Texas, and Illinois' state education agencies each employ second language acquisition experts to serve on committees established to design and evaluate language proficiency assessments. Other states like New York and Florida incorporate second language acquisition processes, theories, and research into the state standards for the teaching of ELLs and within certification criteria for bilingual education teachers. These

states have designated the core principals of second language acquisition (SLA) theory as the foundation for understanding and working effectively with students of limited English proficiency.

One rationale for applying SLA findings to instruction and curriculum standards is based on evidence pointing to the notion that SLA theory in bilingual education can account for weaknesses and strengths among instructional approaches (Crawford, 2004, Baker, 2006, Hakuta, et. al, 2003, Hakuta, et. al, 2000, August, D. & Hakuta, 1997, Long 1990, Spolsky 1988 cited in Spolsky, 1999). Issues addressed within SLA theory examine topics spanning from the role of the native language in the development of the target language, to affective factors impinging individuals' ability and capacity to acquire a second language. However, no one SLA theory pertaining to bilingual education can effectively account for the scope of questions pertaining to language acquisition among ELL students deriving from a medley of ethnic, cultural and socioeconomic circumstances. As such, a variety of theories have been developed to focus on different components of SLA such as psycholinguistic processes, cognitive capacities, or oral production (Brown, 2007, Long, 1990). As new questions and problems concerning language acquisition among ELLs have emerged, so have advanced models of SLA that are often built upon existing knowledge within the fields of language acquisition and bilingual education. For example, early theories of language acquisition dating to the beginning of the twentieth century, were founded on intuitive notions of how one's first language was perceived to have been learned— naturally with little supplemental support. Programs designed for students of foreign languages, and later for students with limited English oral and literacy proficiency, dealt with the properties and structure of language and focused solely on the development of grammar and audio skills (Crawford, 2004). However, SLA theories emerging in the mid-twentieth century shifted to a focus on the principals and parameters of language generation. This led to cognitively based instructional programs seeking to explore and cultivate individuals' innate ability for language learning. Still, the late twentieth century experienced the most growth in SLA theory effectuating bilingual education practices. As the ethnic landscape of the US continued to evolve with the influx of non-English speakers (often of

Hispanic/Latino descent), theories on language development became more socially oriented. Many of these advanced theories centered on the influence of external factors on second language acquisition processes and promoted the role of social language skills alongside academic language skills (Cummins, 1979, Brown, 2007, Crawford, 2004, Baker, 2006).

Thus, from conditioning methods, to differentiated instruction based on cognitive development, the broad range of theoretical approaches to bilingual education that materialized over the past forty years have been largely attributable to the historical evolution of paradigms and theories relevant to SLA processes applied to bilingual education. By beginning with an exploration of the interchange between theories of language acquisition specific to bilingual education, I investigate how and to what extent knowledge learned about SLA in bilingual education has been employed throughout the history of bilingual education policy-making in the US.

2.1.2.1 Criteria for inclusion and Screening: The Evolution of Second Language Acquisition Theories in Bilingual Education

Brown (2007) identifies three schools of thought falling within the "nature" and "nurture" context often employed to describe and explain language acquisition and human developmental processes influencing programs designed for bilingual education. These schools of thought include Structural Behaviorism, Rational and Cognitive Theory, and Constructivism. Each of these paradigms have been discussed by scholars of bilingual education, to one extent or another, as having some role in shaping educational, linguistic, and instructional practices in bilingual education (Brown, 2007, Crawford, 2004, C. Baker 2006). Two key components to this review will be drawn from Brown's (2007) review of paradigms influencing language acquisition theory and bilingual education practice: 1) a broad overview of paradigms and scholars having impacted language acquisition theories, and 2) language acquisition theory's transition into second language acquisition theory, particularly that influencing bilingual education.

Brown's (2000, 2007) work offers an analysis of early knowledge about how language was thought to have been learned and the scholars that shaped major theories of language development. This analysis includes scholars who may not have intended for their theories to contribute to an understanding of language acquisition— a point that is important to consider as concepts of language acquisition theory, and program design are explored. Crawford (2004) and C. Baker (2006) also offer discussion on early theory, but for the purpose of this chapter, their analyses of contemporary SLA theory (including well known bilingual education scholars in the field, like Jim Cummins and Stephen Krashen) will be used as a basis for the exploration of current SLA theory in bilingual education.

As follows, the selection of theorists and their works was whittled down to those discussed by Brown (2007), C. Baker (2006) and Crawford (2004). The paradigms and scholars reviewed have been identified as compelling forces in shaping theories on language acquisition influencing bilingual education. However, again, many of the paradigms, scholars, and scholarly works reviewed did not necessarily intend to contribute to theories of language and second language acquisition as is the case with early constructivist, Lev Vygotsky (Hakuta, 1986, Erben et al., 2009). Nonetheless, these particular scholars' works are recalled as many of their claims on learning serve as the foundation for contemporary theories specific to language acquisition in bilingual education (Brown 2007). Vygotsky's (1962) work, for instance, has many implications for education instruction (Walqui, 2007). Having explored the construction of meaning through learning practices, Vygotsky (1962) surmised learning takes places through informal and formal experiences and mechanisms that move one through a continuum of learning phases. This basic notion of learning influenced succeeding educational programs, including those in bilingual education. Cummins (1979), for instance, later expanded upon this notion of learning by delineating informal and formal learning experiences for English Language Learners (ELLs) as those that are either academic (and take place inside a classroom) or based on social situations (i.e. playground interaction). Cummins (1979) argues that both learning contexts are important for the ELL student as they allow one to

gradually progress from language learning that involves many cues and interpersonal interactions to language learning that requires higher order thinking skills in lieu of cues. Hence, in view of the correlation between early theorists' notions of learning and today's theories of language acquisition processes among ELLs, both eras of works are reviewed to construct a holistic picture of the evolution of second language acquisition theory and its implications for bilingual education practice.

2.1.2.2 Organizing and Analyzing Documents: The Evolution of Second Language Acquisition Theories in Bilingual Education

Drawing upon Brown's (2000, 2007) review of the schools of thought having impacted bilingual education instructional practices, the theoretical review chapter evolved into an overview of the context of language acquisition theories and the bilingual education programs they molded. The chapter opens with a comparative and chronological explanation of the paradigms influencing current understandings about first and second language acquisition, as well as the theories and models emerging from them, illustrating the developmental phases of these theories. The scholars and theorists identified within this chapter are discussed within their corresponding paradigms and schools of thought (i.e. behaviorism-Skinner) and within a specific period in which their theories yielded significant influence over the language acquisition and bilingual education programs of the era.

The three paradigms and the fundamental principles reviewed in chapter three are: 1) Behaviorism and the notion of operant conditioning as a cornerstone of language acquisition, 2) Cognitivism and the concept of innate factors as a determinant of one's ability to acquire language, and, 3) Constructivism, and the idea that social interaction serves as a prerequisite for first and second language acquisition. As discussed in this chapter, each paradigm reviewed exerted influence over the prevailing instructional program for ELL students of its era. Such programs ranged from the audiolingual approach imparted by the theoretical foundations of Skinner's stimulus-response theory, to contemporary theories on linguistic development and social interaction

that serve as the pillars of today's dual language programs (Brown, 2007, Baker, 2006, Crawford, 2004).

Three periods aligning with the identified paradigms, theories, and programs adopting principles expounded within the theories, are represented to depict the interrelation and evolution between these elements. These periods include: (i) 1950s-1960s; (ii) 1960s-1980s; (iii) 1980s-present. The theories on language developed within each of these periods is followed by a description of the corresponding theorists' primary contribution to second language acquisition theory and bilingual education programs. The alignment of the periods and theoretical contributions is intended to underscore the relationship between the phenomenon and the interdependencies of the prevalent causal explanations, that over the forty years reviewed, evolved into present-day second language acquisition theory advancing bilingual education for ELLs.

2.1.3 The History of the Bilingual Education Act and its Five Reauthorizations (Chapter Four-The Historical Analysis)

Chapter four is a literature review reflective of a historical analysis and narrative. The review examines findings and known facts about the federal history of bilingual education, as well as political and other input factors that may have influenced it within a temporally bound timeframe ranging from the 1960s to the present. The evolution of the federal history of bilingual education and its input factors are integrated into one chapter to build an understanding as to when, how and under what circumstances policy was shaped and molded practices.

Fraenkel and Wallen (2005) describe a historical analysis as "the systematic collection and evaluation of data to describe, explain, and thereby understand actions or events that occurred sometime in the past" (p.534). The literature presented in this historical analysis probes events and findings prior to the anticipated seventh reauthorization of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA), renamed the No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB). The intended outcome of a historical analysis is to have provided an assiduous and factual depiction of a phenomenon. Yet, as is the

case with much research and as highlighted by Fraenkel and Wallen (2005), such a task can rarely be fully achieved since evidence deriving from the past is seldom whole in nature. This reflection highlights the obstacle of any historical researcher— data reliability's dependence upon the adequacy of its recording, storage, and transmission.   Due to this inevitable peril, explanation is a critical component of historical analysis. Historical analysis is not simply a chronological description of events; rather it is an inductive inquiry that is subjective by nature (Lancy, 1993). As described by Lancy (1993), "there is a great deal of room in history for interpretation….because historical investigation begins and ends with interpretation" (p. 247). Unlike many other methods of research whereby participants can be questioned to substantiate findings, much of historical analysis is dependent upon written and electronic documentation, which cannot always be confirmed or refuted by the perspectives of the participants who attributed to the history-making (Lancy 1993).   In the case of documenting a history encompassing forty years, actors are at times deceased and others, particularly political actors, may not be accessible for review or comment.

According to Fraenkel and Wallen (2005) there are five major goals of a historical analysis. The first goal of a historical analysis is to inform readers of the actions and events that have taken place so they are mindful of what has worked and has not worked whether it is the passage of laws, curriculum standards, or teacher retention initiatives.

The second goal of a historical analysis is to generate awareness of what has already been done. Something that may seem new to a twenty-first century educator, for instance, may have already been tried and tested decades earlier.

The third aim is to assist with predicting possible outcomes. For instance, if a particular teacher professional development model failed in the 1970s, this knowledge serves as a basis for determining whether that same model would be effective today. While circumstances and data collection may differ nearly four decades later, the initial study of outcomes would abet in guiding the structure and focus of future related studies.

Historical analyses are also applied to study and validate relational hypotheses. For instance, one may presume that historical events leading up to the first legislation of the Bilingual Education Act enacted a civil rights agenda with regard to developing and supporting policies on bilingual education due to the depiction throughout the literature of the political context under which passage took place. This presumption may only be validated through the exploration of many legislative papers, speeches, policy papers, and other historical accounts of the event.

Finally, the remaining goal of a historical analysis is to better evaluate and understand current educational practices and policies. Many practices in today's classrooms (i.e. open classrooms, character education, etc.), are by far not new territory. By examining the evolution of present policy and practices the researcher is able, with more clarity and information, to fully comprehend implementation and longitudinal affects (Fraenkel & Wallen, 2005).

2.1.3.1 Criteria for Inclusion and Screening: History of the Bilingual Education Act and its Five Reauthorizations

Writing history is not an unbiased task. One historical event can be delivered from a multitude of perspectives, often dependent upon the scripter's affiliation, beliefs, experiences, and current understandings. For this reason a variety of publications have been selected representing the potential scale of perspectives that could drive the delineation of given events related to the Bilingual Education Act and the history of its reauthorizations. The wide assortment of historical literature selected allowed for the cross-checking of facts, reducing error by bias (Fraenkel & Wallen, 2005). To determine credibility, a primary criterion established for many of the scholarly manuscripts selected to inform this historical analysis was citation frequency. Works selected must have been cited a minimum of five occasions within other publications during the course of the nearly forty years of the Bilingual Education Act. Additionally, particular attention was paid to the timeframe in which any given work was written. Manuscripts and policy papers, for example, authored while the event was occurring proved significantly valuable, as these documents offered

insight into the mood, cultural context, and political scaffold of the eras this narrative examines. I found that while triangulation of facts among participants could not be realized due to the absence or inaccessibility of actors, triangulation among scholarly works written within the same era, on the other hand, was feasible and doable. Those works, which facts deviated significantly from those presented in the majority of the works meeting the primary citation criterion, were excluded. The variety of interpretations blossoming from agreeable facts; however, were not excluded.

2.1.3.2 Searching and Screening Documents: History of the Bilingual Education Act and its Five Reauthorizations

The search for documents pertaining to the historical analysis germinated within a preliminary Google search utilizing key words, some of which included: Bilingual Education Act (BEA), Lau Remedies, English Language Learners, Johnson and Regan administrations, (administrations holding office during the life of the BEA), No Child Left Behind, Elementary and Secondary Education Act, bilingual education programs, and bilingual education funding. These same key words were utilized to search within three databases (ERIC, PsychInfo, LLBA), as well as within WestLaw and the Catalog of US Government Publications, databases archiving federal legislation. In addition to electronic databases, hard copy journals, technical reports from government agencies and nonpartisan policy and research institutes, history books, encyclopedias, citation analysis, as well as US Government websites and periodicals were employed in the searching stage. Documents were classified based on the type of publication they represented: (i) legislative documents; (ii) historical manuscripts; and (iii) policy papers with a minimum of three categorical documents employed to inform the entirety of the historical analysis.

2.1.3.3 Organizing Studies: History of the Bilingual Education Act and its Five Reauthorizations

During its nearly forty-year history, the Bilingual Education Act was reauthorized five times before having been legislated into the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001. These reauthorizations took place in 1974, 1978, 1984, 1988, and 1994. Each of the three publication types identified in the "searching and screening" of the historical analysis section were employed to delineate the cultural and political context, as well as describe the gradual unfolding of legislative events within the years spanning each reauthorization. Additionally, specific attention was given to the details of the legislation describing implementation, who was to be impacted, and how amended legislation would strengthen or deviate from previous reauthorizations. As follows, the historical analysis is written in a chronological format emphasizing events leading up to each of the five reauthorizations.

2.1.4 Forty Years of Research in Bilingual Education (Chapter Five- The Synthesis of Research)

Chapter five of this dissertation is a literature review characterized in the literature as a synthesis of research (Cooper, 1984, Fraenkel & Wallen, 2005). The purpose of this review is to discover what the research has unearthed about the effectiveness of bilingual education. Scholars suggest over 40 years of research in bilingual education has generated little consensus among policy makers and educators about the best programs and instruction for English Language Learners (ELLs) (Crawford, 2004, Krashen, 2005). Interpretation of findings and recommendations have been bewildering at best and misunderstood at worst, as indicative of the politically sensitive context of bilingual education in the US public school system and the ongoing modification of policy designed to serve ELL students (Crawford, 2004, Baker, 2001, 2006).

An essential function of educational research in bilingual education is to garner evidence of effective language acquisition processes and program effectiveness that will in turn inform policy and practice. However, scholars suggest too little attention has been given to how the existing

research is connected to theory and how the lack of theory based research impinges bilingual education outcomes (Cummins, "Educational research," Crawford, 2004, Long, 1990). As noted by Cummins ("Educational research") in his review of program evaluations, the most well known studies on bilingual education have been those that guided early bilingual education policies. These evaluations set the standard for program evaluation— empirical studies examining treated versus non-treated (control groups). Upheld as the "gold standard" of scientific and educational research, the methods employed in these studies typically identify the cause for outcomes as a product of treatment, minimizing other potential variables such as students' socio-economic backgrounds, community goals for bilingual education, school resources, and teacher training, for example (Cummins, "Educational research"). This approach to research often positioned the program model as the solution to the problem and discounted affective variables that could potentially unhinge a given model's effectiveness.

Cummins ("Educational research") and others also suggest that the earlier empirically based research models serving as the foundation of bilingual education policy-making, were often "flawed" since the demonstration of control groups was nearly implausible. This is the case as most students were receiving some form of bilingual education (even if minimal) by virtue of the Bilingual Education Act (BEA) (Crawford, 2004, Cummins, "Educational research"). Even as ELLs were imparted a legal right to bilingual education, the empirical study based on the control group concept remained at the forefront of the literature on effective programs (while the probability of researchers actually having access to legitimate control groups was remote due to the newly enacted BEA legislation (Krashen, 2005, Crawford, 2004, Cummins, "Educational Research").

Cummins ("Educational research") contends, when a significant portion of the research is eliminated from the pool of studies relevant to the subject under review, the opportunity to build a coherent theory accounting for an ongoing milieu of findings across circumstances is infeasible. He explains, "it is the theory rather than the individual research findings that permits the generation of predictions about program outcomes under different conditions" ("Educational research"). As such,

findings alone cannot be applied to every educational setting. Scholars point to differences in instructional models, definitions of bilingual education across programs, and the demographics of students as having often been overlooked in early evaluations of bilingual education program effectiveness (Cummins, "Educational research," Crawford, 2004, Long, 1990). Without accounting for these and other influential factors, the credibility of predictions based on outcomes within the research remain questionable (Cummins, "Educational research," Long, 1990, Krashen, 2005).

With these issues in mind, the review of studies presented in this chapter is a conceptual synthesis aiming to bring together outcomes and concepts from a diverse collection of research on bilingual education. Adequately articulated and facilitated research can offer reliable evidence pertaining to an array of issues affecting policy and practice; yet due to the number of studies and the complexity of approaches employed in such studies, interpreting results as well as determining their weight in the research is often a challenge. Thus, the structure of a synthesis of research is fundamental to this review. Syntheses of research must clearly present the findings of studies that have been well screened and reviewed for meeting the criteria established in the synthesis. As described by Cooper (1998) any well done synthesis must summarize studies addressing "related or identical hypothesis" supporting the thesis of the study under review and illuminating understandings in the research (p. 3). To do this, Cooper (1998) suggests the methods employed in the review need not be exhaustive; rather it is more important they be systematically transparent, consistent, replicable, and relevant. These are characteristics that work between both small sets of reviews and meta-analysis.

The primary purpose of a research synthesis is to report overall conclusions from a variety of studies relevant to the research questions (Cooper, 1998). To this end the notion of "systematic" is a primary feature of a conceptual synthesis calling for a protocol that provides a clear description of the methods employed to review studies, circumventing misrepresentation, and ensuring each study is evaluated for meeting the criteria of relevance and value. Another purpose of a clearly

constituted protocol is to reduce bias that can occur from an overrepresentation of easily accessible studies that may not reflect the depth of the phenomenon (EPPI- Centre). Still it is important to note any good synthesis may by design limit the number and type of studies reviewed for the rationale of addressing specific research questions. This is outlined in the criteria for inclusion.

2.1.4.1 Criteria for Inclusion and Screening: Forty Years of Research in Bilingual Education

The synthesis presented in chapter five examines two contentious areas in the political context influencing bilingual education policy and practice and most often reviewed in the program evaluations discussed by Cummins ("Educational research"): a) the length of time required to acquire oral and/or literacy skills in English, and b) the effectiveness of various programs (both bilingual and alternative bilingual education programs like ESL and immersion) to enhance performance across the curriculum for English Language Learners (ELLs) (Cummins, "Educational research," Crawford, 2004, Krashen, 2005). These two areas have historically informed policy making at the federal and local level due to their relationship to funding and resources. The less time ELL students spend in bilingual education programs, for example, the lesser the expenditure for districts over time. However, in the same token, the less prepared these students are for the general curriculum, the greater per pupil expenditure will become throughout the extent of students' schooling. These two issues are, consequently, often cited at the forefront of the bilingual education debate about program type and adoption.

Crawford (2004) and C. Baker (2001, 2006) each cite a number of important policy changing studies that led to specific bilingual education legislation over the past forty years. This review examines studies these authors cite as most influential within the debate by either explicitly paving the path for bilingual education policy, or playing a significant role in fueling its debate during the forty year history of bilingual education.

Studies included in this review are assembled by periods that chronologically align with the timeframes of the five reauthorizations of the BEA. The studies reflect:

a) Program evaluations commissioned by the federal government for the purpose of measuring the impact of federal funding on bilingual education outcomes (Danoff et. al., 1978, K. Baker & de Kanter, 1981, US General Accounting, 1987, Thomas & Collier, 2002, August & Shanahan, 2006, Slavin et. al, 2010). The most recent of these studies, August & Shanahan 2006, Rolstad et. al, 2005 (see "b" below), and Slavin et. al., 2010 were published post Crawford (2004), C. Baker (2006), and Krashen (2005). However, I include them as updated studies providing a renewed perspective on the goals and outcomes of bilingual education.

and

b) Studies that served as a reexamination of facts and variables presented in federally funded program evaluations that found negative outcomes for bilingual education. These reviews primarily examine the methodological soundness of approaches to assigning and reviewing programs evaluated in the first category (Willig, 1985, Ramirez et. al., 1996, Greene, 1997, Rolstad et. al., 2005).

2.1.4.2 Organizing and Analyzing Studies: Forty Years of Research in Bilingual Education

As noted by scholars of both second language acquisition and bilingual education, the history of the study of second language acquisition theory, along with the research in bilingual educations programs (measuring the effectiveness of programs founded on such theory) has been rather brief (Long, 1990, 2009, Crawford, 2004). Likewise, SLA's diverse composition of disciplines, from psychology to linguistics, as well as the range of methods employed in bilingual education research, made it difficult in its early practice to identify "well attested facts" and "accepted findings" that could account for common patterns and outcomes generalizeable for policy (Long, 1990). However, today scholars collectively agree upon a set of accepted knowledge pertaining to second language acquisition processes among English Language Learners. Many scholars have argued that

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observed patterns and causal explanations specific to how individuals acquire a second language should emerge in any adequate study examining language acquisition among ELLs (Long 1990, Crawford, 2004, Krashen, 2005, Cummins, "Educational research").

These scholars contend research outcomes must be able to account for common knowledge within the field and be generalizeable for useful practice. Cummins ("Educational research") and Krashen (2005) both note that when generalizations across studies can be made, a basis for theory construction is possible. For instance, if a significant number of studies suggest low socioeconomic native Spanish-speaking English Language Learners (ELLs) enrolled in urban schools fair better in "x" program than students representing the same demographic, but enrolled in "y" program, it is fair to identify the instructional program and (affective factors) related to "x" as an accepted finding in the field (C. Baker, 2006). Cummins (2000) also notes the effectiveness of bilingual education can be measured from multiple angles. This includes the individual, classroom, school, and program level. Each measure of effectiveness is often dependent upon the quality of the program, the level of instructional delivery, and the resources supporting it. Thus, scholars have argued that bilingual programs, with the primary goal of producing English proficiency among ELLs, work when they are pedagogically based and are well implemented with adequate materials, prepared instructional staff, monetary support, district wide support, and other resources to sustain programs' existence and effectiveness (Cummins, 2009, Darling-Hammond 2000; Hakuta, et. al. 2000, Howard, et. al. 2003, Lindholm-Leary, 2001).

The product of the synthesis of research in chapter three is a composite of scrutinized findings introduced through a description of the context of the study, review of the methodology, summary of the findings, and subsequent critiques of the study by other scholars in the field. This descriptive review summarizes key concepts and themes described by the authors of the studies. In addition, it investigates how the studies have accounted for the properties of successful programs (generalizeable findings, pedagogically sound programs, resource supported, etc.) based on what has been identified by scholars.

2.1.5 Method of Analysis: Critical Qualitative Research

While the studies to be reviewed in chapter five are both of a quantitative and qualitative nature, the methodology employed in the reviews throughout this dissertation is decidedly qualitative. The goals of a literature review are achieved through the methodological approaches utilized— setting the criterion for what sources are selected, reviewed and discussed, as well as the approach to gathering and assessing data. Hart (1998) describes methodology as a set of guidelines and "rules to facilitate the collection and analysis of data….." serving as "….the basis of a critical activity consisting of making choices about the nature and character of the social world" (p. 28). A literature review is a methodology itself, as it guides the research and sets forth the framework for how the topic will be researched and discussed. The methodology addressed now refers specifically to the traditions and approaches to why and how data was collected and analyzed in order to construct the literature reviews in this dissertation.

The research questions identified for each chapter are influenced by assumptions of language ideology, and policy and planning discussed in the first chapter. Accordingly, this study is conducted through the methodologies of qualitative research. As suggested by Guba and Lincoln (1994) the values we use to interpret text are typically and often inevitably based on ideology and perspective. Individuals' way of knowing, their experiences and thus perspectives, shape what they choose to "see" and value in the world (Guba & Lincoln, 1994, Carspecken, 1996). One of the goals of qualitative research (in which the researcher has consciously acknowledged such ideological perspectives), is to examine dynamic social relationships to address the conditions leading to meaning and interpretation (Carspecken, 1996, Willis, 2007). It is used to understand how existing policies come to exist through the evaluation of intersubjective meanings of input factors (e.g. policy actors, theory, research) impacting policy-making. By employing Ruiz's (1984) positions on language and the fundamentals of qualitative research, I am able to examine if, and how the assumptions associated with language ideology have defined the story of bilingual education in the US. I surmise the story that unfolds will reveal the means by which that ideology

has potentially influenced the establishment of poor policy, followed by the creation of inefficient practices, and finally culminating in deficient outcomes among ELLs.

Qualitative research is paramount to the type of literature reviews presented in this dissertation.   As defined by Creswell (1998), qualitative research is "an inquiry process of understanding based on distinct methodological traditions of inquiry that explore social or human problem" (p. 15). The methods belonging to qualitative research assist the researcher in identifying what bearings are cogent in a study. Building with and upon the conditions and constituents that as a whole portray the phenomenon, the researcher is able to create conceptual categories comprised of comparative data drawn from various elements of the phenomenon. The categorization of data helps the researcher to establish a holistic picture, analyze words, report details, and develop patterns within a given problem to construct meaning (Creswell, 1994).

Since this dissertation is a collection of literature reviews aimed towards informing the readership about current knowledge and findings in bilingual education theory, policy, and research, the methodology as suggested by Hart (1998) will place the phenomenon in a historical context, identify the context for which the phenomenon is reviewed, and describe the existing knowledge.

The construction of meaning is the primary outcome of qualitative research. Meaning in qualitative research is created through a reasoning process that includes the piecing together of facts and information deriving from a variety of sources (Creswell 1994, Ross 1999). Because constructing meaning is inherently a perceptual process it is very possible for meaning to be transformative among groups depending upon their relationship and connection to the subject. For instance, a teacher of a dual language program may certainly see the effects of bilingual education differently than a fiscally conservative politician even after both having read the same materials presented in this dissertation. One probable explanation for such conflicting perspectives is that a teacher actively engaged in said program may inevitably have a particular understanding of what instructional methods work and do not work in the classroom with a given population of students, as well as how external social, economic, and political elements influence instruction and outcomes.

The fiscally conservative politician on the other hand would certainly be informed about a broad array of factors having led to the bilingual education phenomenon, yet this politician's goal would presumably be different from that of the teacher. That is, this politician's focus is likely on conserving funds by redirecting and reducing those monies designated to bilingual education programs— politics reflecting today's political context. With these contrasting goals in mind, these hypothetical characters would imaginably gravitate towards pieces of this document that speak directly to their needs, level of understanding, and benefit, thus drawing them towards divergent perceptual constructions of meanings.

These hypothetical scenarios lead to a question often posed: how does the researcher prevent personal or political partialness? The answer many scholars have arrived at is that partiality can be limited in research, but never completely eliminated (Krathwohl, 2004, Fraenkel & Wallen, 2009). However, it can be controlled for by the qualitative approach applied as described in the inclusion criteria, screening, searching and organizing sections of each review (Krathwohl, 2004). Quantitative research, for instance, is often lauded among the physical sciences due to its perceived limitation of bias and abundance of rigor. Rigor in quantitative research is considered to be a product of objectivity, repeatability, generalizeability, and rigid design. Conversely, in qualitative research, rigor is present, but is determined differently. It is determined by consistency in a philosophical approach, the exploration of both new and old ideas, and assiduous data collection (Krathwohl, 2004).

Krathwohl (2004) points out three major roles of research: exploration and description, explanation, and validation. Qualitative research is an inductive process that unearths explanations as to how and why a phenomenon occurs. The exploration and description Krathwohl (2004) refers to is the foundation of any problem solving and involves the discovery of relationships through the sifting through of data and text, followed by the organization and presentation of the material in such a way the obscure becomes "real and understandable" (Krathwohl, 2004, p.32). The explanation, the outcome of exploration and description, guides the reader in understanding a

situation well enough to be prepared for and have a general understanding of why what occurs next happens; setting the stage for projected outcomes to be made. Lastly, validation's role is to expose insufficient explanations, omissions, and potential limitations in the research (Krathwohl 2004). Liken to the pixels within a photograph that merge to bring a picture into focus, the three major roles of qualitative research develop a comprehensive impression of a phenomenon, revealing the interdependencies that exists amongst them (Fraenkel & Wallen, 2009). However, Krathwohl (2004) is quick to note these roles of research do not always manifest in this order. Reasonable speculation about the cause of a problem may uncover enough information to show how and why a phenomenon unfolded the way it did. In these instances, explanation may occur anywhere within the process (Krathwohl, 2004).

The aims of the qualitative methods utilized in the chapters of this dissertation are to focus on factors attributing to the problem by approaching it as a collection of akin concepts pieced together to establish a unifying explanatory scheme. The explanatory scheme these collected concepts form construct meaning. Nevertheless, as demonstrated in the examples of the hypothetical teacher and politician, perceptions of meaning vary depending on how the reader constructs the concepts that evolve. This issue is addressed by spotlighting contradistinctive angles of the problem reflected in the inclusion, screening and organizing procedures of the methodology employed in the reviews. This allows one to present the phenomenon in its whole, but at the same time remain consistent in the philosophical approach of the qualitative researcher (Carspecken, 1996).

2.1.6 Chapter Six- Discussion

This dissertation essentially seeks to close the gap between the perceptions about bilingual education's problematic state and the facts; discerning how its state is a product of the theory, history, research, and ideology that fosters it. Reflecting on the literature reviews, in chapter six I

examine what has been learned about the phenomenon and how and/if language positions influence the context of broad policy-making ascribed to bilingual education.

An essential element of qualitative research is the construction of information inherent within the data and uncovering its relationship to one another; a method of analysis particularly relevant to a phenomenon built upon so many factors. This is key to explaining, manipulating, and predicting current understandings and outcomes of bilingual education presented throughout this study.

The factors establishing the foundation of the phenomenon are examined in chapter six to clarify distinctions and separate the facts from perceptions about bilingual education. Verification, precise evidence, and generation of categories, however, are not primary objectives of qualitative research, or within this chapter. Instead, it is through this inquiry the relationships between second language acquisition in bilingual education, policy, and research are correlated, aligning content to explain how these three components converge to build an account of the bilingual education phenomenon. Additionally, the epilogue addresses questions advanced by the relationships drawn between the literature reviews that will be useful for the basis of future research.

3. CHAPTER III

3.1 WHY DISCUSS SECOND LANGUAGE ACQUISITION IN BILINGUAL EDUCATION?

The number of students in K-12 school districts across the country who are not English proficient

continues to grow, impacting instructional practices and local and national educational policies.   As

this population increases it is considerably important for educators and policy-makers to understand

the facts about how English Language Learners acquire a language and the length of time required

to achieve such as task. Notwithstanding, the varied bilingual, and English-only, instructional

models that have emerged over the past forty years to serve the educational needs of ELLs,

educators and policy-makers are still struggling to understand the elements of second language

acquisition that attribute to proficiency in English and academic content. Even though the goal of

bilingual education programs is to teach English language proficiency through theory based practice

and research, opinions are persistently divided over which type of theory based program achieves

this goal most effectively and efficiently.

Some scholars have suggested the reason for this divide is a lack of understanding about

the principles that guide language acquisition among ELLs and the research that supports it

(Crawford, 2004).   In an article appearing in Education Week more than three decades ago, James

Crawford (1987) concluded language acquisition theory would revolutionize instruction for English

Language Learners in the US. Already, language and second language acquisition theory had

begun to make its mark in bilingual education by posing such questions as: Should English

Language Learners be instructed in English only classrooms?; Does the native language have a

role in English instruction?; and Do factors outside the classroom impact English acquisition? It is

through an examination of first and second language acquisition theories' influence on bilingual education we can begin to understand explanations for second language acquisition and production among ELLs. With these questions and issues in mind, this chapter lays the theoretical foundation for second language acquisition knowledge and its application in bilingual education programs. The purpose for doing this is to formulate a coherent picture of what known about second language acquisition processes among ELLs, the variables that affect it, and the bilingual education programs that have been informed by theory over the past forty years.

3.1.1 What is Second Language Acquisition (SLA) in Bilingual Education?

Scholars have explicitly distinguished between language acquisition, an implicit subconscious action, and language learning, a formalized and aptitude driven activity (Krashen, 1982). The latter of the two styles focusing on grammar and vocabulary, while acquisition is described as a conversational and interactive based exercise in language development. As explained by Krashen (1982), "acquisition requires meaningful interaction in the target language—natural communication— in which speakers are concerned not with the form of their utterances but with the messages they are conveying and understanding" (p.1).

Most individuals learn their first language naturally with many contextual cues, support from caretakers and other resources, and within a setting in which the native language is also the majority language in the society for which they reside. English Language Learners (ELLs), on the other hand, must learn a second language (also referred to as "target language" and "L2") through formal schooling that includes traditional coursework, interacting (and at times competing) with age comparable peers already culturally and linguistically proficient in English, taking English language exams, and so forth.   Second language proficiency for native English language speakers in K-12 public schools in the US, however, is optional. It is not for ELLs residing in the US. ELLs' acquisition of the English language is fundamental to their survival in an English-speaking, and largely monolingual society that has yet to fully embrace bilingualism as a pertinent resource

(Crawford, 2004).   ELLs therein encounter not only schooling in a foreign language, but the sociocultural issues associated with being an outsider trying to assimilate within a monolingual English society.

3.1.2 About Theories of Language Acquisition in Bilingual Education

At the core of language acquisition theories concerning bilingual education are two key assumptions.   The first is that there are identifiable and measurable practices contributing to proficient language acquisition and competency.   Secondly, these processes develop over time and, sometimes through a host of language acquisition models, depending on a variety of internal and external forces influencing the learner. These assumptions have led to the development of sophisticated theories incorporating behavioral models, social interaction, cognition, and even more recently, neurological functions, to determine exactly how, why, and under what circumstance the ability to process, understand, and externalize first and second language commences.

Written recordings and observations of children's progression through the observable stages of language development marked early attempts of understanding and dissecting language acquisition. In fact, it was not until the latter half of the twentieth century that language acquisition evolved into a germane subject of systemic academic study. The theories and research that emerged during that period led to volumes of general and observable, but often unmeasured, findings about the language capacities of children. At the time, scholars generally accepted the perceptively logical view that children, the primary subject of study, acquire languages "naturally" and with minimal instructional or formalized support from external mechanisms (Crawford, 2004, Brown, 2007).

However, what seems to be a rather uncomplicated and logical notion of language acquisition, is not necessarily so in practice. Over a century of interdisciplinary research in linguistics, psychology, and even neuroscience have found that transferring this concept within the context of first language acquisition, and in the teaching of second languages, is typically ineffective

due to the dynamic nature of social and historical context, discourse, mental functions, and other interactions inherent within language learning— variables that significantly impact the language acquisition experience.

Language acquisition processes have resultantly been contrived in many ways. Theorists' shaping of these processes over the past forty-years has been grounded within the course in which they understood language intake and output during a given era. Early twentieth-century scholars, for instance, interpreted language acquisition as a medley of verbal responses to manipulations of one's environment. Yet, succeeding scholars described it as an inherent set of innate and physiological grammatical structures individuals learn, discover, and extract with maturity (Skinner, 1957, Chomsky, 1959).

Second language acquisition theory in bilingual education draws heavily upon the research in language acquisition, but also puts forth a multiplicity of additional issues that are often the cornerstone of the debate on the effectiveness of bilingual education. One's native or "first" language, for example, is most often acquired within an immersive language environment submerged in contextual cues from parents and other caregivers. Second language is fundamentally different from first language acquisition in that it involves the conscious learning of grammatical rules and structures, often in concert with the learning of academic content in a school setting (Crawford & Krashen, 2007). Some of the defining factors of second language acquisition theory explored in this chapter address stages of linguistic development, the relevancy of age in determining a critical period for acquiring a second language, the role of the native language in second language acquisition, and the influence of affective factors on second language acquisition specific to bilingual education.

With the advancement of theoretical assumptions associated with second language acquisition over the past forty-years, bilingual education practices have undergone countless transformations and pedagogical shifts. These shifts have materialized in bilingual education instructional programs built upon a range of assumptions about learning and language acquisition.

This section will in brief: a) describe approaches to language acquisition as reflected throughout history; b) outline the principles of first language acquisition that lay the groundwork for second language acquisition (SLA) in bilingual education; and c) relate current practices and instructional methods for English Language Learners (ELLs) with theories in second language acquisition pertaining to bilingual education.

3.1.2.1 Early Approaches to Second Language Instruction and Practice

Prior to second language acquisition emerging as a subject of theoretical examination within bilingual education, there existed the study of how individuals acquire their native language. This was followed by in depth theoretical examinations of how a second language is learned in the context of foreign language classrooms. Latin, for example, one of early civilizations first languages taught and learned primarily as a second language, was designated as a language of scholarship amongst the upper classes in the first century. Additionally, it was primarily taught for the purpose of mental development (Barry McLaughlin, cited in Crawford 2004, p. 183). The core instruction for this status language was grammar, reading, and translation, which were each underscored through the practice of memorization. The grammar translation approach to second language instruction historically employed the study of grammatical rules and syntax, with the intent of learning about language in order to acquire oral production in the target language (Crawford, 2004, Omaggio 2001). Readings in the language under study were traditionally followed by a discussion in the native language with considerable interpretation and play-by-play explanations of the foreign language text— downplaying the value of oral practice and student-centered instruction (Crawford, 2004). The study of grammar as a method of language acquisition held fast among educators of second language acquisition in the early twentieth-century; transforming this approach into the core instrument for foreign language instruction, and soon after, bilingual education, during that period.

The grammar-translation approach, however, provided for many shortcomings in American classrooms. First, due to the modest amount of time dedicated to oral intervention in the target

language, students were unable to exercise sentence construction.   Add to this insufficient interaction with the culture and foreign elements associated with the language under study, scholars suggest many students learning second languages within this model often experienced a sense of detachment from the target language (Omaggio, 2001, Crawford, 2004).

Due to such deficiencies within the grammar-translation approach, it was amid the 1950s that scholars began to hone into the psychological and cognitive properties of language acquisition. Researchers and educators were copiously in accord that the conventional grammar-translation methods were not producing adequate second language proficiency among the majority of students exposed to this instructional model. More discerning scholars began to look for answers to second language acquisition among the emergent theories in learning development and the vigorously debated psychological and social based schools of thoughts (Crawford, 2004, C. Baker, 2006, Brown, 2007). The study of language acquisition and its progeny, second language acquisition, began to metamorphose into a potpourri of theoretical assumptions conceived to decipher coherence to data gathered in the field, and language phenomena.

3.1.2.2 Nature versus Nurture Paradigms in Language Acquisition

Learning and language acquisition theories are largely based on the physiological, cognitive, and environmental conditions of the learning process. Growth inducing stimuli affecting levels of human development (e.g. physical, emotional, and cognitive growth) have now been observed and measured at both the environmental level (what takes place outside the body) and the physiological level (what takes place within the human body that stimulates growth). Entities active within the conditions surrounding one, as well as intrinsically innate knowledge are often intertwined within language acquisition theories, though still categorically fall on separate sides of the nature or nurture debate. Accordingly, language acquisition debates often converge around "internal" and "innate" versus "external" processes.

While individuals interact, react, and develop mentally and physically on many different levels, all are virtually genetically wired in like fashion. As such, individuals' unique permutation of genes provide a foundation for developmental growth with obvious and shared restrictions. Some of these observable restrictions, for instance, prohibit individuals from living infinitely or growing beyond certain heights, facts that are indisputable among scientists and scholars. However, the extent of genetic influence over active mental processes connected to language development is more or less where the debate in learning and language acquisition begins. Questions as to whether individuals are born into this world via "tabula rosa," and subsequently cultivated through life experiences, or biologically wired with innate knowledge, have influenced theories of learning for centuries. While observable innate factors that manipulate human growth are subscribed to amongst most scholars, the exchange on just how influential these factors are, reside in the range of views between the two extremes of nature and nurture epistemologies. To what degree do inherent variables affect human learning, and by what means do life experiences navigate the learning process, are underlying inquiries encompassing this debate.

Nurturism espouses the most significant component of an individual's development is his or her experiences with the outside world, emphasizing the importance of environmental factors in enabling organisms to attain their developmental potential. More importantly, nurture based epistemologies rely on empirical methodologies which stress purely observable and measurable phenomena. Well known examples of nurture based theories include the stimulus-response theories posited by behaviorists of the 1960s, which sought to explain learning as an outgrowth of operant conditioning. Many nurturist theories, nonetheless, have been deemphasized in recent decades, due to their over dependency and nearly complete repudiation of innate variables (Shaffer & Kipp, 2007, Crawford, 2004). Yet the influence of these theories on past and current language acquisition practices is monumental when viewed in the context of some of today's bilingual education programs that still foster remnants of behaviorist applications of conditioning and reinforcement (Crawford, 2004).

The tenets of nativism, conversely hold individuals' ability to learn is based on a system of internalized biological capabilities that mature over time through stimulation. Nativist based language acquisition theories often suggest language is an independent cognitive system that enables individuals to filter linguistic input, allowing individuals' innate predisposal to language to emerge naturally with the assistance of external stimuli. The nativist approach also attempts to address the infinite range of language structures scholars note children are able to develop beyond the primary linguistic data (or actual input) provided to them via a naturist type of model (Chomsky, 1965, Krashen & Terrell, 1983). The notion of innate capacities for language, has thus attempted to bridge the gap between what is known about individuals' susceptibility to conditioning with linguistic data and their acquired linguistic knowledge over time (Bley-Vroman, 1989).

Many scholars of language acquisition today assume an interactionist approach to language development and generally acknowledge that language acquisition is a product of biological linguistic capabilities interacting with extensive life experiences that include, at the adolescence stage, child-directed speech and imitation (Shaffer & Kipp, 2007, Cummins, 1999, Bates, 1976, McLaughlin, 1985). Likewise, individuals can learn to speak and understand unfamiliar languages at distinctive rates of acquisition depending on the model of language instruction in which they are exposed.

Regardless of the learned or inherent channels in which language acquisition thrives, it is a complex phenomenon. With regard to instructional models employed in foreign language instruction[11], scholars suggest that because so few early programs addressed the potential gamut of issues within the nature and nurture paradigms, only a fraction adequately imparted students with the competencies of a second language (Brown, 2007, Bley-Vroman, 1989). This is a point that has been reflected over decades of diversified second language instructional models that have

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[11] A formalized language acquisition instructional model that was also later employed in bilingual education for ELLs.

often failed to produce among them, students who are fluent in the target language (Crawford 2004).

In framing the status of second language acquisition[12] theory in today's bilingual education programs, it is important to be mindful that theories reviewed in this section were done so within the reigning paradigm of the era. Three schools of thought (behaviorism, cognitivism, and constructivism), evolving under the umbrella of nature or nurture paradigms, have contributed to the current state of bilingual education (Crawford, 2004). The figure below presents the schools of thought having imprinted bilingual education, linking them to the language acquisition programs they have influenced. The implications of the theories that have lent understanding to second language acquisition learning and instruction will be examined as they affect today's bilingual education programs designed for English language learners (ELLs) in the United States.

Paradigm	School of Thought	Major Advocates	Fundamental Principles/Associated Bilingual Program
Nurture	Behaviorism	B.F. Skinner	Language proficiency is developed through conditioning and reinforcement training/ Audiolingual Method
Nature	Cognitivism	Chomsky/ Krashen (1960s-)	Linguistic characteristics are innate/ English as a second language, sheltered immersion
Nurture and Nature	Cognitivism and Constructivism	Vygotsky/ Cummins (1980s-)	Cognitive development requires social interaction; Linguistic development takes place over stages/ Transitional, Dual Language

Figure 1.

[12] A broad term used in this study to delineate bilingual education programs informed by second language acquisition theory.

3.1.3 Verbal Behaviorism and Language Acquisition

Early behaviorist rendered the cognitive processes within the mind as obsolete realities, due to their intangible nature. This notion compelled objective models of empirical approaches to learning to become emblematic of this paradigm.

Psychologist B.F. Skinner (1957), one of history's more well known behavioral scholars having impacted the study of language acquisition, had a profound affect on language acquisition models of the mid-twentieth century. Skinner's (1957) theories posited learning as a function of adaptive change through imitation, conditioning, and reinforcement. Operant conditioning, a component of Skinner's (1957) reinforcement theory, positioned learning, and later, language acquisition, as a function of positive external stimuli. This account of language acquisition was developed within the same context in which Skinner (1957) understood the progression of general learning and information processing. His learning theory took place within a stimulus response structure evolving at four levels of conscious conditioning: a) the unconditioned stimulus (UST); b) the unconditioned response (URE); c) the positively reinforced response (PRE) and d) the conditioned response (CR). This four stage model hypothesized an individual exposed to an environmental and unconditioned stimulus, elicits what is typically an unconditioned response. In cases wherein the response to an unconditioned stimulus is met with positive reinforcement, the individual learns to demonstrate the same response when the stimulus is repeated. In this context, the stimulus becomes a conditioned response. Linguistically speaking, Skinner's (1957) model suggests verbal behavior is regulated by its consequences, yielding the individual merely the station of speech, not the cause. A lucid example evident within a child's acquisition of his/her first language may unfold as such: A child imitating the word "mama" followed by the parent offering positive reinforcement (such as praise) when the child correctly verbalizes the word. The positive reinforcers, replicated in response to the same action over time, produce the "conditioned" response.

Behaviorist theory extensively influenced education and soon after, the world of language teaching and practice during the mid-twentieth century. Focusing exclusively on the affects of contingencies, knowledge was viewed as the result of individuals' response to manipulated environments and variables. This of course, was at a time when data on neurophysical functions was virtually nonexistent. Language acquisition in this sense was about learning the structure and syntax of language in order to attain language performance (the oral production of language).

3.1.3.1 Behaviorism's Influence over Bilingual Education

In the behaviorist model the child's language is viewed as an undeveloped form of adult speech systems that matures through reinforcement and behavior modifying drills. This understanding of language development attracted much attention among educators in the 1960s. While not intentionally designed as a second language acquisition learning theory, principals of behaviorism influenced the audiolingual approach to foreign and second language instructional models (Brown, 2007, August & Hakuta, 1997). The audiolingual method emphasized word recognition, oral mimicking, and rote memorization of passages repeated by the instructor, with the expectation students would acquire the basic linguistic structures to construct sentences on their own. In this manner, "form over function" was the defining characteristic of audiolingual approaches (Richards, 2002). Positive grammar usage was encouraged by positive (physical and/or social) reinforcement advancing the likelihood of correct verbal grammar. The study of individuals' reactions to stimulus (i.e. hearing a speech sound and then repeating it), allowed for inferences concerning how language structures are acquired. Language acquisition, in this respect, develops as a result of the primary linguistic data an individual procures from parents and teachers (Slobin, 2001, Bates, 1994, Pinker, 1994). In practice, for example, a typical audiolingual lesson in a foreign language classroom (and later a program designed for ELLs), would manifest as described by Rivers (1964):

> The student emits a foreign language response which is comprehended and thus rewarded by the reinforcement of the teacher's approval. It is now likely to recur, and, with continued

reinforcement, it becomes established in the student's repertoire as an instrumental response, capable of obtaining certain satisfactions for the student in the form of comprehension and approval in classroom situations. It is even more strongly reinforced if by means of it he obtains what he wants in a foreign language environment . . . . (p. 32)

This approach to language instruction was based on the belief that individuals possess a fixed set of natural responses to any given life experience— language acquisition included. By these standards, the process of learning language is essentially a system involving the assembling of grammar into its proper form by the reinforcement and repetition of grammatical structures.

3.1.3.2 Limitations of Behaviorism in Language Acquisition models

Skinner's (1957) early experiments in conditioning provided evidence mentally deficient individuals could construct correct grammar patterns through the application of positive reinforcers. Bialystok and Hakuta (1994) note that even early studies of behaviorist approaches supported the notion that such instruction may have bolstered reading skills and grammar among students of foreign language studies in American classrooms.

However, others have argued that a language teaching approach dependent upon drills falls short of providing a foundation for language acquisition and communication that effectively employs the social and cultural rules of a language (Hymes, 1967, C. B. Paulston, 1974). There are many notable criticisms of the behaviorist model that have limited its use in foreign language and bilingual education instructional practices. The first of these critiques addresses behaviorisms' deficiency in accounting for novel language patterns espoused by children in lieu of conditioning and reinforcement. Some studies have suggested there is little evidence supporting the relationship between teacher or parental reinforcement and a child's use of correct grammar. Rather, parents assign greater importance to correct meaning over correct grammar (Slobin 1996, 2001, Brown & Hanlon, 1970, Demetras, et. al, 1986). Konecni and Slamecka's (1970) research provided evidence that subjects tend to be completely unaware of the relationship between correct grammar

usage and the positive reinforcement they received due to that usage. Stromwold (1994) examined this point further through observations of nonverbal language acquisition processes of a mute child. His findings suggested nonverbal children are able to understand complex language structures even without explicit parental or instructional support; rather the ability to comprehend language emerges "naturally".

Lightbrown and Spada (1994) and Lightbrown (1985) too questioned whether behaviorist based instructional models could legitimately explain the infinite number of language structures created by children beyond parental input. Their studies unearthed important findings about second language acquisition processes. These findings include: a) children select language concepts beyond what they imitate, b) there are predictable patterns in acquisition amongst language learners, and finally, c) learning language rules alone does not guarantee proficient language use in socially appropriate ways[13]. Along these lines, Marcus et. al (1994) also found that syntax errors made by children in their L1 (native language) and L2 (target language) could not be accounted for simply through imitation practices. Errors such as the overregularization of verbs (i.e. he "helpeded" me) were not likely to occur in a strictly operant conditioning model of language acquisition whereby it would be expected that only "correct" grammatical structures would be imparted to the student.

However, the most compelling liability for behaviorism, and potentially the primary reason for its decline in foreign language (and components of bilingual education instruction), is its commitment to the idea that behavior can be explained without reference to the role of cognitive and innate factors. As observed by Chomsky (1959, 2005b), children demonstrate evidence of internalized rules for language production that enable them to produce language structures they have not heard. Research in the physical sciences have also supported this notion, noting the

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[13] A concept known as communicative competence, which addresses second language learners ability to use the language in socially appropriate context.

central nervous system sustains reinforced behavior, making neurophysical functions a partner in learning and language acquisition (Roediger & Golf, 1998).

Mounting evidence positioned the behaviorist language model as largely inefficient, so much so that in the 1980s, during the height of the audiolingual instructional model for foreign language (designed for native English speaking students), the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages published, "[only] an estimated 3 percent of American high school students [reached a] meaningful proficiency in a second language" (cited in Crawford, 2004, p.182). Due to the widely perceived failures of the audiolingual method, theoretical approaches began gravitating towards identifying individuals' language acquisition and production processes through cognitive models of learning (Brown, 2007, Crawford, 2004).

3.1.4 Cognitive Theory and Language Acquisition

Many second language acquisition theories informing bilingual education instruction and practices are of a cognitive tenet and also serve as the basis of constructivist and interactionist theories on language acquisition. These theories aim to identify the scale of human beings' biological capacity for second language acquisition, as well as the significance of age and rate to the conditional attainment of acquisition. The former notion is explored through Chomsky's (1959) cognitive theory regarding the innate structures of language, while the latter is addressed by way of Krashen's (1979, 1987) five hypotheses and succeeding theories on second language acquisition.

Research in cognitive theories is aimed at identifying how and by what means language is developed. As a nativist based theory achieving much of its academic weight from generative-transformational linguistics and psychology, these theories seek to expose the underlying variables and indicators enabling language performance (the outwardly observable and measurable manifestation of language); extending beyond its course of development via language input and output contexts. Thus, roles of meaning, knowing, and understanding as internal representations allowing for outward display of performance are the underpinnings of such theories. Positing that

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internal representations are based on the language systems and rules that guide conventions of language, these theories position language acquisition as a process of building knowledge upon prior data accumulated by the learner in collaboration with genetic causation.

Noam Chomsky (1959,1996), in his critical review of Skinner's (1957) operant conditioning theory argued that reinforcement and conditioning alone could not possibly produce effective language acquisition. He charged cognitive learning strategies are informed not only by behavioral psychology, but also by internal determinants. Since the brain was considered an unobservable entity within the behavioral paradigm, few connections were ever recognized between the physiological aspects of the brain and an individual's capacity to learn. Chomsky (1959, 1996) claimed individuals are born with what he coined a language acquisition device (LAD). In theory, the LAD, a "mental organ" of sorts, innately equips individuals with the knowledge and foresight to relate systems of pragmatics and syntax while functioning within grammatical rules and constraints.

Believing individuals have a natural predisposition to language acquisition, Chomsky (1959) agued such a device allows for the development of an infinite (rather than Skinner's finite) number of correct grammatical structures. The LAD, as explained by McNeill (cited in Brown, 2007) is composed of four genetically embedded linguistic properties:

1) The ability to distinguish speech sounds from other sounds in the environment.
2) The ability to organize linguistic data into various classes.
3) Knowledge that only a certain kind of linguistic system is possible and other kinds are not
   and
4) The ability to engage in ongoing evaluation of the developing linguistic system to construct the simplest possible system out of the available linguistic input. (p. 24)

Although, not a scientifically based theory on neurology, the LAD hypothesis accounted for the often complex and diverse nature of language structures individuals produce, that operant conditioning theories, could not.

Chomsky (1965,1996) also proposed individuals, despite the language into which they are born, are adept with the knowledge of "universal grammars" that enable them to play with sounds

they hear to construct structured rules of language, subjects, and verbs. Much of the leading research in first and second language acquisition supports some form of this claim. (Hauser et. al, 2002; Krashen 1982; Cook, 1993; Mitchell and Myles, 1998). His theory of Universal Grammar, holds there are specific neurophysical properties within the brain enable it to develop and acquire language, as well as distinguish between linguistic data (1965, 1996, 2005b). These innate factors permit individuals to create new and unheard of expressions; often facilitating sentence structures never taught to them by anyone. Grammar rules, as delineated by Chomsky (1981, 2005a), are an abstract and unconscious set of principles shared among all human beings, while the parameters and laws of language use (such as the placement of a subject in relationship to a verb) are cultivated through learning experiences. These learning experiences, as described by Slobin (2002) "[facilitate] linguistic categories such as case-marking, verbal inflections, word order, and evidentiality [that] do not present themselves transparently to [an individual]...in the give and take of everyday life" (p.1). Crawford (2004) delineates this process well in a metaphor:

> Heredity has 'hardwired' the human mind with an ability to acquire certain kinds of linguistic structures. Environmental stimuli-messages received in a natural language 'throw switches' to activate the 'circuits' of possible grammar in the brain (p.186).

The notion of a LAD and Universal Grammar was initially applied to the study of first language acquisition. However, scholars have suggested that with instructional support, the second language learner, for example, can monitor the development of second language by building upon the Universal Grammar of the native language (Krashen, 2005b, Crawford & Krashen, 2007). Scholars hypothesize that ELLs lacking pre-exposure to universal grammars are still capable of constructing new language structures despite their native language (White, 2003). Accordingly, when applied to bilingual education, the theory on Universal Grammar, would suggest ELLs are able to attain unconscious knowledge beyond input received in the target language. Thus, communication styles, or the many ways in which language is used among different language

groups within their diverse social contexts, may vary, yet the underlying principles of language remain the same.

3.1.4.1 Limitations of Universal Grammar

Some scholars have argued universal grammars continue to be accessible to adolescents and adults following puberty (Bialystok & Miller, 1999, Meisel, 1997, White & Genesse, 1996, Schartz & Sprouse, 1996). However, there are different opinions on just how accessible Universal Grammar is after the brain has reached certain levels of development. For instance, Bley-Vroman's (1988) empirical study twenty years ago suggested that while Universal Grammar may appear accessible to older adolescents and adults, it is in a diminished form, accounting for some ELLs' inability to reach native like fluency in the target language. Cook and Newson (2007) support this notion. They too note mature learners often do not attain native like fluency of the L2. Cook and Newson (2007) attribute this to the belief that Universal Grammar is employed first by the native language while the second language must resultantly act as an extension of language structures already established in the first language. As described by Cook and Newson (2007):

> The initial L1 [first language] state in the child's mind has no language-specific knowledge; the initial state of the L2 [second language] learner already contains one grammar, complete with principles and actual parameter settings. With different starting points for L1 and L2 acquisition it would hardly be surprising that the end result would be different (p.229).

Since Universal Grammar was for the most part, theorized within the scope of first language acquisition, its applications in second language acquisition is unclear. In fact, Universal Grammar has had little sustainable impact on bilingual education aside from affirming that acquiring a second language is feasible and quite natural in the physiological sense, due to what may be innate linguistic structures facilitating language acquisition. Therefore, at the very least these studies have provided evidence that individuals, despite their age, possess some form of an innate ability to

acquire a second language based on their physical predisposition to observing, filtering, and utilizing language structures.

3.1.4.2. Cognitive Theory and Second Language Acquisition: Critical Period Hypothesis

Aligning with select assumptions of time limitations concerning accessibility to Universal Grammar, some cognitive theorists have also proposed a critical period for language acquisition. This hypothesis suggests there is an onset and completion period in which individuals' minds are most receptive to language input (Lenneberg, 1969, Johnson & Newport, 1989, Patkowski, 1980). Lenneberg (1969), in particular, argued that this process transpires within the brain around the time the average person enters puberty, curtailing the prospects of learning other languages. He surmised that beyond this period of "receptiveness" linguistic confines begin to become embedded and individuals gradually lose their ability to learn language, as well as their access to complex grammatical structures. The critical period hypothesis regarding human beings' inherent language faculty became widely accepted and soon evolved into a highly charged debate concerning when and for how long innate cognitive capacities for language remains viable. This became particularly important to the study of language acquisition in bilingual education given the number of studies that began to provide evidence of different rates and levels of learning among individuals (Walburg et. al., 1978, Krashen, 1979, Snow & Hoefenagle- Hohle, 1978).

Much research has in fact supported the notion of a critical period for learning first and second languages (Johnson, 1992, Patkowski, 1980). Patkowski (1980) found that immigrant adolescent students learning English in the US were more likely to acquire native like proficiency in the target language than their adult counterparts. Johnson and Newport's (1989) later study suggested individuals are more susceptible to language input during childhood. The study, which examined ELLs' age of arrival in the US and English proficiency, provided evidence that individuals arriving in the US before seven years of age were able to acquire a more native like English proficiency than subjects arriving after the age of seven and exposed to the same instructional

conditions. Other similar studies have continued to provide evidence immigrant children acquire a second language more rapidly than their parents, and with little or no detectable accent (Scovel, 2006, Schumann, 2006).

3.1.4.3 Limitations of the Critical Period Hypothesis

Still, much of the literature on the critical period hypothesis is inconsistent. A great deal of it does not support the notion that children learn second languages more quickly and with more native like fluency than older adolescents and adult ELLs (Harley, 2004, Bialystok & Hakuta, 1994, Collier, 1987, Krashen, et. al. 1994). In fact, many scholars suggest language skills that are often considered proficient among second language learners (i.e. conversational skills or basic utterances in the target language), may in fact be learned language skills superficially appearing to reflect fluency (Cummins, 1980, Cummins, 1981b, Mercado & Romero, 1993, Avlos, 2003, Dickenson et. al. 2008, Tabors et. al., 2000). This research points to students' interactions with one another on the playground as an inadequate measure of second language learners' proficiency in more complex academic activities such as reciting an essay, or articulating an experience in writing or speech.

Scholars' also have challenged cognitive based theories expounding a limited window of opportunity to learn a second language that fastens as one matures in age (Hakuta et. al, 2003, Bley-Vroman, 1989, Bialystok, 1997, Bialystok & Hakuta 1994, Obler, 1981, Genesee, 1982). Bley-Vroman's (1989) fundamental-hypothesis theory, for instance, accounts for the inaccuracy of such biological limitations by contending one's ability to acquire a second language is largely dependent upon the cognitive knowledge base established during the formative years. Adult language learners' exposure and interaction with the target language, on the other hand, is very unlike that of an adolescent learner. Evidence of affective factors such as attitude, cultural shock and lack of social interaction with native speakers have been identified as decreasing adult language learners' access to the target language. This effectively results in restricted learning of the L2 (Schumann,

2006, Cummins, 1991, Klein, 1986). Schumann (1975) argued social and psychological factors have the most influence over language acquisition among older adolescents and adults. He contended that motivation, and even the language learners' perceived role and status within the dominant language society, will either support or obstruct acquisition of the target language. This same finding was advanced in later research on the subject (Marinova-Todd et. al., 2000, Marshall & Snow, 2000, Schuman, 2006). These studies, like the prior ones, found older adolescents and adult ELLs attain a greater proficiency in the target language when exposed to increased levels of contact with the target language group (Fledge & Liu, 2001, Riley & Fledge, 1998).

Snow (1987), whose early work supported the principles of a critical period hypothesis, later went on to note in consecutive studies that the degree of adult ELLs' English proficiency is often measured at age appropriate levels of communication. She concludes this practice may in effect skew our perceptions of the relationship between learning ability and age. For instance, an adult ELL is often expected to acquire English at a rate and level comparable to an adult native English speaker; rather than at a rate and level aligning with the learner's access to the English language, instruction, and so forth. Older adolescent and adult ELLs face a more challenging task than that presented to their younger counterparts whose age and English acquisition rate compared to their native English-speaking peers represents a lesser disparity. These older learners have less access to contextual support reinforcing processes of deduction for the purpose of unearthing word and sentence meaning (Snow, 1987). Genesse (1981) found that when instruction and classroom resources are controlled for among adult and adolescent ELLs, second language acquisition outcomes are comparable across the two groups. Bialystock and Hakuta's (1994) study also shed some perspective on the issue of age and quality of exposure to second language. Their study provided evidence that adolescents typically perform better in assessments of language proficiency due to the formal grammatical instruction they receive in grade school, criteria measured in assessments. Instruction for ELLs, however, is generally of a conversational nature.

3.1.4.4 Cognitive Theories and Bilingual Education

Krashen (1979, 1983) posited a series of hypotheses that as a whole represent a theory on second language acquisition serving as a basis for some of the strengths and weaknesses of bilingual education instructional models. These hypotheses comprise: the natural hypothesis, the acquisition learning hypothesis, the monitor hypothesis, the input hypothesis, and the affective filter hypothesis. Some components of Krashen's (1979, 1983) theory are grounded in Chomsky's (1959) notion of a language acquisition device and universal grammars facilitating language. However, Krashen (2005, 1979) extends Chomsky's (1959) concepts by claiming mature adolescents, as well as adults, continue to have access to the LAD even as they mature in age. Additionally, he charges second languages can be acquired in the same way the native language is— through stages of acquisition he references through his hypotheses.

The first of the five hypotheses, the "natural order hypothesis", suggests human beings acquire a second language by applying the same rules for acquiring the native language. The "acquisition learning hypothesis" maintains there are two means by which second language learners can acquire a second language: a) acquisition, described as the implicit and informal means of acquiring a second language, and b) learning, the explicit and formal means of producing the target language. The latter describing the order of learning resulting from instructional practices addressing language output (oral production). The third hypothesis, "monitor hypothesis" suggests language acquisition is produced through informal interaction with native speakers of the target language, while conventional instructional methods serve as an "editor" of output. The "input hypothesis" postulates human beings acquire a language by receiving and interpreting messages in the form of repetition, hand signals, and other activities enhancing the audio portion of language; activities Krashen refers to as "comprehensible input." An important element of the "input hypothesis" is that input must be delivered at a level slightly above the competence of the learner. The last of the five hypotheses, the "affective filter hypothesis," speaks directly to the learning environment, noting that supportive, resourceful and interactive learning spaces are most conducive

to developing self-esteem and motivation that promote language acquisition and production among ELLs. Thus, imagine the elementary school teacher who speaks to her young students by means of a calm and soothing voice, repeating phrases like "pencil", pointing to, and picking up the object to assist the students in associating the phonetical sound of "pencil" with the actual object. This example of "comprehensible input" is a process that takes place within many bilingual education classrooms, though in some cases, less explicitly depending on the age and level of the learner. However, Krashen (2003) warns the less robust the comprehensible input is, the greater the likeliness of delayed language acquisition. Research has provided evidence LEP students who do fall behind academically due to the lack of comprehensible access to content knowledge are inept at demonstrating content knowledge and in result fall behind their English speaking counterparts (DaSilvia Iddlings, 2005). More damaging, they are often implicitly consigned an inferior status and taught as though their cognitive capacity is of a lower order, hence the over representation of LEP students in special education (DaSilvia Iddlings, 2005, Manyak, 2002).

In practice, Krashen's hypotheses suggest: a) English Language Learners require access to multiple authentic language sources (including interactions between ELL students, between ELL students and their teacher, and between ELLs and native speakers of the target language); b) ELLs require a range of opportunities to actualize language speech outside of the classroom; c) the level of the target language presented to the learner must be age and level appropriate, while instructional delivery must move alongside the stages of natural language acquisition; and d) instruction should focus on meaningful language application.

3.1.4.5 Cognitive Theory's Implications for Bilingual Education

Krashen (1979, 2003) claimed second language acquisition is manifested through social interaction involving problem solving rather than the deliberate study of language. In the continuum of available second language acquisition program models, cognitive theory has had considerable application within English as a second language (ESL) programs, which have many variations,

including sheltered English immersion, each configured to provide comprehensive input in English oral and writing skills within two to three years. Krashen (1992) does not necessarily advocate for ESL instruction as the single means of effective language teaching, but does point to it as an important component of instruction for ELLs.   He specifically states English should be the primary language of instruction for ELLs, though delivered at levels aligning with students' language proficiency and development.   As emphasized by Crawford (1998), "Krashen advocates English instruction from day one in bilingual programs, but at levels students can understand" (p. 2). Nonetheless, Crawford and Krashen (2007) still argue native language must play a role in ESL instruction.   In fact, both scholars indicate the best instruction for ELLs is that which provides English language instruction focused on conversational skills and writing, alongside sheltered content instruction supported by the native language. In cases wherein there is a homogeneous non-English speaking population of students, this method sustains students' academic content growth by delivering content in a language clearly understood by those students, while students are simultaneously provided English instruction through ESL methods. This allows students to learn academic content at the same level as their native-English speaking peers, without falling behind while learning the English language through special instruction.

In recent literature, scholars have begun to focus on the benefits of skill transfer from the first language to English, particularly with regard to literacy and content (August & Shanahan, 2006, August & Hakuta, 1997, Hakuta, et. al., 2000). As students become more English proficient, the sheltered content classes, proposed by Krashen (2004) become less dependent on the native language and are delivered in English. As described by Krashen (2004),

> …in these [ESL] programs, the first language provides indirect but powerful support for English, and English is provided directly by ESL, sheltered subject matter teaching in English [for the intermediate learner] and eventually by mainstreaming. There is no requirement that Spanish be "mastered" before English" (p. 4).

Yet Krashen (2005) reminds us that English-only instruction for students who have not mastered the English language is counterproductive to reaching proficiency in English.   This is why

he stresses that "comprehensible input" align with students' level of English attainment. In good practice ESL instruction is delivered in stages. Krashen (1985) provides an example of three stages of an ESL instructional model:

> Beginning: Mainstream (Art, Music, PE); Sheltered (ESL); First Language (All Core Subjects).

> Intermediate: Mainstream (Art, Music, PE): Sheltered (ESL, Math, Science); First Language (Language Arts, Social Studies).

> Advanced: Mainstream (Art, Music, PE, Science, Math); Sheltered (ESL, Social Studies); First Language (Language Arts).

3.1.4.6 Limitations of Cognitive Based Approaches in Bilingual Education

For the most part scholars' criticism of cognitive based instructional programs designed for ELLs, such as English as a second language (ESL), are not a critique of the program, but of the lack of conditions that would enable the method to be successfully implemented. In theory, ESL instructional programs like that proposed by Krashen work when implemented with adequate pedagogical resources, teacher training, and school support (August & Hakuta, 1997, Thomas & Collier, 2002, Mora, 2003, Mora, 2000a, Klinger & Vaughn, 2000). However, as suggested in a recent review of programs by Kindler (2002), most ESL programs use little to none of the native language of the students enrolled.

ESL instruction often utilizes very little, if any of the students' native language, the instructional approach is highly dependent upon Krashen's (1979) input hypothesis wherein instructors provide instruction "just beyond" the students competence level with a focus on comprehensible messaging, accompanied by visual aids, physical activities, and comprehension checks. The fact is, ESL programs are characteristically offered in school settings whereby multiple language groups are enrolled. In such classes there are typically an insufficient number of students deriving from the same language group to constitute a class size wherein one native language can be utilized to support English instruction. Additionally, research has shown that there is a shortage of qualified teachers proficient in the native language of students enrolled in ESL programs.

("English language," 2004). According to a federal Department of Education review of programs available to ELLs, these same teachers typically have only four hours of training pertaining to ESL (Zehler et. al., 2003). Furthermore, most institutes of higher education do not require student teachers to take courses in ELL instruction even though population projections indicate most "mainstream" teachers will instruct an ELL student at some point during their career (Menken & Antunez, 2001, Ballantyne et. al., 2008).

In most states, ESL certificated teachers are required to have special training in ESL techniques permitting them to diagnose proficiency levels and provide grade appropriate instruction in English, based on general education content. However, ESL assessments are intended to measure language output, not content, and at the same time ESL teachers (in many states) are not mandated to be certified in the content area for which they provide ESL instruction. This makes content assessment problematic for ELLs enrolled in ESL classes lacking the prospective advantage of a content certified teacher (Faltis & Hudelson, 1998, OELA, 2008).

With regard to Krashen's (1979) hypothesis, scholars have criticized the perceived lack of attention given to cognitively demanding and context reduced learning within ELS program models. McLaughlin (1987) took issue with both Chomsky's (1965) and Krashen's (1979, 1985) positioning of students as passive learners. He argued that in both the language acquisition device proposed by Chomsky (1965) and the five hypotheses paradigm put forth by Krashen (1979, 1985), language seemingly emerges as a result of innate structures or through universal grammars activated by "comprehensible input". McLaughlin (1987) goes on to explain that these two models of language acquisition deemphasize the role of learner motivation.

Others have argued that Krashen's (1983) natural order hypothesis focuses too much on the role of comprehensible input and overlooks the importance of output (Mitchell & Myles, 1998, Gibbons, 1985). In its extreme, the hypothesis could be used to delay oral production among learners in lieu of an overextended amount of time spent on comprehensible input. Still, in giving credence to the natural approach, Brown (2000) notes, "sometimes we [teachers] insist that

students speak thereby raising anxiety and lessening the possibility of further risk-taking as the learner tries to progress" (p.108). In this respect, it is more beneficial to allow a student learning a new language to undergo a silent period.

Krashen's (1979, 1985) theories have also been criticized for their perceived downplay of grammar and vocabulary. Long and Robinson (1998) criticized the minimization of grammatical instruction within Krashen's (1985) proposed "natural" approach to teaching. They argued that by focusing on form (i.e. correction of grammar, direct explanation), students become less attuned to oral and written discourse reflecting academic and more formalized aspects of communication (such as writing a report or engaging within a professional work setting). The focus on grammatical forms assists students in acquiring more advanced language skills. Long and Robinson (1998) however, did not minimize the importance of communicative instruction in ESL classrooms. Instead, they proposed attention to form should be discretely integrated into communicative approaches encompassing Krashen's (1985) model of "comprehensible input".

3.1.5 Cognitive/ Constructivist Theory and Second Language Acquisition in Bilingual Education

Based on subsets of cognitive theory and social psychology, constructivism emerged as a teaching and learning approach in the latter half of the twentieth-century. The general learning assumptions embedded within this theory are built upon principles espoused by Vygotsky (1996, 1978) and later accredited to Cummins' (1979) cognitive and interactionist conceptualization of language acquisition in bilingual education. Within the constructivist framework, nature and nurture processes work collectively to produce a theory on language acquisition.

Constructivism posits an individual's innate and acquired skills and knowledge are developed through interaction with environmental stimuli. This notion is also known as "adaptive behavior"—skills individuals learn in the process of engaging in learning experiences with others and inherent within the conditions surrounding them. Such skills are manufactured by way of an

individual's processing of external stimuli, as opposed to the stimuli itself (Bruner, 1990). In this respect, new knowledge is developed through one's interaction with peers, teachers and parents, prompting the accession of knowledge sculpted upon previous experiences and information. This particular paradigm represented a radical shift from the learner as a receiver of knowledge and information, to the learner as an active participant in constructing his/her own meaning and thought.

Vygotsky's (1996, 1978) theory on learning specifically states children acquire knowledge and new information primarily through their engagement in social experiences. Along these lines, mediated actions influence cognitive processes at different levels of mental development. Vygotsky claims, "every function in the child's cultural development appears…twice…: first,…on the social [level], and then…within the child" (1978, p. 57). The social communication between individuals, their peers, and custodians is what is described as regulated learning, representing tasks accomplished with the guidance and assistance of others. This is followed by and often corresponds with, "private speech", children's internalization of information observed and gathered from the social environment and often marked by a silent period in their language development. It is during this silent period that the child is listening, playing with sounds and meaning, and attempting to verbalize what is heard (R. Brown & Hanlon, 1970). Self-regulation, on the other hand, is regarded as a "higher mental function" achieved when a child has mastered the cultural tools of language and social interaction imparted by his/her more competent peers. At this point a child is, in theory, cognitively and socially equipped to appropriately act and respond to social situations.

Language acquisition in this respect is a product of the influences that trigger it. Interaction serves as a catalyst to speech whereby meaning is resultantly constructed. Vygotsky (1978) termed this process the "zone of proximal development". The "zone" is described as the divergence between one' s ability to think and act, devoid of interaction with other human beings (when the mind is able to self regulate without extensive input from outside forces). Social interaction is positioned as the origin of mental processes, thus the greater number of opportunities children have

to socialize with more competent peers, the more seemingly they are to improve upon speech. Social interactions, Vygotsky (1978) argued, when used to build upon one's previously acquired knowledge, enables children in particular, to increase their learning capacities.

3.1.5.1 Cummin's Theory on Capacity for Second Language Acquisition among ELLs

Much of Jim Cummins (1979) theories are built upon cognitive and constructivists paradigms. Cummins (1979, 1981b, 2000) contends the context of the social environment in which the language learner derives has significant impact on second language acquisition. His theories maintain learning is an activity dependent upon previous experiences and represent an outgrowth of interrelated data and information about a given subject; gathered by the language learner over time. He also takes on three components of second language acquisition addressed to some degree or another by his predecessors: the cognitive capacity of individuals to effectively learn and sustain multiple languages, the age at which individuals are most susceptible to language acquisition, and academic language versus conversational language.

A widely held belief among detractors of bilingual education is that concurrent development of the first and target language (L2) restricts individuals' capacity to learn a single language with an adequate level of proficiency (Crawford, 2004). Cummins (1979, 1981b) refers to this notion as Separate Underlying Proficiency (SUP), which in short, surmises individuals' brains have limited data storage capacity to accommodate fluency, vocabulary, and grammar in multiple languages. However, Cummins (1979) proposes a counter concept— an oppositional theory termed, Common Underlying Proficiency (CUP). CUP conversely represents the brain as having unlimited storage capacity to essentially adapt and expand with the more input it receives. While Cummins (1979, 1980) concedes the SUP notion may appear as "common sense," a number of studies have provided supportive evidence of the brain's capacity to expand and amass infinite memory that can advance second language development (Davidson et. al., 2006, Genesee, 2000, Fisher, 2005, Lamendella, 2006, Nguyen & Shin, 2001).

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Presuming the brain's plasticity and cognitive ability to perpetually absorb and apply information, Cummins (1979, 1981b) critique of early cognitive views of a critical period hypothesis focus attention on mature learners' unique ability to acquire new languages due to the cognitive knowledge they have already constructed. He suggests cognitively demanding levels of language proficiency incorporating advance mental activities are much less difficult for mature ELLs compared to their adolescent counterparts. Believing grammatical mechanisms acquired by older adolescents and adult learners transfer from the native language to the target language, Cummins (2001b) maintains native language mastery is a key element within second language acquisition among ELLs. Other scholars, have in more recent literature, advanced this idea of language and knowledge transfer, positioning native language proficiency as an indicator of second language acquisition success (August & Hakuta, 1997, Hakuta et. al., 2003). Recent research has in fact provided a significant amount of evidence strengthening this contention. Sparks et. al. (2009), for example, found high school students who were more adept at decoding words in their native language were also able to apply these same skills to decoding words in the target language. In a study of Chinese students' reading skills, Gottardo et. al. (2001) found native language served as a catalyst to the transfer of phonological components of the English language. The same was determined to be true in a like study of native Spanish speaking elementary students' learning English in a more recent study conducted by Lindsey, Manis and Bailey (2003). In this case, strong proficiency in the native language was a predictor of word knowledge and concepts in the target language. The quantity of research with similar findings is growing (August & Shanahan, 2006, Sparks, et. al., 2009, Lee & Lemonnier Schallert, 1997). Bialystok (2002) identified many similarities between first and second language acquisition, finding that "language and cognitive development proceed through the same mechanisms, in response to the same experiences, and with considerable mutual influence on each other" (p. 162). The consensus among these studies is that second language learners lacking mastery skills in their native language have a diminished

ability to transfer skills from the L1 to the L2, leading to deficiencies in development of the academic proficiencies of both languages (Cummins, 2000, Hakuta et. al., 2003, Hakuta, 1990).

Cummins (1981) refers to this notion of knowledge transfer as the "interdependence hypothesis." He famously employed this term to provide explanations for the outcomes of early case studies finding students academically fluent in a native language, attending schools conducted primarily in a foreign language and outperforming their native speaking counter parts in standardized tests administered in the target language (Cummins et. al., 2001). Such evidence had been delineated in at least two case studies during the time in which Cummins claims were first made. One describes American students attending foreign language schools and the other of English speaking Canadian students attending Canadian French language schools (Hornby, 1980, Cohen, 1975, Campbell, 1984). In both cases the subjects demonstrated mastery skills in their native language before entering the foreign language environment. Likewise, in both cases the students learning the L2 demonstrated significant gains in cognitively demanding skills with regard to the second language (Cohen, 1975, Genesee, 1987, Lambert & Tucker, 1972). Cummins (2001a) and others credit such phenomena to the transfer of skills inherent within the mature language learner. But at the same time, he notes the success of these particular subjects was also a product of their social environment (Cummins, 2001a, Hakuta et. al, 2003). In both cases, the subjects resided in societies wherein their native language was the dominant language, and tremendous conveniences to read, speak and write in their native language were readily available. This situation is not always the case for ELLs in the US. In fact, it is most often the exact opposite. ELLs in the US have few opportunities to engage in their native language in the dominant society. As Cummins (1981b) explains, "[this produces a] lower threshold level of bilingual competence," making mastery of native language skills, which provide for the most optimal conditions for language transfer, an even greater priority for ELL instruction.

Cummins (1981b, 2000) is also mindful of the different types of language skills ELLs must achieve in order to be successful in school and social context. Cummins (1978) theories provide a

basis of understanding how varying levels of academic achievement are affected by unique forms of "bilingualism" or language proficiency. It is important to note, for instance, that not all components of language are related to literacy and/or cognition. Cummins makes a distinction between cognitive academic language proficiency (CALP) and basic interpersonal communications skills (BICS). CALP refers to academic language associated with literacy, technical vocabulary and abstract concepts. The latter, BICS (the precursor to CALP), refers to a level of proficiency in the target language that enables communication on a social level. It includes social and linguistic clues, gestures and voice variations. Cummins surmises it takes about one to two years for an ELL student to reach BICS and nearly 10 years to attain CALP (Cummins, 1978). The difference between these two levels of proficiency is that BICS can be acquired in very informal settings such as a playground where conversational language is peer-appropriate, less formal, simple, straightforward and accompanied by extreme body language; while CALPS is fixed within the context of academics, requiring students to grasp "complex grammatical structures" that enable students to engage in cognitively demanding tasks such as presenting oral presentations and writing analytically (Cummins cited in Crawford, 2004, p.197).

Take for example two children on the playground alternating turns on the swing set. One child may direct and physically show the other child when and how to take his turn by dismounting the swing set, repeatedly saying "your turn" and pointing or guiding the other student to the swing set. This is what is meant by contextual support. The gestures and the inflections in voice and tone all assist the language learner in cognitively deducing the meaning of the words verbalized in the L2. In addition, the contextual support allows the communication to be interactive, encouraging both the speaker and the receiver to negotiate meaning by employing gestures and intonation (Cummins, 2000, Cummins, "Putting language"). Now imagine those same two children engaging in a classroom examination involving an essay question directing them to write a short composition describing the life cycle of a butterfly. Without the teacher prompting this question aloud, and perhaps motioning to the cocoon and butterfly drawings students created during an earlier lesson,

the ELL student will likely struggle in comprehending the question due to a lack of contextual support. The second task, in this example, is more cognitively complex and entails critical thinking and processing skills a conversationally proficient learner would have yet attained.

Thus, Cummins (2000) argues success for ELLs across the curriculum, requires both conversational proficiency and academic language proficiency in the L2.   As explained by Cummins, "the essential aspect of academic language proficiency is the ability to make complex meaning explicit in either oral or written modalities by means of language itself rather than by means of contextual or paralinguistic cues" (Cummins, "Putting language proficiency").

Cummins (1981b) distinguishes four quadrants of language acquisition clarifying this continuum of language proficiency. The quadrants, divided into four equal parts, delineate context embedded activities, which include clues assisting the language learner in comprehending meaning, at the apex, and context reduced activities at the lowermost section (see figure 2, adapted from Cuevas, 1996). The context reduced tasks refer to activities lacking clues available in the learning environment. Describing an experience, per se, is a context reduced activity. The right side of the figure points to cognitively undemanding activities, which can be context embedded, such as fact recalling activities (i.e. responding to a basic mathematical equation) or context reduced, such as describing an experience.   The left side represents cognitively demanding activities falling within the context embedded sphere. (i.e. reading a book with pictures) and within context reduced activities (as reflected in the lower left) conducive to writing a report (Cummins, 1981b).   Each of these quadrants discern between the multiple levels of language proficiency ranging from novice to mastery.   The quadrants also suggest a necessity to measure ELLs competence at every stage of the continuum in order to capture an accurate representation of their language proficiency.

Context
Embedded

Cognitively
Demanding

Cognitively
Undemanding

Context
Reduced

Cummins' Model of Language Proficiency
Adapted from Cuevas (1996)
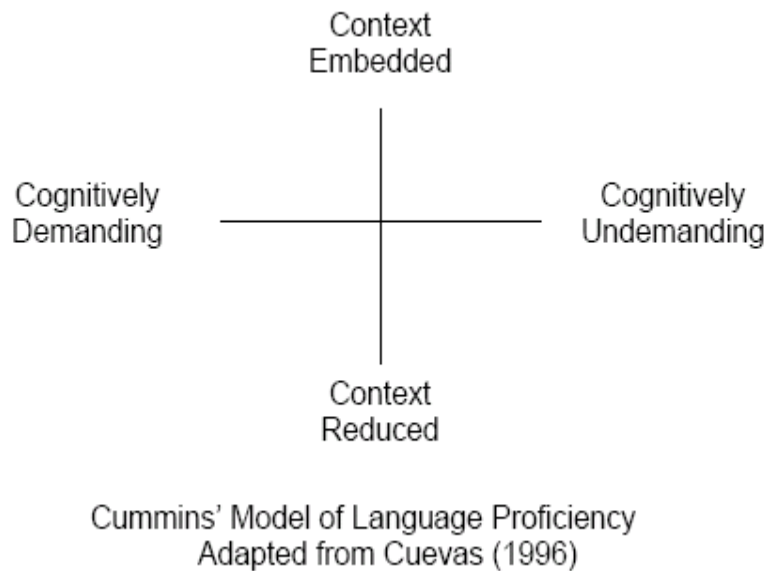
Figure 2.

3.1.5.2 Constructivism's Implications for Bilingual Education

Recent literature has indicated strong literacy and language skills in the first language produce greater English proficiency (August & Hakuta, 1997, August & Shanahan, 2006). Cummins emphasizes an additive bilingual education approach wherein academic subjects are taught in the L1 while additional instructional support is provided in the L2 (Cummins et. al., 2001). At least two bilingual education program alternatives utilized in classrooms serving ELLs across the country can be credited to the foundations of these principles. These programs, transitional bilingual education and dual language, are structured to build upon learners' existing knowledge constructs through social interaction amongst peers and instructors, maximizing upon elements of language transfer.

The sole aim of transitional programs are to develop English proficiency among ELLs within a matter of two to three years. Students from varied language backgrounds may be enrolled in the same class, while content based instruction is delivered in the native language of the ELLs whenever possible. An additional component of this program is students simultaneously receive

English specific instruction during designated periods of the day, building language, literacy and content knowledge across the curriculum. Seemingly capitalizing upon constructivist principals of interaction, as well as cognitive notions of cross-linguistic transfer, this program is typically utilized within elementary grade levels. As students begin to manifest comprehension in the L2, they are transitioned into mainstream general education classes where instruction is delivered in English (Gersten, R. & Woodward, 1995). Still, it important to note this program, like any program alternative can be implemented by way of diverse means depending upon the school setting, available resources, and the goals of the community and school.

Developmental and additive bilingual programs, which support the growth of the student's native language, represent the other type of programs influenced by Cummins (1979). Dual language developmental programs, in particular, serve native English speakers and native Spanish speakers (the population typically enrolled in such programs) in the same classroom, with the goal of teaching both student populations proficiency in a second language. The notion of social interaction as a catalyst to language production is at the core of this program's design. The program integrates ELLs within the US English speaking culture by encouraging conversational and academic exchanges between ELLs and native English speakers, while also underscoring native language maintenance. The latter goal of the program is built upon Cummins (1981b) notion of knowledge transfer from the native language to the target language. The dual language instructional approach places equal value on English and the native language of the ELL students. In these classrooms a significant portion of instructional time is delivered in English, while the other portion is conducted in the ELLs' target language (or what is considered the native English speaking students' foreign language). Thus, learners of both languages and cultures are immersed in a second language throughout the course of a school day. In some classrooms this may mean certain subjects such as social studies, are taught in Spanish per se, while other subjects such as math and science are taught in English. Other models of dual language are dependent upon team teaching whereby one teacher will provide instruction in English for half the day, with a different

teacher delivering instruction in Spanish for the remainder of the day. In both cases, native English speaking students and ELLs share the same classroom, textbooks, and teachers throughout the day. Students employ L1 and L2 skills alongside experiential and collaborative learning inside and outside the classroom (Faltis & Hudelson, 1998). Dual language programs, can extend between five and twelve years, aligning with the cognitive theories on second language acquisition timetables and also, in a number of circumstances, schools' goals of producing bilingual student graduates.

3.1.5.3 Limitations of Constructivist Approaches in Bilingual Education

Constructivism assumes the student is always an active learner, constantly processing information and subjectively forming meaning from shared experiences with peers. However, some have argued that within dual language classrooms, governed by an English dominant environment, these shared experiences are limited, as ELL students do not yet have an adequate grasp of the target language to communicate with native English speaking peers. Rossell and K. Baker (1996) argued that developmental programs keep students in a cycle of native language dependency that could potentially stall their English language acquisition. Some proponents of bilingual education have examined the social value of these programs. Garcia and Torres (2010) recognize that while both languages are used within dual language instruction, the languages are to be spoken separately, which undermines the equalization of the languages (and ultimately the value assigned to the minority language).

3.1.6 Conclusions on Second Language Acquisition in Bilingual Education

Language acquisition theories shaping second language acquisition in bilingual education practice present a range of principles from the operant conditioning influences of audiolingual approaches, to cognitive conceptions of language capacity and receptiveness, to the constructivist tenets of the role of social interactions in language acquisition processes. Each of these theories have been

played out in varying instructional approaches presenting a variety of implications for bilingual education practice as seen in the audiolingual and grammar-translation approaches discussed early in the chapter and the developmental instructional methods described at the close. Yet, as suggested in the review of some of the more contemporary programs, perceived failures of said programs exist within the lack of proper resources (be it instructional delivery or teacher training) rather than the theoretical underpinnings; preventing programs from adequately collimating with theoretical foundations.

Consequently, it is necessary to note none of these theories are presented as by and large prescriptions for bilingual education practice, instead they are offered as conceptual distinctions developed and utilized to explain particular features of first and second language growth and expression, that when implemented as designed, advance important components of effective instructional practice for ELLs.

4. CHAPTER IV

4.1 THE HISTORY OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION POLICY AND PRACTICE IN THE US

In today's debate about bilingual education the central point of contention among opponents and proponents is the use of the native language in English language and content instruction. This debate has guided much of the legislative path and policy shifts reflected throughout the history of bilingual education in the United States public school system (Crawford, 2004). This chapter examines that path by looking at the legislative history, alongside the social and economic conditions during each period the Bilingual Education Act embarked upon reauthorization. This will set the framework for the later analysis within this paper, addressing how bilingual education policy development may be influenced by ideology, research and theory.

In 1968 the Bilingual Education Act (BEA), Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA), was passed by Congress to provide equal educational opportunity to English Language Learners in the public school system. This was achieved through non-prescriptive fiscal allocations to school districts experiencing an influx of students arriving to public schools possessing limited English proficiency. The BEA expressly pointed to the education of English Language Learners as "one of the most acute educational problems in the United States" (BEA, 1968, Sec. 701). Intended to provide solutions to the language epidemic cultivated by the rapid demographic transformation led by Spanish-speaking immigrants, the bill was fashioned primarily for this population, defined within the legislation as Limited English Speaking Ability (LESA). As proposed by Senator Ralph Yarborough (Texas, D), the author of the bill, the purpose

of the BEA was "not to keep any specific language alive…but just to try to make those children fully literate in English" (1967, cited in Porter, 1998, p. 150).

The foundation of the legislation was also afforded sanction by way of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which had erstwhile set a minimum standard for the education of linguistic minorities in the US. Prohibiting discrimination on the basis of race, gender, or national origins, subsequent court interpretations of the Civil Rights Act extended the statute to eventually include linguistic minorities. Yet, despite these added protections, the BEA of 1968 was not specifically positioned as a means to promote dual language development among immigrant populations (August & Hakuta, 1997). Scholars suggest this is partially due to how the policy was positioned by politicians, as well as the debatable messaging within the first version of the legislation itself (August & Hakuta, 1997, Crawford, 2004, Garcia, 1998). For instance, President Lyndon Johnson's attempt to conceptually incorporate the initial goals of the BEA within his campaign for the War on Poverty (later named the Economic Opportunity Act) quickly associated bilingual education with the widespread economic despair among immigrant minorities. During that period, nearly 90% of Puerto Ricans in the US failed to complete high school and 89% of high school students of Mexican descent in Texas were considered dropouts (Garcia & Torres-Guevara, 2010).   Facts like this scrutinized the current state of the immigrant population and intensified the War on Poverty campaign, having the effect of correlating social factors with the underachievement of ELLs at that time. This led many scholars to later contend the 1968 BEA was essentially a remedial program informing a deficit view on educating ELLs and low wealth families (Crawford, 2004, Baker, 2006, August & Hakuta, 1997, Weise & Garcia, 1998). As explained by Crawford (1995), in the early stages of implementation, most states viewed bilingual education as "explicitly compensatory, aimed at children who were both poor and educationally disadvantaged because of their inability to speak English" (p. 40).

Scholars conjointly argued the vague direction promulgated within the bill led to inadequate programs (Crawford, 2004, Garcia, 1998). The final version of the 1968 BEA furnished a rather dubious description of acceptable bilingual education "activities" (i.e. program criteria), as well as

excluded an operational definition of such a program. Such "activities" included: a) the establishment of bilingual education programs; b) professional development and training for teachers of LESA students; and c) a requirement to operate and maintain programs. Not explicitly requiring the use of the native language for instruction, school districts across the country assumed responsibility for defining, developing, and implementing their own unique adaptation of bilingual education instruction, making comparison of programs and measures of success implausible. Thus, the experimental bilingual education models that emerged broadly employed the native language and other specialized instructional supports (Crawford, 2004).

While Title VII programs did not receive any appropriations from Congress the first year of the BEA's existence, the following year, $7.5 million in competitive grants for what was described in the legislation as "innovative programs" were directed towards the education of 27,000 participating ELLs.

The language of the BEA has since undergone six consecutive and explicit policy shifts as policy-makers and educators struggle to articulate how best to serve ELLs, and provide them equitable access to the same educational programs and resources as their native English-speaking counterparts (1974, 1978, 1984, 1988, 1994, 2002).

4.1.1 1974 Reauthorization of the Bilingual Education Act

One of the most important events influencing the direction of the 1974 BEA amendments was the legal protections bestowed upon linguistic minorities through a case known as Lau v. Nicholas— a class action suit filed on behalf of students of Chinese ancestry educated in a California English-only classroom. The suit alleged these students were unable to comprehend the language of instruction and therefore could not actively participate in the curriculum delivered within monolingual English classrooms. The Supreme Court found "[the] language barrier, which the state helps to maintain, insulates the children from their classmates." This led to a ruling echoing the sentiments of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, which emphasized school districts' role in providing all children

equitable access to instruction despite their ability to proficiently speak or read English.   As delineated within the ruling:

> Indeed, these children are more isolated from equal educational opportunity than were those physically segregated (Lau et al v. Nicholas et al, 1973).

Further, the court reinforced the Lau finding later that same year, though categorically failed to mandate bilingual education or a particular instructional model within public schools:

> No specific remedy is urged upon us. Teaching English to the students of Chinese ancestry who do not speak the language is one choice. Giving instruction to this group in Chinese is another (US Department of Education 2).

Rather, as epitomized by Crawford (2004), the court encouraged school districts to "apply [their] expertise to the problem and rectify the situation" (p. 36).   That same year the Equal Educational Opportunity Act (1974) extended the reach of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act and the Lau ruling by constituting the legislation applicable to all educational institutions supported by federal funding (EEOA, 1974, Sec. 204 (f)).

Following several language rights law suits (one of the most notable being ASPIRA v. New York City in which bilingual education supporters swayed the New York City Board of Education to increase the availability of bilingual programs), Title VII terminology was expanded to suggest multilingual skills could aid children in all areas of their academic development.   However, the legislation, again, ceased short of endorsing bilingual education programs   (Crawford, 2004, Ovando, 2003).

The 1974 reauthorization explicitly named bilingual education as "the policy of the United States to establish equal educational opportunity for all children as to encourage the establishment and operation……of education programs using bilingual education practices, techniques and methods" (BEA, 1974, sec 702 [a] [4] [A]).   Still, language clearly outlined bilingual education as a means to an end, as maintenance bilingual education instructional approaches were banned and transitional bilingual education encouraged. This was emphasized in congressional amendments of

1974 wherein bilingual education was identified as "[a program] to allow a child to achieve competence in the English language" (sec 703 [a] [4] [A] [i]). Such amendments were fuelled by concerns about the segregation of ELLs within classrooms intent on language maintenance instruction, as well as the perceived lengthy retention of ELLs in bilingual instruction (Crawford, 2004).

The perceived obscurity communicated through the legislative text, alongside the inpouring of Office of Civil Rights (OCR) claims and court cases concerning ELLs' rights, led the OCR to take "affirmative steps" to "rectify the language deficiency" among ELLs by mandating school districts design curriculum accessible in both the native language and English. OCR did this primarily through the introduction of guidelines dubbed, the Lau Remedies. As written, the remedies proposed, "bilingual education as the preferred method of instruction in schools with sufficient numbers of language minority students of one language group" (US Department b). Bilingual education became mandated in a district even when only one child required the services of such a program. The remedies were designed: "to alert districts to a) identify and evaluate children with limited English skills, b) to recommend appropriate instructional materials when children were ready for mainstream classrooms and c) to create guidelines for teachers to meet professional standards" (Crawford, 1999). Further, districts were to set a timetable for meeting said goals. The potential threat behind repudiation of the Lau Remedies left districts with an ultimatum wherein they found themselves either adopting a policy on bilingual education or risked loosing certain federal funding (Crawford 1999).

However, the remedies came with a costly price tag. The Lau Remedies expressly restricted the consolidation of ELLs in segregated classrooms, which meant these students were to be educated among their native-English speaking counterparts in linguistically integrated classrooms (Stewner-Manzanares, 1988). This led to a greater need for specialized teachers and other resources that could support these types of classrooms. As reported by Castellanos (1983, cited in Stewner-Manzanares, 1988) some schools were educating students deriving from more

than 20 different language groups. Fred Hechinger (1981), a NY Times reporter who had been

following the bilingual education debate in the early 1980s, once wrote about a New York City

classroom he had observed. The class enrolled ELL students representing 14 different languages.

As one might imagine, meeting the needs of so many different language groups made recruiting

instructional staff that could speak each language far short of cost-effective (Stewner-Manzanares,

1988). The remedies, alongside the perception of bilingual education as a wholly native language

maintenance program were accompanied by a host of criticism from the general public. English as

a Second Language (ESL) and immersion programs were positioned as much more practical

remedies.   In 1974, Stephen Rosenfeld wrote that one in four editorials concerning bilingual

education and submitted to his newspaper, the Washington Post, opposed it (cited in Hakuta,

1991).   Journalists also embodied much of the public sentiment towards the growing immigrant

population and increased funding designated for bilingual education. As written in a 1979 Harper's

Magazine article, titled "Against Bilingual Education":

> If you put a group of children, let's say children from China, in
> a classroom together in order to teach them English, that's
> segregation, right? Watch out, then. Here come the civil rights
> militants on the rampage once again, ready to demolish the
> very program that they had done so much to encourage. But
> there was a simple remedy….Put the "Anglos" in with the
> ethnics. In case you hadn't heard, "Anglo" is the name given
> these days to Americans who haven't got a drop of ethnicity to
> their names the ones who have already been melted down, so
> to speak (Bethell, 1979, p.278)

As pointed out by Garcia (1984), a few years later Noel Epstein of the Washington Post referred to

bilingual education as "affirmative ethnicity" and suggested it was effectively a ruse by the ethnic

minority to persuade the government to support use of immigrants' native languages.   The

problem, as pointed out by Hakuta (1991), was that the public largely viewed bilingual education as

an attempt to preserve and nurture immigrants' native languages, rather than what it was in actual

practice— a transitional language program encouraging assimilation through the acquisition of

English. Hakuta (1991) notes that the public's perception of bilingual education as the former

positioned it as a threat to "Americanization" and the longevity of the English language in an increasingly diversifying country.

The Lau Remedies were never afforded a legal status, though were supported by the federal government as a component of the BEA until 1981.   However, because the Lau Remedies were unofficial, the measure did not warrant any realized federal consequences (Crawford, 2004).

That year nearly 400 bilingual education projects, serving more than 300,000 ELLs were subsidized by the federal government, increasing spending from $7.5 million to $68 million in a matter of five years (Stewner-Manzanares, 1988).

4.1.2 1978 Reauthorization of the Bilingual Education Act

Language in the 1978 policy expounded upon eligibility requirements and the definition of transitional bilingual education. Then, as now, the majority of the programs supported Spanish-speaking populations as nearly two-thirds of linguistic minorities in the US at the time spoke Spanish (Bianco,1978). Still, the BEA did not mandate the means by which school districts develop programs, allowing states to distribute funding and create programs based on their independent interpretation of a bilingual program. It simply detailed transitional bilingual education as a program designed to teach ELLs English language skills in a manner that allows them to quickly shift to an English-only learning environment.

While Title VI of the Civil Rights Act, Lau v. Nichols, and the Equal Educational Opportunity Act (EEOA) ensured ELLs' equal access to instruction and curriculum, the term "equality" was never articulated by the makers of the bill. So as summarized in a review of programs across the US by the Office of Education Survey of Equality of Educational Opportunity, "[equality] will be an outcome of the interplay of a variety of interests and will certainly differ from time to time as these interests differ" (Coleman, 1968, p. 27, cited in Crawford, 2004).   For example, whereas a transitional bilingual program in one state may have been defined by 60% of instruction delivered in the native language and 40% delivered in the target language, in another state it may have been

defined as 10% of instruction delivered in the native language, and 90% of instruction in the target language (English). Each program type described by the same term, but founded on two very different philosophies and producing dissimilar short- and long-term outcomes.   These differences were evident in studies and evaluations examining transitional bilingual education programs and outcomes across the country.   For example, a 1977 study by the American Institutes for Research (AIR), conducted to measure the effectiveness of bilingual education approaches, found at least one-third of all bilingual education teachers did not even speak the native language of the LEP students they served and/or had not received training in bilingual education instructional approaches.[14] This, however, was not the most profound impact of that particular study. The AIR study served to debunk not only the ineptly implemented bilingual education programs, but also the quality programs simply by name association.   The report drew the conclusion most bilingual education programs where ineffective compared to English-only instructional approaches and that ELL students remained in bilingual education programs far longer than required

This finding cultivated the belief among policy-makers and critics of bilingual education that maintenance of the native language retards development of the target language. This deficit view of bilingual education at the time, served as the backbone of arguments countering bilingual education. This sentiment was summed up in the early 1980s by (the now deceased) US Congress Representative, John Ashbrook of Ohio:

> [bilingual programs] actually prevent children from learning English. Some day somebody is going to have to teach those young people to speak English or else they are going to become public charges….When children come out of Spanish-language schools or Choctaw-language schools which call themselves bilingual, how is our educational system going to make them literate in what will still be completely alien tongue? (cited in Crawford p. 193, 2004)

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[14] A follow up survey by Nickel (1982) suggested the AIR data on teachers' Spanish proficiency may have been inaccurate.   According to Nickel's (1982) study, data collected from state education department officials across the US found most (95%) believed the supply of bilingual education teachers who were proficient in the native language of their ELL students was "inadequate" at the time.

Criticism like this from public officials, along with public opinion regarding the use of public funds promoting native language maintenance, fuelled the drive to fund and recognize a number of other instructional models restraining use of the native language (Crawford, 2004, Baker, 2006, Stewner-Manzanares, 1988).

The language within the 1978 reauthorization reflected many of these issues and concerns. The targeted group, for example, was renamed "Limited English Proficient" and the Act was supplemented with a new goal of teaching English reading and writing proficiency. It also expanded student eligibility to those ELLs who may have already been English proficient, though short of effective English literacy and writing skills. Further, maintenance language programs (designed to develop both the native language and English), were excluded from funding that year (Crawford, 2004). As chronicled by Stewner-Manzanares (1988), program evaluation was emphasized and inherently tied to funding. Dissemination and Assessment Centers (DACs) established to support school districts were renamed Evaluation, Dissemination and Assessment Centers (EDACs). Additionally, the $135 million of federal funding designated for bilingual program was inclusive of $20 million earmarked for research into effective programs. Finally, funding was allocated to districts on a one to three year basis (Stewner-Manzanares, 1988).

Soon after the 1978 amendments, the Castaneda Standards[15], established scientifically based research and educational theory as the foundation of all bilingual education programs serving ELLs. The Castaneda Standards also required school districts to develop programs implemented with adequate staffing and resources and districts to periodically evaluate these programs (OCR, 648 F. 2d at 10103, 648 F 2d at 193). Prior to this case, courts rulings had not been found on any significant body of research (whether experimental or other) concerning the benefits of bilingual education. Rather anecdotal data and empathy appeared to guide court decisions (Crawford, 2004).

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[15] The Castaneda Standards were an outcome of a 1981 ruling wherein a family sued a school district on the basis of racially segregated classrooms and inadequate bilingual programs.

Policy-makers took note of the second language acquisition theory and bilingual education research in the early 1980s and consequently began to recognize bilingualism as a societal and psychological resource (Ellis, 1994). The Carter administration released a proposal to formalize the OCR's Lau Remedies, which would have transformed them into the Lau Regulations. However, in 1981 as criticism of spending on bilingual education and the AIR's reported ineffectiveness of bilingual education continued to make headlines, the proposal was tabled by the succeeding Reagan administration, which determined the regulations were too prescriptive. The proposed Lau Remedies were distinctly cited by the Department of Education as being "intrusive and burdensome" (US Department of Education, 2009a).

4.1.3 1984 Reauthorization of the Bilingual Education Act

While rulings from court cases continued to affirm the rights of ELL students enrolled in the public system, public opinion and policy appeared to be ascending to an anti-bilingualism peak. Plyler v. Doe (1982), for instance, maintained illegal aliens and linguistic minorities' access to the public school system. However, at a time when dropout rates among ELLs, contiguous to poverty among immigrants, was escalating, political discourse predominantly questioned bilingual education funding and the merits of bilingualism. President Reagan, in a 1981 speech delivered to the National League of Cities, criticized dual language and maintenance bilingual education programs and declared, "[it is] absolutely wrong and against American concepts to have a bilingual education program that is now openly, admittedly dedicated to preserving their [ELLs] native language" (cited in Garcia, 1998, p.154).

The political and social climate of the early 1980s jeopardized bilingual education funding. As the Lau Remedies were withdrawn, and local versus federal control became a priority of the Reagan administration, the 1984 BEA amendments allowed school districts greater flexibility and diversity in program design and implementation. Up to four percent of funds were designated to further Special Alternative Instructional Programs (SAIPS) that were essentially English-only

programs. New amendments noted, "the objective of the programs shall be to assist children of limited English proficiency to improve their English language skills" (BEA, 102 STAT 274). The 1984 Title VII amendments focused on ELLs' academic outcomes, as well as professional development for teachers of this population. Additionally, parental involvement was named as a priority within the legislation. Parents were now required to be informed of their child's placement in bilingual education, and had the option to decline said placements.

Amendments concurrently documented the benefits of English language instruction supported by the native language by stating, "instructional use and development of the native language promotes self esteem, subject matter achievement and English-language acquisition" (BEA, 102 STAT 274). However, this time the intent of the reauthorization was much more clear. An unambiguous delineation was made between transitional bilingual education programs aimed at providing ELLs English with limited support in the native language, and developmental programs "designed to help children achieve competence in English and the second language, while mastering subject matter skills" (sec. 703 [a] [5] [A]).   The developmental programs were not assigned any precise language in the policy amendments that year, which ultimately discouraged its use among school districts (Crawford, 2004).

4.1.4 1988 Reauthorization of the Bilingual Education Act

In 1988 the four percent cap on federal funding for SAIPs, viewed as too restrictive by local and federal governments, was increased to 25 percent. This increase in federal funding for English-only instructional models was designed to establish more local control, allowing districts to implement programs their communities believed to be the most beneficial for the populations of students districts served. Also, a three year restriction on student participation was placed on all federally funded programs under the BEA, transitional bilingual education programs and SAIPs included.

Increased funding for professional development and training for teachers instructing ELLs was also built into the amendments.   Approximately 25 percent of all Title VII funding was

appropriated to teacher training, fellowships, and the extension of one month grants to twelve. On the flip side of these appropriations was the fact that grants for the development of bilingual education instructional materials were discontinued and the US Department of Education's National Advisory and Coordinating Council on Bilingual Education was dismantled (Stewner-Manzanares, 1988). That year $152 million was designated for bilingual education programs. However, as observed by Crawford (1987), approximately 75 percent of that funding, nonetheless, went to transitional programs that underscored a rapid transition to English.

Because the 1988 amendments seemingly deemphasized native language development, advocacy groups in the early 1990s led movements to deter the English-only ideologies building ground in states like California and Arizona during this period (August et. al., 1995). Consortiums and organizations, like the Stanford Working Group, induced support towards research and evaluation, professional development and native language maintenance, each of these areas recognizing the work done in bilingual education research and theory.

4.1.5 1994 Reauthorization of the Bilingual Education Act

The 1994 reauthorization was the fifth and final version of the BEA before it was ultimately folded into the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 2001, also known as the No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB). This last reauthorization marks the BEA's most ardent show of support for bilingualism as a fundamental goal of bilingual education. As described by Crawford (2004), this reauthorization positioned bilingualism as a national resource that would promote and sustain the United State's international competitiveness. Implemented under President Clinton's The Improving America's Schools Act (IASA), the legislation identified barriers ELLs face in acquiring the English language and also noted how said barriers and challenges are inherently connected to government policies:

(1) language-minority Americans speak virtually all world languages plus many that are indigenous to the United States;

(2) there are large and growing numbers of children and youth of

limited-English proficiency, many of whom have a cultural heritage that differs from that of their English-proficient peers;

(3) the presence of language-minority Americans is related in part to Federal immigration policies;

(4) many language-minority Americans are limited in their English

proficiency, and many have limited education and income;

(5) limited English proficient children and youth face a number of challenges in receiving an education that will enable such children and youth to participate fully in American society, including--

    (A) segregated education programs;

    (B) disproportionate and improper placement in special education and other special programs due to the use of inappropriate evaluation procedures;

    (C) the limited-English proficiency of their own parents, which hinders the parents' ability to fully participate in the education of their children; and

    (D) a shortage of teachers and other staff who are professionally trained and qualified to serve such children and youth; (BEA, 1994, Sec. 7102)

At the time, bilingual education programs were not meeting their own criteria for delivering programs designed to transition students to English while utilizing the native language (i.e. transitional bilingual education), or develop both the native language and English simultaneously (i.e. maintenance or dual language). Illustrating this is Crawford's (2004) observation of a 1993 US Department of Education study that reviewed bilingual programs. According to Crawford (2004), the study reported, "about a third of LEP students in nominally bilingual programs were taught more than 75 percent of the time in English; another third, from 40 to 75 percent; and a final third, less than 40 percent" (p.33).

The 1994 revised legislation explained whereas mastery of the English language and content remained a primary goal of the Act, "as the world becomes increasingly interdependent and as international communication becomes a daily occurrence in government, business, [and]

commerce…..multilingual skills constitute an important national resource which deserves protection and development" (BEA, 1994, Sec. 7102). Developmental bilingual education programs, such as maintenance and dual language, were effectively supported under the 1994 amendments.   The latter program was touted as an opportunity to develop the second language skills of native monolingual English-speaking students to prepare them for a global economy. Still, in the wake of the government's overt push for bilingual education, California voters passed Proposition 187, which denied students with undocumented parents the right to a public education. However, the courts later ruled this unconstitutional. Within the same period, the House of Representatives passed a bill that would establish English as the country's official language, but that bill did not make it past the Senate (D. Nieto, 2009).

Despite California's set back with Proposition 187, as states experienced an influx of immigrant and non-English speaking populations in the late 1990s, California declared its then bilingual education programs ineffective in teaching LEP students enrolled in the state's programs. Bilingual education, under the auspices of an English-only statewide movement was eliminated through Proposition 227 and replaced by sheltered English immersion programs. Also eliminated were requirements for teacher training with regard to ELLs' needs. The group that led the campaign for Proposition 227 and rallied for statewide referendum votes, English for the Children, framed language and cultural diversity as socioeconomic ills that threatened to undermine a national   identity if allowed to abound without strict oversight. This movement influenced subsequent bans on bilingual education through state referendums and legislation in California (1996, Proposition 227), Arizona (2000, Proposition 203), and Massachusetts (2002, Question 2).

4.1.6 The Expiration of the Bilingual Education Act and the Beginning of Title III Elementary and Secondary Act (ESEA)/ No Child Left Behind (NCLB)

In 2002 the Bilingual Education Act expired. What was known as the Bilingual Education Act for 34 years became the English Language Acquisition Act, incorporating mandates and funding for the

education of ELL students under Title III of the Elementary and Secondary Act/ No Child Left Behind legislation. The new legislation was framed as setting renewed educational standards for the nations' students, particularly subgroups of students like ELLs. As proclaimed by former US Secretary of Education, Margaret Spellings (2006), "our schools must be prepared to measure what English language learners know and to teach them effectively, with proven instructional methods. No Child Left Behind has put the needs of English language learners front and center and we must continue that momentum." Significant changes were made within the program with regard to terminology and the allocation of funding. Garcia (2005) surmised the retreat of references to bilingual programs in the 2001 legislation was an effort to shape the path of instruction for ELLs, as well as, language policy, through discourse. Nearly all references to bilingual education were eradicated from the legislative text and funding became state administered based on a grant formula.   The legislation's new name, the English Language Acquisition Act, clearly emphasized its revamped goals. Likewise, the Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Language Affairs was transformed into the Office of English Language Acquisition, Language Enhancement, and Academic Achievement for Limited English Proficient Students. The government sponsored National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education was renamed the National Clearinghouse for English Language Acquisition and Language Instruction Educational Programs.

The No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB) emphasizes high stake testing and punitive actions towards those districts failing to meet NCLB standards in testing and outcomes. While the legislation monetarily supports bilingual education, the testing program, which requires school districts to count ELLs in their accountability formulas, encourages English-only instructional methods (D. Nieto, 2009). Additionally, the act relinquishes more control over federal financial resources to the state level for the development of scientifically based program models for ELL instruction.

5. CHAPTER V

5.1 ABOUT BILINGUAL EDUCATION RESEARCH: 1970s-2000s

Three types of bilingual education research agendas have emerged over the past three decades, shaping much of the national policy for English Language Learners (ELLs) in the United States. In the 1970s-1980s, as bilingual education received some of its greatest support through Title VII funding and the widespread implementation of the Lau remedies, research largely focused on determining whether these new programs produced sufficient academic outcomes among ELLs. Often asking the question, "does bilingual education work?" and "does federal funding positively impact the outcomes of bilingual education programs?," these studies examined bilingual education as a whole in an effort to arrive at general conclusions about it effectiveness (Danoff et. al., 1977, K. Baker & de Kanter, 1981). Such conclusions most often cited English-only programs as favorable to bilingual education. Yet large scale studies of the 1970s-1980s were repeatedly challenged on their brevity and technical execution, as they consistently failed to differentiate between program types and the instructional approaches interlaced within each.

Ten years later, the research agenda of the late 1980s-1990s shifted, and concurrent with the Effective Schools movement, focused on specific characteristics of successful bilingual education programs. Assuming a "what works" approach, the research that emerged from this era examined differences between transitional bilingual education and English-only programs. While a minority of scholars continued to affirm their earlier findings, other major studies dismantled findings from the previous decade, providing evidence bilingual education is equal to, or better than English-

only programs in improving academic gains among ELLs (Willig, 1985, GAO, 1987, Ramirez et. al., 1991).

Nonetheless, throughout the 1990s to the present, as states with some of the largest populations of English Language Learners adopt English-only legislation affecting public schools, the political stronghold against, and demise of, bilingual education has become more imminent. This is true even as the greater part of the literature, much of it government funded, point to the superiority of bilingual education when compared to English-only programs (Krashen, 2005, Slavin et. al., 2010,). Scholars have responded in their research methods to the political environment and specific policy requirements at the federal and state level. Examining quality of instruction, rather than language of instruction, the canon of research in bilingual education has advanced, now often profiling schools educating ELLs and focusing on prerequisites for English proficiency (Thomas & Collier, 2002). Additionally, many contemporary large-scale studies have drawn upon recent findings in literacy research evincing reading comprehension as the foundation of language acquisition. This knowledge has served as the framework for studies correlating reading in the first language to English proficiency among native ELLs (August & Shanahan, 2006, Slavin et. al., 2010).

Still, even with nearly forty-years of research in bilingual education pointing to the strengths of such programs, the vacillatory nature of findings from opposing viewpoints (and even within the same camp with regard to bilingual education's level of success), has fueled allegations among the public and politicians that the research on the subject is insufficient at best (Crawford, 2004). Crawford (2004), C. Baker (2006) and others have attributed much of the confusion to the misinterpretation of findings within major studies cited throughout the literature. However, a close look at the findings and their subsequent critiques, alongside a review of the current direction of bilingual education research, suggests a forty-year history of research in the field that continues to provide an abundance of data to inform sound policy-making decisions. The following sections reviews the field of research most often cited in the literature, and employed by the public and

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policy-makers to advocate for and against bilingual education. This review of the research has also been updated with recent studies post C. Baker (2006) and Crawford (2004), representing the prevailing course of bilingual education research. This section is particularly important in its attempt to unwrap the facts to establish a comprehensive rendering of bilingual education's effectiveness and merits when compared to English-only programs in the US public school system.

5.1.1 Evaluation of the impact of ESEA Title VII Spanish/English bilingual education program (Danoff, 1977)

The American Institute of Research (AIR) study conducted by Danoff et. al. (1977) was the first of three large scale studies commissioned by the federal government during the first two decades of the Bilingual Education Act (BEA). The study was conducted in an attempt to assess the effectiveness of Title VII bilingual education programs at a time when newly amended bilingual education had become widely debated by policymakers and opponents of the BEA calling for evidence based research supporting the practice. Likewise, federal and state fiscal support for transitional bilingual education programs had significantly increased in the late 1970s to uphold Lau standards, as well as to support the widely accepted transitional bilingual education model. It was within this context, the AIR was charged with determining "the cognitive and affective impact of bilingual education...to describe the educational process...[and] to identify...practices which result in greater gains" (Danoff et. al., 1977, p. 3).

5.1.1.1 Evaluation of the impact of ESEA Title VII Spanish/English bilingual education program (Danoff, 1977): Measurement

Considered an impact study because of its perceived potential to influence policy, the AIR report assessed programs in the fourth and fifth year of funding under Title VII in 1975 (Crawford, 2004). The outcomes of a national sample of approximately 8,000, mostly Hispanic, second- through sixth-grade students classified in bilingual and mainstream education in nearly 300 different classrooms

across the nation were analyzed. Definitions for bilingual education were established by Danoff et. al. (1977); however, little consideration was given to implementation practices across classroom programs. Programs designated as bilingual projects by the school in which the student(s) resided were just as likely to be characterized as bilingual education programs in the AIR study. Such programs included those ranging from English as a second language, to English immersion programs, to dual language programs. During a period of five months, students enrolled in these programs were administered a pre-test and post-test in English and Spanish to identify their level of skill and knowledge in language arts and mathematics by way of standardized achievement tests. Their existing attitude towards bilingual education was also measured. Outcomes on both the pre-test and post-test were measured against the outcomes of a control group consisting of English Language Learners in programs that were considered mainstream English-only. However, Danoff et. al. (1977), noted the control group, in many cases, reflected English-dominate speaking students, suggesting these ELL students had acquired some level of English proficiency prior to enrollment (Danoff et. all., 1977, p. 5). Lastly, teachers providing instruction in bilingual education programs were administered surveys designed to measure their perceptions of their ELL students' English proficiencies, as well as the duration of time students remained in bilingual programs.

5.1.1.2 Evaluation of the impact of ESEA Title VII Spanish/English bilingual education program (Danoff, 1977): Findings

The AIR study reported mainstream (generally English-only) programs as favorable to the bilingual education programs reviewed. However, data also provided evidence students enrolled in bilingual education programs improved upon reading and mathematics in Spanish. However, there were fewer achievement gains among that student population in English reading. Still, as observed by C. Baker (2006), a less reported finding was that the data, when disaggregated, suggested ELLs enrolled in bilingual classes for longer durations improved performance in English and Spanish reading and mathematics, at a more rapid pace than those ELLs not enrolled in bilingual education.

The study also revealed important data on student characteristics and participation in bilingual education programs. Data from teacher surveys exhibited more than one-third of students enrolled in the bilingual education programs measured were considered to be monolingual English speaking, or possessed English proficiency skills prior to program enrollment. Additionally, these teachers reported the majority (85%) of their students remained enrolled in bilingual education programs even after assessment outcomes demonstrated students had acquired English proficiency— a practice that was counter to the intent of the legislation (Danoff et. al., 1977). Finally, across the sampling of instructional staff, nearly two-thirds self-reported as being bilingual in English and Spanish (Danoff et. al, 1977).

5.1.1.3 Evaluation of the impact of ESEA Title VII Spanish/English bilingual education program (Danoff, 1977): Major criticisms

Following the release of the AIR report, several widely cited studies emerged disputing its claims and criticizing its methodology (Gray & Arias, 1978, Troike, 1978, Swain, 1979). The primary critique of the AIR study concerned the definition of bilingual education and the classification of students in such programs (Gray, 1977, Swain, 1979). Swain (1979) remarked on the authors' failure to differentiate between bilingual programs. She argued instructional strategies and theoretical underpinnings (i.e. program characteristics) associated with each program were unverified or inadequately described by the authors, ignoring the potential impact of instructional conditions and resources on student outcomes. O'Malley (1978), on the other hand, elucidated the inconsistencies within Danoff et. al.'s (1977) measure for including studies within the review, observing that many programs were not accurately accessed for meeting standards established by legislation funding them. Thus, instructional approaches, teacher preparation, curriculum objectives, and resources tied to each of these programs were, in effect, unsubstantiated. Nickel's (1982) subsequent survey research suggested teachers reporting on their proficiency in their students' native language may have been inconsistent with existing data. According to Nickel's

(1982) study, data collected from state education department officials across the US found most (95%) believed the supply of bilingual education teachers who were proficient in the native language of their ELL students was "inadequate" at the time. This finding was contrary to the AIR findings in which two-thirds of the teachers self-reported as being proficient in their students' native language.

Another issue cited by scholars addressed the population of students measured in both the bilingual education and control groups (O'Malley, 1978, Swain, 1979). Swain (1979) contended that while Danoff et. al. (1977) classified the experimental groups (students enrolled in bilingual education) as limited English proficient and the control groups (students enrolled in mainstream programs) as largely English dominant, teachers surveyed claimed the majority of students in both programs possessed significant language skills in both the native language and the target language— English.

Others attested the brevity of the study could not sufficiently assess performance gains in any of the case subjects reviewed (Gray, 1977, O'Malley, 1978). As observed by Gray (1978), "serious limitations in the study are attributed to the fact that the average period between the pre- and post-testing is five months or less. It seems unreasonable to expect either the rate of improvement or actual improvement to be evident over such a short period of time" (p. 2.). Likewise, pre-tests were administered after the programs had been well into implementation (year five and four).

Despite these criticisms, the Danoff et al. (1977) study proved problematic for advocates of bilingual programs as its primary findings interpreted transitional bilingual education as inferior to English-only instructional models. Consequently, the report was exercised by politicians to inform amendments to the Bilingual Education Act. Following the release of the AIR study, a slew of other reviews and meta-analyses attempting to resolve some of the methodological weaknesses cited by critics of the study, and to provide evidence for future legislation, began to emerge.

5.1.2 Effectiveness of bilingual education: A review of the literature (K. Baker & de Kanter, 1981)

Often pointed to as one of the most influential studies with regard to bilingual education policy-making, the K. Baker and de Kanter (1981) review has been cited in the literature as having provided profound evidence of the ineffectiveness of bilingual education (August & Hakuta, 1997, C. Baker, 2006). Initially commissioned by the Department of Education in response to proposed regulations on language minorities (which were later withdrawn), the authors were charged with surveying the literature on bilingual education to determine if there was sufficient evidence to warrant federal funding of mandated transitional bilingual education programs (K. Baker & de Kanter, 1981, August & Hakuta, 1997). The review was commissioned by the U.S. Department of Education during the Carter administration and conducted by researchers employed with the Department of Education. While the report was frequently criticized for bias and playing to the political whims of a conservative administration, the researchers have stressed in multiple rebuttals, the study was financed by, and outcomes reported to, the governing democratic administration at the time (K. Baker, 1987).

5.1.2.1 Effectiveness of bilingual education: A review of the literature (K. Baker & de Kanter, 1981): Measurement

The authors examined a selection of bilingual education evaluation outcomes through a narrative review that summarized multiple original studies. Conclusions were drawn by K. Baker and de Kanter (1981) through an interpretation of results based on a foundation of existing knowledge in the field and the reviewers' own experiences.

More than 300 studies of K-12 students enrolled in programs specifically designed for second language learners in the US and abroad, and administered between 1977 and 1980, were considered by K. Baker and de Kanter (1981). Out of these, 28 met the authors' criteria for

methodological soundness, which were based on the original study having addressed two research questions: a) "does transitional bilingual education lead to better performance in English?," and b) "does transitional bilingual education lead to better performance in nonlanguage areas?" (K. Baker & de Kanter, 1981, p.1). Other criteria established for acceptance of studies consisted of random assignment of students to treatment and comparison (control) groups, replicable and norm-referenced statistical procedures, and gains measured by way of clearly defined assessments. To determine program effectiveness, K. Baker and de Kanter (1981) employed a point system in which studies producing positive outcomes for transitional bilingual education by way of higher test scores earned a point, while the same procedures were executed for the non-bilingual programs.

Transitional bilingual education programs were defined by the authors as those programs that provide core subject instruction in ELLs' native language and whereby students acquire just enough English proficiency to participate in mainstream classrooms. Structured immersion programs were defined as instructional models that were essentially English-only, but designed to provide English instruction at what the authors described as "comprehensible levels" of proficiency. English as a second language (ESL) programs were depicted as instructional models by which students were mainstreamed for most of the day and provided special instruction in English acquisition for a designated period of the day. Lastly, submersion programs were described by K. Baker and de Kanter (1981) as "sink and swim" classrooms, constituting English-only learning environments (p. 9).

5.1.2.2 Effectiveness of bilingual education: A review of the literature (K. Baker & de Kanter, 1981): Findings

The findings of the K. Baker and de Kanter (1981) review were largely inconclusive, demonstrating in some instances transitional bilingual education as favorable to alternative models; while in other cases structured immersion programs were found to be favorable to transitional bilingual education. The authors cited this inconsistency as a product of program definitions established by the authors

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of the original studies reviewed wherein many programs were nominally identified within one grouping, but operationally in another. For example, a third grade program that provided approximately 20% of instruction in the native language and about 80% in English may have been classified as a transitional bilingual education program in one school, while the same program in another school may have employed a greater degree of the native language in instructional practices. K. Baker and de Kanter (1981), accordingly concluded program outcomes were largely dependent upon the quality of implementation, resources, and teacher training. The equivocal reporting of results by K. Baker and de Kanter (1981) led the authors to determine, "the literature makes a compelling case that special programs in schools can improve the achievement of language minority children", [however] "...the research presents no conclusive evidence as to the superior effectiveness of one method, let us permit diversity, innovation, experimentation and local [program] options to flourish" (p. 64).

The findings were, nonetheless, espoused as an attack on bilingual education by the media and proponents of transitional bilingual education instructional models (Crawford, 2004). As such, researchers including K. Baker and de Kanter, over the next two decades, engaged in a perpetual scrutiny of the merits of the 1981 K. Baker and de Kanter findings, methodology, and selection of studies (Rossell & Kuder, 2005, C. Baker, 2006).

5.1.2.3 Effectiveness of bilingual education: A review of the literature (Baker & de Kanter, 1981): Major criticisms

The perceived shortcomings of the K. Baker and de Kanter (1981) review, observed across much of the literature analyzing the report, addressed program classification and methodology (Willig, 1985, Rolstad, 2005). As pointed out in a subsequent review of the same canon of literature by Willig (1985), many of the studies selected by K. Baker and de Kanter (1981) did not meet their own criteria for inclusion. For example, a study by Pena, Houghs and Soles (1980, cited in Willig, 1985) was identified by K. Baker and de Kanter (1981) as an evaluation of a structured immersion

program; however, this particular study failed to parallel the criteria set forth by the authors for such a program. In this case, the program design allowed for use of the native language to guide English instruction (a description aligning more so with that of K. Baker and de Kanter's (1981) definition for transitional bilingual education). Also failing to meet certain criteria set forth by K. Baker and de Kanter (1981) were evaluations on Canadian immersion programs, which often provided evidence of greater student outcomes when compared to transitional bilingual education programs in the US (Barik & Swain, 1975, Lambert & Tucker, 1972 cited in K. Baker & de Kanter, 1981). However, as alluded to by K. Baker and de Kanter (1981) in the "notes" section of their review, these programs were structured very differently than their own concept of an immersion program. The Canadian programs, for example, allowed for use of the native language as a supportive tool in the development of the target language. Additionally, the native language was considered the dominant language of both the students and the instructors. K. Baker and de Kanter's (1981) model of immersion, on the other hand, focused almost exclusively on the development of the target language. Given the rather open definition of transitional programs within existing legislation at the time, the Canadian program would had arguably cohered within a transitional model, rather than K. Baker and de Kanter's (1981) definition of immersion, which was characterized by the researchers as "instruction...in the second language...[whereby] the home language is never spoken by the teacher" (1981, p. 2). As rendered within the 1974 Bilingual Education Act, however, transitional bilingual education programs were "instruction given in, and [the] study of, English and, to the extent necessary to allow a child to progress effectively through the educational system, the native language of the children of limited English-speaking ability" (PL 98-511, 20 USC 2711, Sec. 703 (a) (4) (A)).

5.1.3 A meta-analysis of selected studies on the effectiveness of bilingual education (Willig, 1985)

Willig (1985) provided one of the most thorough and earliest reviews of the K. Baker and de Kanter (1981) study (Crawford, 2004, C. Baker, 2006). Unlike Danoff et. al. (1977) and K. Baker and de Kanter (1981), Willig's review was not commissioned by or supported by any federal agency. Rather, its genesis was Willig's dissertation, which was structured as a re-examination of the studies screened, selected, and reviewed by K. Baker and de Kanter (1981). Willig's goal was to determine whether transitional bilingual education could produce positive outcomes when methodological shortcomings identified by critics of the K. Baker and de Kanter (1981) review (including inaccuracies within program descriptions and classifications of program models) were statistically controlled. Contrasting bilingual programs to English-only models, her study was structured to answer the question, "does bilingual education work?"

5.1.3.1 A meta-analysis of selected studies on the effectiveness of bilingual education (Willig, 1985): Measurements

Willig (1985) reviewed 23 of the 28 studies selected by K. Baker and de Kanter (1981), excluding studies examining outcomes of programs abroad. Willig's (1985) study specifically measured the effects of bilingual education on students' acquisition of English and achievement across the curriculum, as well as the influence of affective factors. Employing the same program definitions and inclusion criteria established by K. Baker and de Kanter (1981), Willig (1985) adopted a meta-analysis statistical approach that combined the results of studies with common effect sizes, increasing the academic weight of findings. This method involves calculating an effect size from data gathered on the mean outcome of the treatment and control groups, divided by the standard deviation. The larger the effect size, the more favorable the treatment.[16]

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[16] According to Cohen's (1992) guidelines, an effect size of 0.1- 0.3 is small, 0.3-0.5 is moderate to significant, and 0.5 or greater is considered a large effect size.

5.1.3.2 A meta-analysis of selected studies on the effectiveness of bilingual education (Willig, 1985): Findings

Willig's (1985) review yielded evidence of a significant effect size for bilingual education when compared to immersion programs, and when effect sizes were categorized by academic domains such as "reading in English" and "language in English" (p. 277). According to Willig (1985), when the data was adequately disaggregated and random assignment was implemented, the statistical outcome was "small to moderate" in favor of bilingual education. This finding remained true whether tests were administered in Spanish or English. Willig (1985) also found few controls established for experimental and comparison groups within K. Baker and de Kanter's (1981) original study. Two of Willig's (1985) findings spoke directly to the design quality of the primary studies employed within K. Baker and de Kanter (1981), and what Willig described as "uncontrolled differences between experimental and comparison groups" (1985, p. 277). Some studies, for example, did not fulfill K. Baker and de Kanter's (1981) requirement for random assignment, while other group compositions were modified during the course of the study. This included bilingual education groups comprised of students that were new to the program alongside student populations that had already received bilingual education instruction. Likewise, some of the control groups consisted of former bilingual education students (i.e. students that successfully completed a bilingual education program). This particular finding verified earlier critiques suggesting programmatic philosophical goals, time on task, and other program underpinnings, could not have been adequately accounted for by K. Baker and de Kanter (1981) (C. Baker, 2006). Willig (1985) concluded students enrolled in bilingual education programs were more successful in acquiring English proficiency and achieving across the curriculum compared to their counterparts enrolled in English-only programs.

5.1.3.3 A meta-analysis of selected studies on the effectiveness of bilingual education (Willig, 1985): Major criticisms

Unlike the two previous studies reviewed, there was not considerable criticism aimed at the findings of Willig's (1985) report outside of the rebuttal posted by K. Baker (1987) and Rossell and Kuder (2005). They argued Willig's (1985) outcomes were different (and favorable) to transitional bilingual education on account that she selected fewer of K. Baker and de Kanter's (1981) original canon of studies, as well as excluded the Canadian studies.

Secada (1987), however, noted the report failed to compare bilingual education policies under the Carter administration to policies implemented under the Reagan administration.

August and Hakuta (1997) expressed concern about the statistical complexity of the analysis, which they believed made the report vulnerable to criticism with regard to technical execution. Pointing to Willig's (1985) application of "same" studies within multiple statistical analyses, August and Hakuta (1997) argued "[the method] compromise[d] the validity of the inferential statistical analysis" (p. 146).

5.1.4 Bilingual education: A new look at the research evidence (GAO, 1987)

In 1985 the US congressional committee on education and labor commissioned a study on the current knowledge on bilingual education to substantiate governmental fiscal obligations for implementation of bilingual education programs. At the time, the Department of Education was funding more than 500 bilingual projects serving nearly 175,000 students, as well as approximately 35 alternative programs specifically designed for English Language Learners.

It was during this period that Department of Education officials, having interpreted the existing evidence on bilingual education as inconclusive, publicly expressed an oppositional position on the native language component of the BEA, effectively challenging the merits of a governmentally funded educational program. The officials claimed their position was affirmed by program evaluations conducted over the past two decades (GAO, 1987).

In response to the Department's newly formed position on the native language component, the US congressional committee on education and labor commissioned the federal General Accounting Office's (GAO) Program Evaluation and Methodology Division (PEMD) to conduct a study that would determine the validity of the statements made by Department officials. The GOA's study was designed to assess the validity of the Department's statements concerning the lack of sound research supporting bilingual education. It did not attempt to measure the merit of the native language component of the BEA, neither the effectiveness of bilingual education. Nor did the report serve to assess the cost-effectiveness of the requirement, or compliance with regulations associated with the native language component of the law.

5.1.4.1 Bilingual education: A new look at the research evidence (GAO, 1987): Measurement

Thirty-one oppositional statements presented through public discourse by US Department of Education officials, and perceived by policymakers as being oppositional to the native language component of bilingual education instruction, were identified by the GAO. This was followed by a selection of experts in the field charged with measuring said statements against what was currently known about bilingual education through academic research and program evaluations. Ten experts collectively nominated by the US Department of Education, National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education and others active in the field of bilingual education and research were among the selected. Representing the fields of education, linguistics and statistical research, the group comprised a comprehensive continuum of perspectives and knowledge on bilingual education at the time. Further, the GOA was mindful in appointing experts who upheld the statements of the Department, along with those scholars who had been cited as supporting bilingual education programs incorporating the native language.

The panel of experts was requested to examine the Department's interpretation of research findings it claimed bolstered its policy position on the native language component of bilingual education. This charge was independently conducted by each panelist through a comparative

examination of the statements against research findings within ten reviews provided by PEMD. The reviews mirrored research the Department had cited in its public comments. It also reflected widely recognized works in the field such as K. Baker and de Kanter (1981), Willig (1985), unpublished papers, book chapters and at least two pieces written by panel members selected by the GAO. Additionally, the reviews were further screened by PEMD for meeting criteria it established to control for impartiality. Thus, each review had to represent: a) multiple language groups in the US; b) diverse teaching approaches; c) rigorous methodology; and d) evidence of short- or long- term learning.

5.1.4.2 Bilingual education: A new look at the research evidence (GAO, 1987): Findings

Testimony of the GAO focused on two primary investigations of the report including "research evidence concerning the use of the native language as an aid to learning English and keeping up in other subjects..." [and] "...evidence on the merit or promise of alternative methods that do not use the native language" (p. 6). The findings of the panel were reported as an outcome of the majority opinion of the research assessed. For example, the central findings pertaining to the research evidence supporting bilingual education and alternative teaching methods were reported as such: "Only 2 out of the 10 experts agree with the department that there is insufficient evidence..." and "7 out of 10 believe that the department is incorrect in characterizing the evidence as showing the promise of teaching methods that do not use native languages" (p. 5.). Findings like these led to an overall conclusion (based on majority opinion) that the Department of Education was erroneous in its assumptions and claims about the insufficiency of research informing bilingual education and its lack of proven effectiveness in enhancing English acquisition and performance across the curriculum (p. 1).

The findings of the panelists were constructed upon three themes the GAO identified within comments made by Department officials. These themes disclosed opinion on the native language

component in bilingual education, the merits of alternative approaches to teaching English to ELLs, and finally, the longitudinal effectiveness of bilingual education. Based on the GAO's interpretation of the Department's position on the native language component of the Bilingual Education Act, these integrative themes communicated what the GAO concluded was the Department's general concern about bilingual education instruction— that it hindered the rapid acquisition of English.

The first question posed to the panel of experts concerned the sufficiency of research evidence supporting the native language component of the law. Evidence was judged as being representative of positive outcomes deriving from program evaluations of transitional bilingual education programs. Six out of eight experts believed there to be sufficient research evidence to support the use of the native language in bilingual education. While six of the eight experts arriving at this conclusion drew their findings from the reviews supplied by PEMD, two relied on additional research outside of the PEMD selections.

One of these experts did, however, note the aggregation of short-term and longitudinal studies in the canon of reviews and literature supplied by PEMD as problematic. While another expert called attention to research (outside the PEMD selections) citing the importance of the transfer of knowledge from the native language to the target language; suggesting an ELL must learn to adequately read in his/her first language in order to read proficiently in English. All eight experts agreed that any English input needed to be comprehensible, as well as age and grade level appropriate.

The second question regarded the promise of alternative teaching methods centering on immersion and English-only approaches. The GAO report cited statements made by the Department in which officials claimed program evaluation outcomes on alternative methods "make(s) an impressive case" and are "consistently positive" (p. 18-19). Most of the panelists did not, however, find the "promise" of alternative programs to be supported by the canon of research provided by PEMD. Nonetheless, the GAO's testimony, noted the panel's finding may have simply been the result of the minimal quantity of research on alternative methods available at the time, as

opposed to a definitive answer on whether alternative methods were at all effective. Panelists also observed the greatest quantity of research on alternative methods at the time took place outside of the US. Canadian immersion programs, which represented much of the research on alternative program at the time, demonstrated positive outcomes among middle class students residing in dual-language communities promoting additive bilingual education approaches. These particular findings were held by panelists as inapplicable in the U.S. wherein ELLs are often low income, and their inability to speak English proficiently is commonly characterized as a limitation— leading to subtractive approaches to bilingual education undermining the value of the native language (p. 17).

The GAO also requested the panel to distinguish the existence of conclusive long-term positive effectives of bilingual education. Positive outcomes were defined by the department in terms of high school graduation rates, post-secondary entrance exam scores, and college education. Outcomes were not, however, delineated in terms of language proficiency and academic progress across subject matter in K-12 grades. In response to their review of the literature and the criteria set forth within the question posed to them, most panelists found there to be no causal link between bilingual education and the list of positive outcomes specified by the Department. On the other hand, the panelists generally disagreed with the Department's definition of what a positive outcome (in correlation to bilingual education) should be. One expert offered alternative relational outcomes of bilingual education cited in studies outside of the selection provided by PEMD. These outcomes included school engagement, decreased behavioral problems, and students' educational aspirations (p. 22).

5.1.4.3 Bilingual education: A new look at the research evidence (GAO, 1987): Major criticisms

Much of the criticism pertaining to the GAO report was aimed at the methodology and study design, with the Department of Education serving as the primary critic raising questions about these issues. The Department was particularly concerned with the GAO's lack of conformance with its own audit

criteria for the study in four areas. The Department noted that the panel, in citing evidence for certain findings, pointed to studies apart from the canon of literature provide by the GAO. In doing so, the panel provided opinions about studies and findings that were inconsequential to the scope of the research question. For instance, when implored to determine whether bilingual education has provided evidence of student success (based on the definition of "success" provided by the Department of Education), panelist offered supplementary definitions of success they believed to be as important, and then proceeded to cite evidence specific to the alternative definitions posed.

The Department expressed general concerns about the overall design of the study in which Assistant Secretary of Education, Chester Finn, argued as falling short of meeting "the usual canons of scholarship, program design, and scientific research" (cited in GAO, 1987, p. 64). The GAO responded that the study was, in fact, based on academic inquiry and that the methodology selected was simply an outgrowth of the question presented and the time constraints set forth to complete the task.

The Department also took the GAO to task on the selection of studies provided to the panelist. The GOA had referred to the studies as reviews of literature, but as observed by the Department of Education, some of the studies would have been more appropriately categorized as essays and critics of literature reviews (Finn, 1986, cited in GAO, 1987).

Lastly, the Department questioned the GAO's authority to evaluate reviews of literature examining programs not supported by the federal government, as the office's governmental role was to assess federally funded programs (Finn, 1986, cited in GAO, 1987).

Other criticism suggested the panel may have been too biased to objectively assess studies (Finn, 1986, Walberg, 1968-both cited in GAO, 1987). Again, two of the works within the canon of literature selected by the PEMD were authored or co-authored by scholars appointed to the panel. Additionally, as suggested by one panelist, many of the experts were perceived as proponents of bilingual education and had publicly discussed and written pieces supporting the use of the native language in instruction designed for ELLs (Walberg, 1986 cited in GAO, 1987). As explained by

panelist, Herbert Walberg, "even the total population of opinion is likely to be biased because most of the research and synthesis in this field is carried by those who have been funded by "true believers" within and outside government intent on showing the superiority of a single approach" (Walberg, 1986 cited in GAO, 1987, p. 72).

5.1.5 Longitudinal study of structured immersion strategy, early-exit, and late-exit transitional bilingual education programs for language-minority children (Ramirez, et. al., 1991)

Many studies were excluded from the GAO (1987) and the K. Baker and de Kanter (1981) studies due to what the authors of these reviews gauged as technical deficiencies within original studies. Such deficiencies were expressed in terms of subject sample sizes considered to be too small, inconsistencies in program labeling, or lack of control groups within studies. Additionally, while the K. Baker and de Kanter (1981) review was widely employed in political discourse among policymakers, the review did not provide significant findings concerning the population most impacted by bilingual education in the United States— Spanish speaking English Language Learners (ELL) (represented in only one study selected by K. Baker and de Kanter (1981)).

The Ramirez et. al. report (1991) attempted to address some of these issues by way of an examination of outcomes from immersion programs, early-exit transitional and late-exit transitional bilingual programs, in five states enrolling more than two thousand elementary level Spanish speaking ELLs. Specifically charged with comparing and determining the effectiveness of the three named programs, the study was commissioned by the U.S. Congress, through the Department of Education, and conducted over an eight year period.

5.1.5.1 Longitudinal study of structured immersion strategy, early-exit, and late-exit transitional bilingual education programs for language-minority children (Ramirez, et. al., 1991): Measurement

The Ramirez et. al. (1991) report was based on a quasi-experimental design dependent upon descriptive and statistical analyses of raw data. Because program labeling had been identified as at least one methodological area of concern by critics of earlier studies, the authors of the Ramirez et. al. (1991) report went to great lengths to define operational practices and strategies within programs measured in order to resolve issues of teaching methodology, program objectives, and theoretical underpinnings associated with each. Programs were primarily defined based on the degree of English employed by the teacher (Ramirez et. al., 1991). English immersion, for example, was considered instruction provided primarily in English; while early-exit transitional bilingual education was defined as programs in which at least "some initial instruction" is delivered in the native language, while students are mainstreamed into English-only classrooms by the second grade. Finally, late-exit transitional bilingual education programs were typified as forty-percent of instruction delivered in Spanish from kindergarten through sixth grade, with students being mainstreamed into English-only classrooms by the seventh grade.

Data on students in the immersion and early-exit transitional programs were collected and analyzed based on the time students spent in kindergarten through third grade. Data on students in the late-exit transitional programs, on the other hand, were collected and analyzed by way of two groups. One of these groups consisted of students enrolled in kindergarten through third grade, and the other included a third through sixth grade cohort. Comparisons were made across programs (early-exit and immersion versus late-exit transitional programs), as well as states, districts, and schools. Ramirez et. al. (1991) also collected data on teacher credentials and training, along with parental involvement, across all three instructional treatments.

Ramirez et. al. (1991) controlled for factors, such as student and staff characteristics and instructional methods, through statistical procedures to ensure all students and programs were

measured on similar grounds. Finally, program success was defined by student outcomes in language arts, reading, and mathematics via standardized exams delivered in English.

5.1.5.2 Longitudinal study of structured immersion strategy, early-exit, and late-exit transitional bilingual education programs for language-minority children (Ramirez, et. al., 1991): Findings

The authors arrived at two major conclusions concerning program characteristics and student achievement across the three program types. First, their analysis manifested evidence implying no significant difference in instructional principals across all three programs. Ramirez et. al. (1991) explained that the three programs measured appeared to expound a passive learning model. As described by Ramirez et. al. (1991), "[the] basic instructional paradigm is explanation, question, command and feedback" (p. 33). Additionally, instructional quality tended to be consistent across all three programs in that content, time on task, and language output aligned with program descriptions and objectives whether a child was enrolled in an immersion, early-exit or late-exit transitional bilingual education program. However, there were poignant findings concerning student placement following bilingual education treatment. Many students who were reclassified from English Language Learner to "mainstream" after the approximated three years required by the immersion programs reviewed, still remained within said programs after reclassification. The early-exit programs, on the other hand, were generally consistent with their respective theoretical models, mainstreaming students after grade six. As such, the program findings provided evidence that English proficiency among students enrolled in all three programs reviewed required at least five years to attain.

With regard to immersion and early-exit program comparisons, Ramirez et. al. (1991) found no significant difference in achievement and rate of growth between the former two programs and late-exit programs after four years of enrollment. As described by Ramirez et. al. (1991), the immersion and early-exit programs shared "no difference in the level of achievement or rate of

growth" after reclassification and mainstreaming (1991, p. 34). Furthermore, there appeared to be no difference in the academic growth relative to the "norming" population between immersion programs and early-exit students (Ramirez, et. al., Vol. II, 1991, p. 641).

However, the data began to unveil a disparate portrayal of student achievement in the years following students' reclassification in the immersion and early-exit programs, as well as in the fifth- and sixth-years of students' enrollment in late-exit programs. Students in all three programs continued to demonstrate academic growth in reading, mathematics and language arts once they were reclassified after grade six.

The Ramirez (1991) report contributed three major findings to the literature on bilingual education effectiveness: a) all three programs (immersion, early-exit transitional, late-exit transitional) were consistent with program objectives and descriptions as far as the third grade; b) students in immersion and early-exit programs are often reclassified after three years, yet most of the these students remained enrolled in the programs (suggesting students may require specially designed support in English acquisition beyond three years); and finally, c) parent involvement occurs mostly within late-exit programs wherein teachers also demonstrated greater fluency in the Spanish language (suggesting schools may need to focus means on communicating with parents in their native language to better support the academic progress of ELLs).

5.1.5.3 Longitudinal study of structured immersion strategy, early-exit, and late-exit transitional bilingual education programs for language-minority children (Ramirez, et. al., 1991): Major criticisms

As pointed out by C. Baker (2006), several major studies emerged in response to the Ramirez report (Cummins, 1992, Dolson & Meyer, 1992, Meyer and Fienberg, 1992). Cummins (1992) noted the range of programs analyzed by Ramirez et. al. (1991) were limited and excluded developmental programs such as dual language and heritage programs whereby the objective is to develop and preserve the native language as students acquire the English language. Dolson and

Meyer (1992) observed student achievement was identified only by way of test scores, while parent expectations and measures of student attitude were excluded from the study. K. Baker (1992) contended the quantity of data on long-term benefits of late-exit programs was inadequate to make concrete claims about its effectiveness. Likewise, Thomas (1992) noted that at the time of the Ramirez (1991) report the research on Canadian immersion programs had produced evidence student outcomes were not completely reliable until after 4 to 5 years of program operation. Further, funders' of the Ramirez et. al. (1991) report required that the study compare immersion to transitional bilingual education models, limiting the scope of the study. As pointed out by Thomas (1992), in the early 1980s immersion programs only existed within K-3 programs, which meant the impact of transitional bilingual education on the more challenging components of the curriculum encountered at the upper grade levels could not be measured. Lastly, C. Baker (2006) highlighted findings within a subsequent study released by the National Academy of Science, which criticized Ramirez et. al. (1991) as failing to provide definitive direction for policy- making at a time when the goals of bilingual education had yet to be clearly defined and embraced by policy-makers and the public. However, C. Baker (2006) concluded this latter criticism was seemingly a discontinuity of policy, rather than a defect of the report.

5.1.6 A meta-analysis of the Rossell and Baker review of bilingual education (Greene, 1998)

The Greene (1998) study, sponsored by a California policy and advocacy think tank, was conducted in response to a 1996 review by Rossell and K. Baker (1996) at the height of Proposition 227 in California. The Rossell and K. Baker (1996) review, alongside earlier K. Baker reviews and articles (K. Baker, 1987, K. Baker & de Kanter, 1983), concluded bilingual education demonstrated no positive impact on student achievement, a finding that had been contrary to earlier large scale statistical and literature reviews (Willig, 1985, Ramirez et. al., 1991). Yet, its findings were thought to have heavily influenced the welfare of bilingual education in states like California wherein its existence was being actively challenged within political arenas and driving negative public

discourse (Crawford, 2004). Greene (1998) sought to reanalyze the findings within the Rossell and K. Baker (1996) report by conducting a meta-analysis similar to that of Willig's (1985). The Rossell and K. Baker (1996) report findings were challenged on the basis of methodology with regard to the selection process and the statistical method in which the aggregate of studies were analyzed.

5.1.6.1 A meta-analysis of the Rossell and Baker review of bilingual education (Greene, 1998): Measurement

Rossell and K. Baker (1996) had measured studies by a "vote-counting" technique in which outcomes cited within original studies earned points based on positive outcomes for bilingual education or English-only approaches. Greene (1998), on the other hand, chose a meta-analysis approach, similar to Willig's (1985) that included studies Rossell and Baker (1996) had deemed "methodologically sound". The basis for soundness as delineated by Rossell and K. Baker (1996) was dependent upon studies meeting certain criteria. Selected studies had to: "1) compare students in a bilingual program to a control group of similar students; 2) statistically control for deficiencies between [groups]; 3) base results on standardized test scores in English; and 4) determine differences between the scores of treatment and control groups by applying appropriate statistical test" (p. 3, Rossell & Baker, 1996 cited Greene, 1998). Studies also had to meet additional criteria set forth by Greene (1998). This included studies that took place in the US, studies that measured effectiveness after at least one year of a program's operation, and studies that were comprised of control groups that excluded former bilingual education students and were identifiable by the delivery of English-only instruction (Greene, 1998, p. 3). The studies reviewed examined standardized test scores in English language arts, reading, and math for nearly 3,000 students tested in bilingual and English-only classrooms across the US.

One of the primary issues Greene (1998) distinguished within the Rossell and K. Baker (1996) report was inconsistencies in program labeling and control groups. As varying versions of bilingual education were evolving and emerging in school districts across the U.S., program labels

were often used interchangeably or even inadequately. Also, Greene (1998) found many of the control groups in the studies reviewed by Rossell and K. Baker (1996) included students that had received at least some instruction in the native language. Statistically controlling for these two variables, Greene (1998) found only 11 studies that met the criteria set forth by Rossell and K. Baker (1996) in conjunction with his additional criteria. Among Greene's (1998) rationales for excluding some of Rossell and K. Baker's (1996) original studies selected touched upon their redundant reporting of same studies. Certain studies analyzed by Rossell and K. Baker (1996), for instance, were cited within multiple scholarly publications expounding the same findings, yet the authors chose to report on these as separate studies. In these instances, Rossell and K. Baker (1996) cited each publication as a new finding even if it was produced by the same author and reported on the same program outcomes; a practice Greene (1998) believed was misleading and compromised statistical analysis. In result, Greene (1998) combined, and represented as one, the findings within publications reflecting the same study and produced by the same original author. Two other studies noted by Greene (1998), which were not evaluations of bilingual education, but rather an examination of "direct instruction" (Becker, 1982 cited in Greene, 1998) were also excluded (p. 5). As explained by Greene (1998), "it is clear that Rossell and [K.] Baker's review of studies is useful as a pool for a meta-analysis, but the lack of rigor and consistency in how they classify studies and summarized result prevent their conclusions from being reliable" (p. 6).

5.1.6.2 A meta-analysis of the Rossell and Baker review of bilingual education (Greene, 1998): Findings

Greene's primary finding, with regard to English language outcomes, was native language instruction had at least a moderate impact on academic gains in tests administered in English (with greater benefits for reading than math). This was the case despite the duration of instruction delivered in the native language. As noted by C. Baker (2006), Greene's (1998) findings nearly mirrored those of Willig's (1985) even though the authors reviewed only four of the same studies (p.

266). The effect size of bilingual education on the outcomes of tests administered in Spanish was just as compelling. Students instructed in their native language achieved at higher rates when also tested for academic content knowledge in their native language. Finally, when random assignment was clearly a factor within the primary study design, the effects of bilingual education were even greater regardless of the medium of test administration. Like Willig (1985), Greene (1998) found the benefits of bilingual education were more discernible among high quality designed studies (e.g. studies that were replicable, utilized clear and standard methodologies, etc.).

While the Greene (1998) study did not definitively demonstrate the superiority of one program type over another, it did provide significant evidence of the positive affects of instruction incorporating the native language for English Language Learners' acquisition of English and academic growth across the curriculum.

5.1.6.3 A meta-analysis of the Rossell and Baker review of bilingual education (Greene, 1998): Major criticisms

Krashen (1998), while supporting Greene's (1998) overall conclusions, argued the findings failed to provide a comprehensive picture of bilingual education effects and outcomes. First pointing to research by Thomas and Collier (1997, cited in Krashen, 1998), Krashen noted program outcomes are much more sound among programs that have been operating for at least two years. While positive effect sizes are possible after one year, findings are more concrete and substantial after two. Krashen also suggested Greene's (1998) lack of attention to detail concerning definitions of bilingual education— pointing out that more thorough program descriptions would had allowed readers to decisively distinguish an adequate program from a "great" program.

Pointing to two studies in particular, Krashen (1998) enumerated that in the first of these two studies (Bacon et. al., 1982, cited in Krashen, 1998), the program reviewed depicts paraprofessionals providing support in the native language, while in the second study (Kaufman, 1964, cited in Krashen, 1998), students that had already possessed some form of English

proficiency, are enrolled in a program whereby the teachers are bilingual and deliver instruction in both the native and target languages. While both programs were considered bilingual education by Greene (1998), they represent two different levels of quality that as argued by Krashen (1998), were not fully disclosed.

Rossell (2002) too was critical of Greene's (1998) work. Greene (1998) chose to conduct a meta-analysis utilizing Rossell and K. Baker's (1996) original study as the basis of his work, citing "effect size" as a more reliable indicator of program effectiveness (Rossell & Kuder, 2005). Yet, Rossell, later explained her rationale for the vote-counting method was due to the lack of sufficient data necessary for determining an effect size within a meta-analysis. Additionally, she argued Greene's (1998) effect size for bilingual education outcomes would have delivered alternative data had it been "weighted by its sample size" (Rossell, 2002, p. 100).

5.1.7 A national study of school effectiveness for language minority students' long-term academic achievement (Thomas & Collier, 2002)

Thomas and Collier's (2002) study was funded by the U.S. Department of Education and aimed at addressing policy questions concerning effective practices in the long-term instruction and achievement of English Language Learners (ELLs). At the time of the study, more than eight different program types for ELLs were being employed by school districts across the nation. The authors were charged with providing an overview of these programs from the perspective of the "whole district". The report was based on findings from a five-year study of quantitative and qualitative research on bilingual education programs administered in the northeast, northwest, south central, and southeast regions of the US and reflected long-term outcomes for ELLs up to 12 years of age. Thomas and Collier (2002) considered their study to be the first of its kind in the canon of literature analyzing longitudinal data on bilingual education collected and stored by districts across the US.

5.1.7.1 A national study of school effectiveness for language minority students' long-term academic achievement (Thomas & Collier, 2002): Measurement

The authors sought to develop a comprehensive and collaborative approach to collecting and analyzing data at the school district and building level in 16 sites in 11 states. Their criteria for inclusion encompassed district administrations' commitment to participate in the study, their ability and capacity to collect and analyze longitudinal data, and their ability to clearly identify their English Language Learners' characteristics, program types, and measures of success. Once these principles for evaluating participation were accounted for, Thomas and Collier (2002) reported on five sites that were adept to maintaining their commitment to data collection and analysis over the five-year period. The final study included data outcomes on 200,000 students representing 70 different languages. Three of the five sites reflected Spanish speaking students as the primary language minority group.

Data was collected by school district staff on standardized test scores and criterion referenced tests in English, reading, mathematics, science, and social studies. Eight program types extending from English as a second language (ESL) to developmental programs (such as dual language) were manifested in the data[17]. Use of the native language in the spectrum of bilingual education models examined ranged in frequency from 90% English and 10% Spanish, to the reverse. The outcomes of nine student cohorts from kindergarten to the twelfth grade were then analyzed by way of multi-year databases, and compared across programs. Observations of program types and interviews with staff culminated the data collection process.

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[17] Programs examined in this study included English mainstream, English as a second language, 50-50 transitional bilingual education,50-50 one way developmental, 90-10 one way developmental, 50-50 two-way developmental, and 90-10 two-way developmental.

5.1.7.2 A national study of school effectiveness for language minority students' long-term academic achievement (Thomas & Collier, 2002): Findings

Beginning with English acquisition outcomes among former English Language Learners, Thomas and Collier (2002) found students who received no services due to parental placement in English-only classrooms consistently performed at lower levels than students receiving at least some type of bilingual education service. Students enrolled in English-only programs were also more likely to drop out of school by eleventh grade compared to their counterparts receiving bilingual education services. One way 50-50 developmental bilingual education programs whereby students enrolled are of the same language group and are instructed 50 percent in the native language and 50 percent in English, provided the most promising evidence of positive student outcomes. Former ELLs, after four years of schooling in this program finished in the 72nd percentile compared to groups representing the other seven program types. This was followed by 90-10 two way bilingual immersion, in which former ELL student outcomes placed in the 31st percentile compared to the other seven program types. This type of program provides 90 percent of instruction in the native language and ten percent of instruction in English. Instruction in the native language is gradually reduced as the student ascends grade levels until reaching grade five, in which all instruction is provided in English.   Rankings for the remaining five programs and the student outcomes percentiles are as follows:

Third (45th percentile) - 50/50 Transitional Bilingual Education (50% of
          instruction in native language, 50% in English)
Fourth (34th percentile) - 90-10 One-way Developmental Bilingual Education
          (90% of instruction in the native language, 10% in
          English)
Fifth (32nd percentile) - 90-10 Transitional Bilingual Education (90% of
          instruction in the native language, 10% in English,
          students placed in mainstream English-only classroom
          after fifth grade)
Sixth (23rd percentile) - English as a Second Language (students are placed in
          mainstream English-only classroom after 2-3 years of
          ESL instruction)

Another program, 50-50 two-way bilingual immersion was not assigned a percentile ranking due to the unique circumstances of the data. Students enrolled in the program examined were a transient population in a high poverty secondary school with limited resources. Data for this program portrayed 58 percent of former ELL students meeting or exceeding state standards in English reading (Thomas & Collier, 2002, p. 9).

Thomas and Collier (2002) also examined ELL outcomes on tests administered in Spanish by program type. Students enrolled in 50-50 two-way bilingual immersion, 90-10 transitional bilingual education, 90-10 developmental bilingual education, 90-10 developmental bilingual education, and 90-10 two-way bilingual education performed at or above the 61st percentile in subjects across the curriculum (math, science, social studies and literature). Math scores in particular, were greater among native Spanish speakers enrolled in said bilingual programs— outperforming native English speakers.

Since many of the ELLs in the districts reviewed derived from low socio-economic backgrounds and/or were classified as new immigrants with limited formal schooling in their native language, Thomas and Collier (2002) also reported on the influence of these characteristics. Even with these affective factors, Thomas and Collier (2002) found among all program types, high levels of student achievement tended to be associated with some type of bilingual education program (ESL excluded). As explained by the authors, "a strong dual language program can 'reverse' the negative effects of SES more than a well implements ESL content program by raising achievement to a greater degree" (p. 11).

5.1.7.3 A national study of school effectiveness for language minority students' long-term academic achievement (Thomas & Collier, 2002): Major criticisms

Krashen (2005) criticized Thomas and Collier (2002) for inaccurate reporting of results. This was the case with regard to two program outcomes for the Oregon school district reviewed. As alluded to by Krashen (2005), Thomas and Collier (2002) reported successful outcomes for third grade

students in a two-way program, however, failed to adequately report on the outcomes of the fifth grade cohort exposed to the same bilingual education program (but who underperformed compared to their third grade counterparts). While Thomas and Collier (2002) provided a rationale for not presenting a comprehensive report on this group (i.e. the composition of the fifth grade cohort represented late-comer students, which situated them at a greater disadvantage than the third grade group), Krashen (2005) argued that a more granular analysis, beginning with when students entered the program, would account for the problem of late-comers cited by Thomas and Collier (2002). In fact, through his own analysis of the fifth grade cohort data, Krashen (2005) argued that once social economic status was controlled for, the number of years students were enrolled in the program became the strongest indicator for determining English language acquisition amongst this group of students.

Krashen (2005) cited other findings by Thomas and Collier (2002) as being difficult to interpret. Thomas and Collier (2002), for instance, reported positive outcomes for students following the first year of treatment, yet outcomes fell below the norm the longer students remained in the program. According to Krashen (2005), these findings were difficult to interpret as students assigned to some programs possessed levels of English proficiency prior to enrollment, leading these students to attain higher than normal scores after only one year of treatment. As pointed out by Castillo (2001) in his re-analysis of the same data (cited in Krashen, 2005), while students enrolled in two-way programs outperformed comparison groups across the board, Thomas and Collier (2002) did not clarify whether scores decreased over time due to the effect of high scoring students exiting the program and students with lesser English proficiency entering, or because of another factor. So, as noted by Krashen (2005), the data could support the ineffectiveness, or the effectiveness of two-way programs.

In follow up personal communication between Krashen and Thomas and Collier, high scoring students, as clarified by the authors where not automatically exiting the program (personal communication, cited in Krashen, 2005). Krashen (2005) explained the authors justified the

decline in student scores as an outcome coinciding with native English speaking students entering the middle school years. Further, as discussed by Thomas and Collier (2002), studies have shown students' grades typically decline for this age group due to demanding curriculum and social factors associated with middle level schooling.

Lastly, Krashen (2005) observed the authors failed to present a longitudinal study faithful to the design of such a study since the exact same students were not measured, and their outcomes accounted for, over time. Instead, as described by Krashen (2005), "…different numbers of children were tested at each level; thus, the same cohorts were followed, but precisely the same children were not tested" (2005, p. 10).

5.1.8 The big picture: A meta-analysis of program effectiveness research on English language learners (Rolstad, et. al., 2005)

Rolstad, Mahoney, and Glass' (2005) study followed the publication of widely cited and debated meta-analyses on bilingual education program effectiveness. These studies (Danoff, et. al., (AIR), 1977, K. Baker & de Kanter, 1981, Rossell & K. Baker, 1996) are among the few that had presumably influenced the ensuing passage of state laws in California, Arizona and Massachusetts that limited the availability of, and access to, bilingual education programs. Likewise, on the federal level, the Bilingual Education Act had expired three years earlier, was absorbed into the No Child Left Behind Act, and renamed the English Acquisition Act, a title clearly emphasizing the preferred instructional approach for ELLs at the time— approaches focusing on the rapid acquisition of English (p. 573).

Rolstad et. al. (2005) employed Willig's (1985) selection of studies as the foundation of their review, as well as integrated new studies conducted and published since 1985. Seeking to broaden the "big picture" on bilingual education effectiveness, Rolstad et. al. (2005) adopted a modified approach to screening and selecting studies included in their review. The approach was based on Glass, McGraw, and Smith's (1976, cited in Rolstad et. al., 2005) methodology for including as

many studies as possible on a given subject, a strategy designed to cast the "widest net possible" (p. 579).

5.1.8.1 The big picture: A meta-analysis of program effectiveness research on English language learners (Rolstad, et. al., 2005): Measurement

Rolstad et. al.'s (2005) meta-analysis, as with Willig's (1985), began with the studies originally reviewed by K. Baker and de Kanter (1981). In both cases, the authors of these previous studies found no negative effect for bilingual education, yet the interpretation of their findings varied widely within the authors' reporting, and policymakers' understanding of, the outcomes. While K. Baker and de Kanter (1981) found transitional bilingual education programs no better or comparable to immersion-based programs, Willig (1985) found that any program incorporating some component of the native language produced a positive effect compared to no program at all. However, Rolstad et. al. (2005) questioned findings within both of these studies due to the methodological approach assumed by each author. Willig (1985), as well as K. Baker and de Kanter (1981), adopted a "best evidence" approach in the screening and selection of studies. Glass (1976, cited in Rolstad et. al., 2005) argued that such an approach invites author bias since the process is inevitably plagued by personal experience and intuitive knowledge. As explained by Glass (1976, cited in Rolstad et al., 2005), a "best evidence approach to form a selection process,…[allows the reviewer] great latitude in assessing how important any particular study is and, thus, imposes personal preferences on what is included" (p. 579). Glass (1981, cited in Rolstad et al., 2005), called for an impartial review including any study available that sufficiently represents the research question at hand, thus accounting for all studies on a given subject— regardless of the potential effect size or perceived design quality. As further explained by Rolstad et. al. (2005), "this permits [the researcher] to probe more deeply into the distribution of study results to understand why some studies may find a stronger advantage for a particular program than another" (p. 580).

Within this methodological context, the authors searched academic databases, producing a few hundred new studies published after 1985. After accounting for the same inclusion criteria as Willig (1985), as well as excluding studies reporting minimal data and lacking treatment groups, 17 studies (published after Willig (1985)) were identified (p. 581). The data within these studies were coded by various program and student and teacher characteristics that included: type of native language support provided in the program, the school's method for identifying LEP students, the program length, students' English proficiencies, and teachers' certifications and proficiencies in students' native language. The authors also addressed the issue of program names employed interchangeably across schools, but looking very different in practice. Programs were identified based on descriptions and objectives provided by the original authors of the studies under review, rather than by program name alone. Effect sizes were then calculated based on standardized tests outcomes between two types of studies emerging within the review. The first type reflected studies wherein one form of bilingual education instruction was compared to another form of bilingual education; while the other type of study depicted ELLs' outcomes compared to the outcomes of their native- English speaking counterparts.

5.1.8.2 The big picture: A meta-analysis of program effectiveness research on English language learners (Rolstad, et. al., 2005): Findings

The overall effect size for the collection of studies reviewed by Rolstad et al. (2005) consistently provided evidence of the superiority of bilingual programs (transitional and developmental) over English as a second language, structured immersion and English-only programs serving English Language Learner students. Further, when transitional and developmental bilingual education programs were compared against one another, developmental programs consistently outperformed transitional bilingual programs. The most significant effect was apparent within bilingual programs (of both types) that developed students' academic studies across the curriculum (reading, math, etc.) in both the native language and English. Additionally, when primary studies that statistically

controlled for other factors contributing to ELLs status such as poverty and access to school resources, were segregated, the effect size for bilingual education was even greater. This meant students with considerable socioeconomic disadvantage benefitted from bilingual education even more so than ELLs' with dissimilar backgrounds. Rolstad et. al. (2005) concluded their findings were much like those of Willig (1985) and Greene's (1998), which yielded a positive effect for bilingual through outcomes measured in English reading and math, as well as those outcomes measured with the assistance of the native language (p. 590).

5.1.8.3 The big picture: A meta-analysis of program effectiveness research on English language learners (Rolstad, et. al., 2005): Major criticisms

Rolstad et. al. (2007) released an updated version of their 2005 report to account for a coding error concerning a study by Gersten (1985, cited in Rolstad et. al., 2007). The error, originally identified by Rossell and Kuder (2005) in their review of another author's meta-analysis of bilingual education, appeared to be an "outlier" in a pool of studies that pointed to the overall effectiveness of bilingual education in the authors' 2005 report. As pointed out by Rolstad et. al. (2007), the error was a result of an inaccurate program description in Gersten's (1985, cited in Rolstad et. al. 2007) original study, which produced an effect size of .08, suggesting little if any significance. However, once Gersten's error was identified and imputed in program coding, an overall effect size for bilingual education of .23 was produced. As explained by Rolstad et. al. (2007), the correction to Gersten (1985, cited in Rolstad, et. al, 2005) effectively strengthened the conclusion that bilingual education programs were superior to programs that did not employ the native language in instruction.

5.1.9 Developing literacy in second language learners: Report of the national literacy panel on language-minority children and youth (August & Shanahan, 2006)

The National Literacy Panel (2006) study was commissioned by the U.S. Department of Education's Institute of Education Sciences in 2002. Assembling a 13-person panel of experts in the fields of

second language development, cognitive development, curriculum and instruction, and methodology; the Department charged the group with identifying, assessing and synthesizing research pertaining to English Language Learners and their literacy and reading (August & Shanahan, 2006, p. 2). Drawing upon the recent research and findings on the positive effects of early reading skills and literacy proficiency on academic attainment across the curriculum, the authors investigated the role of literacy and reading with regard to the academic outcomes of English Language Learners.

Several events illustrated by August and Shanahan (2006) drove the investigation of the study, including the recent passage of the English Acquisition Act, alongside the National Center for Education Statistics' release of ELL student data evidencing the ever-widening gap between ELLs and native English speaking students' academic, social, and economic outcomes. In early 2000, for example, less than 20% of ELLs met state standards in reading and comprehension. Additionally, 30% of ELLs with a proficient command of English, as well as 50% of ELLs lacking proficiency in English, failed to complete high school (Kindler, 2000 and NCES, 2004 cited in August & Shanahan, 2006).

Noting the current state of ELLs in the U.S., and the correlation between individuals' economic prosperity and achievement in their K-12 school years, August and Shanahan (2006) reviewed existing research on topics that included: literacy development, the role of the native language in second language acquisition and related cross-literacy relations between the native language and the target language, instructional quality and professional development, and student assessment (p. 2). Sub-committees were assigned to each topic, while further guidance and discussion of findings were provided by the general public and the Department of Education.

5.1.9.1 Developing literacy in second language learners: Report of the national literacy panel on language-minority children and youth (August & Shanahan, 2006): Measurement

The panel established three major categories for inclusion within their review. Inclusion criteria was as follows:

Studies had to be of an experimental or quasi-experimental nature establishing a casual link between instructional approach and ELL outcomes. Qualitative research was also accepted and primarily employed to answer "process and context" questions concerning the current status of a particular instructional approach or how literacy evolves over time (2006, p. 9-12).

Studies had to examine kindergarten through twelfth grade ELL outcomes to "ensure the most relevance to policies and procedures in the U.S." (2006, p. 3.).

Lastly, all studies had to be published in English after 1979 and examine a program previously in operation for a minimum of six months.

Within these parameters, the panel reported on 293 studies they described as a multidimensional framework recognizing the impact of individual characteristics, general literacy processes, native language and literacy proficiency, sociocultural context, and quality of instruction. Data was analyzed through box scores, which are depicted by way of a data table summarizing individual outcomes. Additionally, meta-analysis was performed in the case of five or more studies addressing the same research question, while narrative analysis was employed for reviews of qualitative studies.

5.1.9.2 Developing literacy in second language learners: Report of the national literacy panel on language-minority children and youth (August & Shanahan, 2006): Findings

August and Shanahan's (2006) panel of experts framed findings within the understanding that general components of adolescent development (e.g. age, a certain level of oral proficiency and age-level cognitive maturity) are prerequisites to literacy whether one is considered a language minority acquiring a second language or a native English speaker learning a first language. Having

established this understanding, the committee found English Language Learners and native English speakers learn word level literacy involving spelling and decoding by comparable means and levels. However, the opposite was true for what the panel described as "text-level" skills— skills requiring the application of individuals' more complex cognitive commands such as defining words, interpreting the meaning of words, and executing vocabulary within varying contexts. Citing current research in literacy development, the panel stressed that ELLs deficient in their native language lack access to "common underlying" cognitive resources and experience-based resources that assist individuals in phonological awareness and decoding (2006a, p. 14).

The second major finding suggested a strong correlation between ELLs' oral English proficiency and English literacy. As explained by the panel, "limited [oral] English proficiency prevents children from using word meaning to figure out how to read a word" (p. 14). Additionally, data pointed to phonological "processing skills" serving as a predictor of reading comprehension requiring more complex cognitive abilities. Thus, the transferability of skills from the native language to the second language plays a key role in second language literacy. The panel concluded, "the studies….demonstrate that language – minority students instructed in their native language (primarily Spanish in this report), as well as English, perform on average, better in English reading measures than language-minority students instructed only in their second language (English in this case)" (2006a, p. 17).

5.1.9.3 Developing literacy in second language learners: Report of the national literacy panel on language-minority children and youth (August & Shanahan, 2006): Major criticisms

The first major criticisms to emerge with regard to August and Shanahan (2006) study concerned its accessibility. The report, a more than 600 page document, was intended for a wide range of audiences including practitioners, policy-makers, and researchers (August & Shanahan, 2006). Yet, as pointed out by Pray and Jimenez (2009), the final report was largely technical and failed to provide synthesized findings that were communicated in an easily understood manner. For

instance, the authors attributed much of their writing to describing multivariate and regression analysis, while less is dedicated to flushing out the meaning of certain findings (Pray & Jimenez, 2009). Pray and Jimenez noted this as being the case in a study by Lesaux and Geva (cited in Pray & Jimenez, 2009) in which the authors found ELLs performed comparably or better than monolinguals in phonological skills, though underperformed in reading comprehension. Still, little discussion emerged about the specific details concerning reading comprehension addressed within this study. Pray and Jimenez (2009) argued that a thorough discussion of these processes would aid, teachers in particular, in understanding problems encountered by students in the latter skill.

They also find it troubling that August and Shanahan (2006), who presented such strong evidence for native language instruction as a pertinent tool in second language development, likewise, suggest there is evidence that alternative instructional methods (such as English-only) show promise when no such evidence was provided by the authors (2009, p. 381). Pray and Jimenez (2009), along with Grant et. al. (2007), also criticized the authors' finding concerning the lack of impact sociocultural variables have on literacy development. Both authors contended that had August and Shanahan (2006) broaden their methodology, placing a greater emphasis on qualitative studies, they would have been exposed to the role sociocultural and affective factors play within literacy development.

Cummins (2009) also addressed the methodology selected by August and Shanahan (2006), noting that their choice to only review peer reviewed published articles, left out important studies in the field published in the early 2000s as manuscripts. He too criticized August and Shanahan's placement of qualitative studies on the tertiary of the study's design, arguing that qualitative studies are useful for affirming and refuting hypotheses. As he explained, "across a range of scientific disciplines, knowledge is generated by establishing a set of observed phenomena, forming hypotheses to account for these phenomena, testing these hypotheses against additional data, and gradually refining the hypotheses into more comprehensive theories that have broader explanatory and predictive power (Cummins, 2009, p. 385). Highlighting a

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study by Reyes (2001, cited in Cummins, 2009), which found evidence ELLs could produce second language literacy skills in lieu of explicit instruction by way of literacy strategies, Cummins (2009) demonstrates how theory can be disproven through qualitative study. In this case, Cummins (2009) challenged August and Shanahan's suggestion that phonics is an essential component of literacy development.

5.1.10 Reading and language outcomes of a five-year randomized evaluation of transitional bilingual education (Slavin et. al., 2010)

In 2010, Slavin et. al. released the results of a five-year study on reading comprehension among English Language Learners (ELLs) in transitional bilingual education and structured English immersion programs. Funded by the Department of Education, the study was designed to determine which of the two programs assisted ELLs in attaining reading skills in English more rapidly and effectively, and to provide an update to the literature on the outcomes of such programs.

As noted by Slavin et. al. (2010), the reviews and meta-analyses of the previous two periods (1970s-80s and 1980s-90s) examined studies conducted during the 1970s through 1980s when bilingual education was still a rudimentary concept and practice. These earlier studies often measured programs amid operation, or evaluated student outcomes upon immediate exit from programs when the effects of treatment are not clearly apparent (Slavin, et. al., 2010). As observed by Slavin at al. (2010), "few of the studies took place over a long enough time period to follow students past the point of transition to English-only reading" (p.7). However, Slavin et. al.'s attempt to update the canon of literature on ELL outcomes represents a contemporary study examining student performance within English-only environments subsequent to students' treatment in bilingual and immersion programs. Slavin at al. marks the importance of this by emphasizing, "ELL students taught in English will temporarily perform better in English (and worse in their home language) than students taught in their home language who have not yet been transitioned to

English. Studies need to be long enough to follow students past the point of transition to see whether the experience of bilingual education was beneficial for their English reading" (p. 9).

5.1.10.1 Reading and language outcomes of a five-year randomized evaluation of transitional bilingual education (Slavin et. al., 2010): Measurement

Three cohorts of kindergarten English Language Learners (ELLs) randomly assigned to transitional bilingual education and English-only programs over a three- to five-year period were reviewed by the researchers. The subjects, Spanish dominant students, resided in six school schools in the mid-west that already providing fully operational transitional bilingual education and structured English immersion programs. These schools were also implementing a reading program for ELLs called Success for All, which had been deemed an effective tool in improving ELLs' reading comprehension within earlier studies (August & Shanahan, 2006; Cheung & Slavin, 2005). Students were pretested in English reading and vocabulary at the inception of the study and again at its completion.   Those randomly assigned to transitional bilingual education programs were taught reading skills in Spanish in kindergarten and transitioned to English reading in first or second grade; while students assigned to structured English immersion programs were instructed entirely in English from kindergarten onwards. All students were measured in English and Spanish proficiency by way of standardized tests at the culmination of each school year.

5.1.10.2 Reading and language outcomes of a five-year randomized evaluation of transitional bilingual education (Slavin et. al., 2010): Findings

Slavin et. al. (2010) confirmed that the earlier studies that suggested English immersion was a superior program to transitional bilingual education immediately following treatment lacked statistical significance in the years after transition (Ramirez et. al., 1991).   In the Slavin et. al. (2010) study, students enrolled in English-immersion programs outperformed their comparison group (transitional bilingual education students), in English proficiency following exit from the first

grade. The transitional bilingual education students, however, outperformed the structured English immersion students in Spanish reading until the fourth grade at which points both groups began to equalize. This equalization was also evident among English proficiency skills following grades three and four, wherein there was no significant statistical difference among outcomes between the structured English immersion and transitional bilingual education groups. Thus Slavin et. al. (2010) arrived at the conclusion: "these findings suggest that Spanish-dominant students learn to read in English (as well as Spanish) equally well in TBE [transitional bilingual education] and SEI [structured English immersion]" (p. 2). However, like the Ramirez et. al. (1991) study, the Slavin et. al. (2010) study did not ostensibly establish bilingual education or structured English immersion as the superior instructional model (only comparable).

5.1.11 Conclusions on the Field of Bilingual Education Research

The research basis for bilingual education illuminates the lack of consensus among proponents and opponents of such programs. The conflicting findings among the canon of research give reason for this. Many studies that have found bilingual education superior, or comparable, to English-only programs provide evidence English proficiency requires 3 to 5 years of instruction supported in the native language, and literary 5 to 7 years (Ramirez et. al., 1991, Greene, 1998, Willig, 1985, August & Shanahan, 2006, Slavin et. al., 2010). Still others have offered evidence that amassed time instructed in English leads to more rapid English proficiency and learning across the curriculum (K. Baker & de Kanter, 1981, Rossell & K. Baker, 1996). Despite these conflicting findings, what is common among many of the major studies is that they represent varying approaches that have been criticized by supporters and opponents of bilingual education who have cited poor design, lack of detail, insufficient control groups, and/or misrepresentation of outcomes. For instance, many early studies, such as the K. Baker and de Kanter (1981) and Rossell and Baker (1996), were too brief in duration to sufficiently determine the effectiveness of programs. Greene (1998) found the average study examined two years of program implementation, while Willig (1985) had earlier

determined most studies at the time examined only up to one year of student learning and outcomes. This issue in particular forced scholars to address the criteria for measuring an adequate study with greater rigor. This led to study inclusion criteria that was gradually expanded upon by each successive study. This criteria evolved to include: a) studies based on US programs, comparison groups with like students and control groups, statistical controls applied to each group, measures based on standardized exams, and studies lasting at least one year. Collier and Thomas (1997, 2002), were among the first to utilize nearly all six criteria through the examination of the long term effects of bilingual education beyond elementary years.

Still, after nearly forty-years of research in bilingual education, researchers and policy-makers are still no closer to agreeing as to whether bilingual education works. While the greater share of research suggests bilingual education is superior to English-only programs, it does not conclusively point to one type of instructional model, leaving there room for debate and diversity in policy and instructional practices. The most recent study presented fresh data to inform the debate and expanded the canon of literature on bilingual education effectiveness. This being, long-term effects of bilingual education on students post transition leads to not only higher levels of proficiency when compared to English immersion outcomes, but greater proficiencies in ELLs' native Spanish language as well. However, these findings also simply affirm what was already known— bilingual education does effectively assist ELLs in acquiring English and honing Spanish language skills. However, more importantly, to date, there have not been any other contemporary large scale studies meeting inclusion criteria that suggest English-only programs are more effective. So maybe the question is not "does bilingual education work", but "is there strong enough evidence that English-only can do the same?" So far, the answer, when based on adequately designed studies, leans towards "no".

6. CHAPTER VI

6.1 DISCUSSION

School effectiveness for the growing number of English Language Learners (ELLs) in the United States has become a greatly contested topic over the past forty years. Critics have charged ELLs in the US lag behind their native English speaking counterparts, failing to achieve English language proficiency and academic competence. Additionally, bilingual education programs are commonly believed by some to be the culprit of this populations' perceived failure (Crawford, 2004). English-only discourse has resultantly dominated today's policy-making as a means to undertake the challenges of educating ELLs. This is the case in federal policy that now alludes to a favorable stance on English-only programs, and state policies, like that of California's and Arizona's, that have outright banned bilingual education in the public school system.

Among the conditions influencing policy over the past forty years are the perceptions that bilingual education has been largely ineffective in integrating ELLs into mainstream education through the rapid acquisition of the English language; and that said programs are more committed to maintaining the native language than producing English proficiency among ELLs (Crawford 2004, Baker, 2006). At the crux of all these concerns is the high cost associated with sustaining federal and local policies on bilingual education. Proponents of bilingual education, on the other hand, uphold it as the most effective method to educate ELLs when based on pedagogically sound practice supplemented with the appropriate resources and trained teachers. In fact, scholars counsel that any bilingual program correctly implemented can produce English proficiency amongst

ELLs within as few as three years, while higher levels of academic proficiency in English could require as little as five years. The primary benefit of bilingual education approaches (particularly developmental programs), is that ELLs remain on grade level in their academic subjects, while acquiring proficiency and communicative competence in English (Krashen, 1979, 2005, Cummins, 2009a). In fact, per contra to critics' opposition to bilingual education, student outcomes on national exams in states that have implemented successful bilingual education programs demonstrate ELL students generally performing on or above grade level[18].

To be clear, the US goal for bilingual education is to provide a means of equal opportunity to English Language Learners in the public school system by making English language instruction accessible to students arriving to school speaking a language other than English. This too is the goal of all bilingual education programs. Delivery of such instruction within US public schools is most often in the form of English as a second language (ESL) or transitional bilingual education program models. While the notion of providing a language assistance program to ELLs that would enable them to gradually rise to the same playing field as their native English speaking counterparts is a utopian one, the simplicity of implementing it is not. There are many problems with the assumption that providing bilingual education programs alone will resolve (or even address) the language acquisition process and related issues unique to ELLs in the US public school system. Early in the bilingual education debate, scholars called attention to issues complicating this concept. C.B. Paulston (1980), for instance, pointed out the number of variables that influence linguistic minorities' ability to become proficient in a language in ways that have little bearing on the learning capacities of native English speaking students. Such variables at times include: a) sequencing of languages, b) time allotted for instruction, c) emphasis on the native language, d) medium of instruction for specific subjects, e) the teacher's ethnicity, f) language of the surrounding school, g) competency of the teacher, and h) the availability of texts books (C. B. Paulston, 1980, p. 9).

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[18] These outcomes are discussed in chapter one of this dissertation.

Others have inferred that because these learning issues and needs have not always been adequately accounted for within practice, ideologies motivating bilingual education discourse and policies are often flawed (S. Nieto 2000, Garcia 1985, 2010). Additionally, they are often established upon false notions of ELLs' learning capacities, the amount of time required to acquire a second language, and the length of instruction prescribed by different program models.

Thus, some scholars see the misalignment of policy and facts about bilingual education as a product of language ideologies shaping the public discourse about bilingual education and the growing number of English Language Learners in the US (Ruiz, 1984, Garcia, 1985, 2010). As posited by Ruiz (1984) nearly three decades ago, three positions on language ideology have appeared to shape the debate, and therein, policy. As pointed out in chapter one, these ideologies include: a) the "language as a right" position, suggesting individuals have a basic human right to be educated through complete access to schools and the curriculum even when they are unable to communicate in the dominant language; b) the "language as a problem" position, demonstrating a notion of English deficiency (in an English dominant society) as an impediment needing to be fixed; and c) the "language as a resource" position, supporting a multicultural view of bi- and multilingualism and its ability to transcend racial, cultural, and language diversity while ultimately strengthening the economic core of society.

The complexities of bilingual education's realities are grand and overly simplified discussions of its goals and outcomes often do more harm than good. But it is this simplification of the phenomenon that has led many to speculate policy is misguided by misconceptions about the nature of language acquisition among ELLs and the theoretical underpinnings of programs designed to serve these students (Crawford, 2004). In order to decipher the truths behind these ideological positions and their influence on policy, this paper first examined second language acquisition theory's shaping of practice, then reviewed past and existing policies, and finally, reviewed the facts by unearthing what the research has said about the effectiveness of bilingual education. It is only by knowing the facts about the bilingual education phenomenon that we can

begin to identify how language ideology may be guiding policy, rather than facts.

In this chapter I complete this task by pointing to when and how ideological positions correlated with major events and/or actions reflected throughout the history of bilingual education policy-making. I follow this by investigating the implications for bilingual education policy and examining some related issues affecting the future of bilingual education in the US.

6.1.1. Core Paradigms and Scholars Influencing SLA/Bilingual Education Theories and Programs

The first question addressed in this dissertation was presented to investigate the theoretical foundation of bilingual education programs. The bilingual education debate is plagued with questions about the learning capacities of individuals, individuals' internal ability to maintain and nurture more than one language, and the length of time required to acquire a second language. Theory in second language acquisition theory specific to bilingual education has attempted to answer some of these questions through age long paradigms associated with schools of thoughts including behaviorism, cognitivism, and constructivism; each lending a philosophical rendering of how first and second languages are acquired and the conditions that support acquisition.

As reviewed in the third chapter, behaviorism holds that language is developed through conditioning and reinforcement patterns, often in the form of drills in vocabulary and grammar. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the audiolingual method, based on this approach, was utilized primarily in foreign language classes. Yet, many of its principals were also implemented within bilingual education programs beginning to take shape in the mid-twentieth century. But, the audiolingual approach, along with the grammar-translation approach, not only failed to produce second language proficiency, but completely fell short of developing students' communicative competence (or the ability to communicate correct messages across diverse contexts). In the 1960s, the period leading up to the passage of the first Bilingual Education Act (1968), linguists and psychologists turned their attention to the cognitive elements of language acquisition. Charging the

ability to create unique language structures is an innate one, scholars of this era found individuals are able to build upon linguistic data to construct language rules and express thought in lieu of explicit conditioning (Chomsky, 1959). Scholars connected to bilingual education investigated cognitive learning even further by proposing hypotheses concerning the differences between language learning and language acquisition, stages of acquisition, and suitable learning contexts for language learners (Krashen, 1979). Such theories have led to instructional programs like English as a second language (ESL) and English immersion that stress "comprehensible input" in English.

However, the literature has demonstrated that as with any program, ESL and English immersion programs are only as good as their formation with theoretical foundations and the quality of instructional delivery. As the chapter on research demonstrated, ESL and English programs evaluated in the 1970s often did not align with theory. Instruction was frequently delivered at varying levels of accuracy, while the native language was used almost arbitrarily across programs and schools. Further, other scholars have leveled criticism against these programs for situating the student as a passive learner, depreciating the value of learner motivation and its impact on engagement within the language acquisition process.

The late 1970s and early 1980s brought on an advanced envision of cognitive based programs, placing an emphasis on how social environments, as well as social interactions nourish the innate language structures introduced by theorists a decade earlier. As discussed in chapter three, Cummins (1979) expanded upon second language acquisition processes among students within bilingual education. He proposed the concept of Common Underlying Proficiencies (CUP) to address the question as to whether individuals have the capacity to learn multiple languages simultaneously. Identifying the brain's unlimited capacity to store, filter and process like and dissimilar data, his theory was substantiated by subsequent studies providing evidence of the brain's flexibility and amenability to new language structures. He also suggests knowledge about language structures and rules in the native language (L1) are unconsciously called upon by the brain during the second language acquisition process. However, he points out these processes

appear on two different stages of language acquisition and ability: conversational language acquisition and academic language acquisition. The latter aptitude is noted as requiring more cognitively advanced language processing skills that could take up to five years to acquire.

Cummins (1981) theories have influenced many of the developmental bilingual education programs seen today. Transitional bilingual education for example, emphasizes students' prior knowledge (typically acquired in the native language) by employing the native language within instruction while correlating foundations of the English language to rules and structures within the native language. Dual language programs, serving both native English speaking students and ELLs in the same classrooms, encourage bilingualism in both languages. This particular program capitalizes upon cross-linguistic transfer and emphasizes student-based social interaction as a catalyst for language acquisition.

The literature on second language acquisition in bilingual education sets a foundation of knowledge in which to understand programs designed for ELLs. Moving in to the review of research, this knowledge base also assists in assessing the adequacy of programs reviewed in the history of bilingual research, and how policy requisites parallel (or fail to parallel) with theoretical foundations informing practice.

6.1.2 History of the Bilingual Education Act, Policy Shifts and Language Ideology

Legislation concerning bilingual education in US public schools has been passed on seven occasions over the past forty-years. It has moved from a generic and broad based policy derived to establish a national position on the education of a small number of poor immigrant students, to one that is buttressed by recommendations from government funded research and public discourse. In this paper I suggest a correlation between language ideologies and policy-making reflected through Ruiz's (1984) three positions on language. As suggested in the first chapter, by examining the policy requirements and social and cultural context of each era of the Bilingual Education Act, such ideologies can be examined with more scrutiny.

The fourth chapter marks the inception of the Bilingual Education Act (1968) as a referendum on language minority populations in the US who were seen as being impoverished, deprived, and requiring additional support to be productive citizens in a predominantly English speaking nation. The legislation was quickly associated with President Johnson's War on Poverty. Additionally, at the time, the largest language minority group in the country was failing in large numbers, to graduate from high school. Still, the final legislation floundered in providing any specific guidance on how programs designed for these students were to be constructed and implemented. This later proved to be particularly damaging to the credibility of bilingual education. As seen in the early research on bilingual education effectiveness[19], program practices varied even when programs fell under the same umbrella terminology. As a result, transitional programs looked very different across school settings and the country. Due to these issues[20], the early context of the Bilingual Education Act set the stage for the formation of ideologies about bilingual education's purpose and ability to meet its goal. One may infer that this drove a "language as a problem" approach to policy-making that appeared to be implicitly synonymous with the cataloguing of linguistic minorities as poor and the framing of the BEA as a solution to this social ill.

For instance, looking specifically at the discourse encompassing the debate, Senator Yarborough, the architect of the first Bilingual Education Act, was clear in communicating his perception of the group the legislation was meant to target. As he articulated, the legislation was indubitably intended as a fixit to "make those children fully literate in English" (1967, cited in Porter, 1998, p. 150). Yarborough and other politicians recognized the rapid demographic shift amid the 1965 Immigration Act and ever-increasing population growth among immigrants, and sought a solution to the language epidemic. The first legislative text spoke nothing about supporting the native language or preserving the rich cultural histories of ELLs. As August and Hakuta (1997)

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[19] The research referred to here is the government funded research of the 1970s that measured the effectiveness of select programs operated throughout the1960s and 1970s.
[20] These issues include the framing of bilingual education as a remedial program for the poor and English deficient, the non-prescriptive policy language, and the resulting inadequacies of bilingual education programs.

wrote, the BEA was not positioned as "an instrument of language policy for the nation through the development of their native language" (p.16). Instead, it was a remedial program informing a deficit view on educating ELLs that ultimately promoted language loss. This led to insubstantial program designs that failed to align with theoretical foundations of second language acquisition. This is apparent in the first major study commissioned to review federally funded bilingual education programs. The AIR report (Danoff et. al., 1977) found English-only programs favorable to bilingual education, but also failed to account for poor program implementation and the diversity of the language capabilities of students enrolled in these programs (some of the subjects were already English dominant, while others were English deficient). Thus, until 1974 the BEA had been positioned and implemented as a corrective educational program meant for a very small (but growing population), receiving very little overt dispute.

At first read, the 1974 amendments appeared to be shifting to a "language as a right position." During this era court cases had set a precedent for stressing the role of schools in providing equitable access to the curriculum to all students— even to those who could not yet speak or read the English language. The attention to language minorities' rights and the justice system's role in defending them assigned the promotion of equal rights as a primary function of the BEA in the early 1970s. This position shaped the early compensatory nature of the Bilingual Education Act (BEA) and many of the subsequent programs and policies formulated up until this point in history. Still the legislative text is rather telling, the 1974 reauthorization defined bilingual education 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" (BEA, 1974, sec 702 [a] [4] [A]). The first statement upheld the "language as the right" position, as did the removal of the poverty criterion and the inclusion of Native Americans in the 1974 amendments. Still, the latter portion of the definition limited the role of the native language in instructional practices, highlighting the problem-centric nature of the legislation.

In the immediate years following the 1974 reauthorization, the pendulum began to sway ever so slightly towards a "language as a resource" position as seen in the increase in dual language programs funded by Title VII in these amendments. However, the reaction that soon followed was again seemingly rooted in the "language as a problem" position. The intent of the Lau Remedies, was overshadowed by findings of the government funded AIR report and public discontent with the perceived lengthy retention of ELLs in bilingual education programs seemingly designed to maintain their native language.

The 1978 reauthorization was set against the backdrop of innovative methods and findings in second language theory and bilingual education research. Beginning in the late 1970s second language acquisition theory had begun to build ground, questioning myths about bilingualism and informing research supporting the merits of language interdependency and cross-linguistic transfer. Theoretical developments and research findings had a profound affect on court rulings addressing the education of ELLs following the 1978 reauthorization as seen in the Castaneda v. Pickard (1978) and Plyer v. Doe (1982) cases. The rulings transpiring from each of these cases set a course for bilingual education programs to be founded on theory and supported by research. Prior decades' attention to second language acquisition processes promulgated a theoretical basis for language policies and programs in US school districts. This, along with the Office of Civil Rights' enforcement of the Castaneda Standards were indicative of the US stance on "language as a right."

However, interestingly, by the close of the decade policy-makers had minimized recent findings in the research and began to approach and reaffirm a "language as a problem" position. While the AIR study, and the succeeding K. Baker and de Kanter (1981) program evaluation positioned English language deficiency among non-native English speakers as a problem, moving into the 1980s, research was clearly positioning it as a resource. The Willig (1984) study dismantled the K. Baker and de Kanter (1981) findings through an alternative meta-data analysis on the same data. Willig (1984) found "significant positive effects" for transitional bilingual education outcomes when design weaknesses were statistically controlled. Her findings were affirmed by the

research community and resultantly, the K. Baker and de Kanter (1981) study was never endorsed by the Department of Education. However, its findings still surfaced in federal debates concerning the funding of Title VII in the 1980s (Crawford, 2004). In fact, the 1984 amendments, under a conservative administration, increased funding for special alternative programs (generally English immersion). At the same time President Reagan, publicly downplayed the value of bilingual education in remarks to a politically powerful advocacy group[21] representing cities across the country, as well as coupled bilingual education with perceptions about immigrants' attempts to elude assimilation— something the President positioned in his speech as a threat to the US (see 4.1.3 in this study).

The 1988 reauthorization, which carried out most of the same principles of the 1984 reauthorization continued to shift the ideological tide toward a "language as a problem" position. Funding for English immersion type programs continued to increase while a three year cap on federally funded bilingual education programs was carried out. The latter action was reinforced by legislation even as studies (Willig, 1984, GAO, 1987) pointing to the effectiveness of bilingual education (alongside developments in second language acquisition theory), suggested ELLs require a minimum of five years to reach academic proficiency in English. This was a finding that had been generally validated by scholars to some degree or another through various program evaluations and second language acquisition theory.

However, the common allegation among the general public and politicians that US bilingual programs at the time were ineffective was a product of misinformation. The most common critique of bilingual education during that period was that it cultivated the native language, leading to the retardation of the target language and other academic skills. This deficit perspective of bilingual education suggested the longer one waits to develop the target language, the more likely that individual is to fall behind. As broached in chapter four, this "insufficient exposure" notion, still the

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[21] The National League of Cities.

backbone of arguments countering bilingual education, was summed up in the early 1980s by (the now deceased) US Congress Representative John Ashbrook. The representative called for an end to bilingual education programs that be believed maintained the native language in lieu of English acquisition. His statement embodied the assumptions and judgments the public often held, at that time and today, about bilingual education— assumptions that conflict greatly with the evidence supporting the research base on the effectiveness of bilingual programs. Additionally, the formation of US English in 1983, one of the oldest national action groups advocating for English as a national language emerged to the political forefront. This group cited research like the K. Baker and de Kanter (1981) study as their rally to carry forth a political agenda to dismantle bilingual education. This too incited English-only legislation in states that limited students' access to bilingual education beginning in the 1990s.

The democratic administration of the mid-1990s shifted the focus of bilingual education and enhanced the nation's pledge to a global economy. During this period, two additional major studies (GOA, 1987, Greene, 1998) confirmed the merits of bilingual education, while the discourse in second language acquisition theory continued to recognize the importance of the native language in supporting the development of the native language while acquiring the target language. The 1994 reauthorization exhibited the greatest support for bilingualism to date, signifying the only time in legislative history in which bilingual education was enacted upon a "language as a resource" position. The amendments identified the barriers ELLs in the US face in acquiring a second language and noted the US's commitment to developing bilingualism amongst its citizens to compete in a global market. Nevertheless, while the federal government was acclaiming the merits of bilingual education, state governments were departing with the federal government's ideological position on bilingual education. As highlighted in chapter four, California unsuccessfully attempted to bar immigrants from the public school system, but later prospered (as did Arizona and Massachusetts) in passing legislation limiting ELLs' access to bilingual education programs.

By 2002 the BEA, which had established legal grounding for ELLs' access to the curriculum, mandated teacher training for those delivering instruction to ELLs, invested in program effectiveness research, and advanced ELLs' achievement in schools correctly implementing programs, quietly and without explicit public debate, expired. The intentions of the act were absorbed by the No Child Left Behind Act which emphasis on accountability through annual assessments and scientifically backed programs have set the standard for the education of ELLs. While the legislation garnishes particular attention on the measurement of ELLs' progress, it does not provide prescriptive guidance on program design, measurement tools, or implementation. It expressly refocused attention on the needs of ELL students, but at the same time has clearly affirmed the federal government's position on instruction inclusive of the native language. This "language as a problem" position has been evidenced in the demise of the term "bilingual education" in all legislative text and government agencies established to provide research and support on the education of English Language Learners, and the push for English immersion type programs.

6.1.3 Conclusions

Over the past 30 years as states try to determine what exactly the Bilingual Education Act was predestined to achieve[22], bilingual education, has been defined, researched, and practiced divergently across the country. Consequently, the effectiveness of bilingual education in serving the nation's more than 5 million English Language Learners has culminated into a forty-year debate and counting (Ed Week, "English," 2011).

As observed by two well known scholars in the field, ideology has a significant influence on bilingual education research and policy-making (Rossell & K. Baker, 1996). Rossell and K. Baker,

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[22] e.g. teach bilingualism, encourage rapid English proficiency, to address social issues affecting LEP students outside the classroom, to address all these goals simultaneously, etc.

have repeatedly produced studies suggesting the inferiority of bilingual education, but have attested to ideology's role within the bilingual education debate:

> This field is so ideologically charged that no one is immune from ideological bias or preconceived notions. As a result, those attempting to make policy recommendations from the research must carefully read each study and draw their own conclusions. This does not guarantee that such conclusions will be free from bias, only that they will be free from someone else's bias (Rossell & K. Baker 1996, p. 25-26)

More than ten years later, scholars representing the other end of the bilingual education debate affirmed this notion. As cited by Slavin et. al. (2010), "although federal policy has not endorsed or opposed bilingual education in recent years, policy changes have had the effect of discouraging bilingual education…the debate….has been fierce, and ideology has often trumped evidence on both sides of the debate (p.3).

Consequently, even when the research has overwhelmingly found that bilingual education is not an ineffective policy, ideology and the misperceptions that guide it seem to predicate its path. Throughout the history of bilingual education policy-making, bilingualism has been expressed through discourses on rights and nationalism, but rarely in terms of pluralism that could serve as a resource. This sentiment has been detected in statements made by public officials and high visibility groups throughout the forty-year history of the BEA. Additionally, these expressions often overshadowed research evidence that consistently showed programs lacking alignment with theoretical groundings within second language acquisition pertaining to bilingual education (Willig, 1984, GAO, 1987, Ramirez, 1991, Thomas & Collier, 2002, August & Shanahan, 2006, Slavin et. al., 2010). Thus, the analysis of historical policy-making suggests bilingual education's perceived ineffectiveness is due to what may be inferred from the literature as a country's aversion to diverse language policies. This being delineated in the oscillating bilingual education policies driven by misperceptions about bilingualism and bilingual education in the US over the past forty-years.

6.1.4 Implications for Future Research

This study has expounded understandings about correlations between the inability to speak English (in an English dominant society) and ideological positions on language that have resulted in the association of non-English speaking students in the US with national disunity, high costs (generated by federal and state mandates), and an inferior socioeconomic status. The ideological elements of the bilingual education phenomenon in the US have perpetuated an indisputable function in determining the path for bilingual education in the US— a path that tends to neglect theory and research. The impact of ideologies on the education of language minorities has been explored in general terms through recent studies on power relations, ideology and language (Bartolomé, 2008, Garcia & Torres-Guevarra, 2010).

Yet this study, as with many others that have examined ideological perspectives on language, lacks the voice of the individuals most afflicted by ideologies— English Language Learners. The voice of the practitioner in the field of bilingual education is also absent. However, incorporating the voice of ELLs and practitioners within this particular study would have reached beyond the scope of this dissertation, which was designed to investigate ideology and policy-making, and theory and research from a more global angle. Research incorporating the daily experience of ELLs and practitioners under the influence of these ideologies that shape practice would offer additional variables that may have been overlooked in this study.

Also, this study briefly addressed the "language as a resource" position. The examination of this ideological position was brief because its role in fashioning the bilingual education debate has been limited. However, should such a position be embraced by educators and policy-makers the implications could be grand. It would be interesting to explore a case study in a class, school, or region (within the context of the US public school system) that embodies the "language as a resource" position. If English Language Learners and the public were to view ELLs' native languages as a resource, rather than a burden to overcome, some of the social ills and academic inconsistencies cited by detractors may potentially subside. Research correlating high self-esteem

and academic outcomes, alongside social and emotional cognitive factors connected to language acquisition, have already made the case for this (Espinosa, 2006). Examining the role of the teacher in the delivery of bilingual education instruction, alongside ELLs' acquisition of the target language within an educational setting founded upon assumptions of "language as a resource" would enrich this field of ideological study.

Appendix A

Key Concepts and Terms

Bilingual education theory, research and policy have produced a spectrum of concepts and terms that have been employed to characterize this phenomenon. Below are some key terms referred to throughout this dissertation, followed by a brief explanation of the meaning assigned to each.

Bilingual education (BE)- A term used to describe the host of programs developed to assist English language learners in acquiring the English language. Programs range from additive programs which purpose is to develop English language skills, while preserving the native language, to submersion programs where very little, if any, assistance is provided in students' native language.

Bilingual Education Act (BEA)- A legislative policy enacted in 1968 that established the framework for educational programs that were to benefit linguistic minority students in the US public school system.

English language learner (ELL)- Any individual whose native language is not English and is seeking to learn the English language. More specifically, this term is used in US education policy to categorize non-English speaking students.

English-only- A US based political movement initiated to influence public opinion about bilingual education. This movement seeks to outlaw programs that provide instruction in ELLs' native language.

English as a second language (ESL)- Typically, a term used to describe an educational program for ELLs in which English is taught and studied as a subject (similar to the way in which foreign languages are commonly taught to native English speakers).

Language acquisition programs- Any program incorporating the theories of language learning designed to teach students how to speak, read, write and listen in a target language.

Language Ideology- Perceptually founded notions of language based on culture, morals and/or politics, often reflected in the belief that language homogeneity is necessary for a successful society.

Language Minority- An individual whose language within a society or community does not reflect the dominant language.

Language Planning- The process by which an authorized body (i.e. government, organization, etc.) advances language change through rules, laws, materials, activities, etc.

Language policy- Official acts and laws concerning language development and/or use authorized by a governing body.

Language Rights- The civil freedom of human rights as pertaining to language. For example, the ability to practice a minority language without discrimination.

Limited English Proficient (LEP)- Another term for English language learners. This term was used extensively throughout policy prior to No Child Left Behind legislation. Many school districts and organizations throughout the US continue to use this term to categorize non-English speaking populations.

L1- An acronym used to indicate an individual's first or native language.

L2- An acronym indicating an individual's second or target language.

Mother Tongue- The first language an individual learns. This term often identifies a person's country of origin, or ethnicity, as well (i.e. her mother tongue is Portuguese).

Native language- The first language in which an individual learns to speak, read, write and listen.

Second language acquisition (SLA)-The process by which an individual learns a non-native or second language.

Target language- Usually a non-native language a person is in the process of learning.

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