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Teacher Professional Development Organizations' Interpretation of  
Educational Language Policy in California

By

Claudia Natalia von Vacano

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Education

in the

Graduate Division

of the

University of California, Berkeley

Committee in charge:

Professor Bruce Fuller, Chair

Professor Judith Warren Little

Professor Tina Trujillo

Professor G. Cristina Mora

Fall 2016



## Abstract

Teacher Professional Development Organizations' Interpretation of  
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by

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Doctor of Philosophy in Education

University of California, Berkeley

Professor Bruce Fuller, Chair

Strong networks of professional development organizations serving teachers of English learners in California may enhance civil society as these organizations can democratize the policy implementation process. However, little is known about how they interpret and attempt to implement the state's language policy. This two-part study addresses this research gap by first examining California English Language Development and English Language Arts Standards and Framework, asking how California's official language policy has changed over time, perhaps reflecting an ideological shift towards culturally relevant literacy practices for English learners as compared to previous education language policy. Second, this research explores structures that enable or hinder professional development organizations' ability to critically interpret and implement these education language policies and whether these structures are changing over time. Through interviews with leaders of these organizations and leading policy makers, this study provides a comprehensive analysis of state infrastructure for professional development that is crucial at a time of divestment. Methodologically, few comparative policy studies utilize an entire corpora—a large set of policy texts—pushing the boundaries of content and text analysis. This empirical case study employs content and text analysis of policies, organizational documents, surveys, and interviews of teacher professional developers through critical policy lenses.

Professional developers in this study interpreted and implemented California's Standards and Framework in various ways: (a) some professional developers were part of the process of authoring the current set of Standards; (b) others partnered with the state and therefore used their agency to interpret and implement these policies in nuanced ways; and (c) a smaller set of organizations advocated for primary language and bilingual education among other practices. Although these organizations are doing rigorous and important work, the statewide infrastructure for professional development has been weakened during a period of divestment in professional development. This is resulting in the loss of comprehensive evaluation of this work and a loss of efficiency and economies of scale. Importantly, across all organizations there were reports of increased time spent on revenue generation, which diminished time spent on developing and

implementing robust professional development programs. Recommendations include incentivizing a coalition or network across these organizations to strengthen each organization and the overall system of professional development.

Dedication

To Severin Sáenz von Vacano

## Table of Contents

Abstract.....	1
Dedication.....	i
Table of Contents .....	ii
List of Figures.....	iv
List of Tables.....	iv
Acknowledgements .....	v
Curriculum Vitae .....	vii
Chapter 1: Introduction.....	1
Literature Review .....	1
Research Questions .....	6
Theoretical Framework .....	6
Chapter 2: Methodology.....	9
Data Collection.....	9
Site Selection .....	9
Participants .....	11
Analysis .....	12
Interviews .....	12
Survey.....	13
Document Analysis .....	13
Data Analysis.....	14
Background.....	15
Chapter 3: Language Ideology in California Education Language Policy Texts.....	21
Analysis of Educational Language Policy Texts.....	23
Acceptance of Language Variability .....	25
Emphasis on Communicative Effectiveness .....	31
Knowledge of English Learners .....	33
Low-stakes Formative Assessment .....	35
Conclusion.....	38
Chapter 4: Educational Approach in California Education Language Policy Texts.....	40
Strategies for Metacognitive Awareness and Meaning Making.....	41
Scaffolding as a Method of Producing the Teacher as Observer and Facilitator .....	45
The Lasting Effects of Success/Failure Assessment in Social Constructivist Approaches to English Learning .....	49
Chapter 5: Bilingual Education and Primary Language Advocacy Teacher Professional Development Organizations .....	53
Primary Language and Bilingual Education Advocacy Organizations .....	57
Other Organizations.....	64
Conclusion.....	69
Chapter 6: Language and Pedagogy among Authors and Capacity Builders.....	70
WestEd Comprehensive Center.....	73

Authorship & Teacher Professional Development Model .....	73
Language and Pedagogical Approach .....	74
Primary Language and Bilingual Education.....	75
Understanding Language.....	76
Authorship & Teacher Professional Development Model .....	76
Language and Pedagogical Approach .....	79
Primary Language and Bilingual Education.....	80
The Network of California Subject Matter Projects.....	81
California History-Social Science Project.....	83
California Reading and Literature Project.....	86
California Science Project.....	87
California World Language Project.....	89
California Writing Project.....	90
Conclusion.....	91
Chapter 7: Loss of Common Good Professional Development in California.....	93
Loss of Comprehensive and Independent Evaluation .....	95
Loss of Efficiency.....	96
Change of Mentality.....	96
Adapting to the New Market Structure .....	101
Gaps in the Feedback Loop .....	106
Chapter 8: Conclusion and Implications .....	108
Policy.....	108
Organizations.....	108
Stance Towards Primary Language and Bilingual Education.....	109
Approach Towards Language and Influence Upon Policy Interpretation.....	110
Approach Towards Pedagogy and Influence Upon Policy Interpretation.....	110
Teacher Professional Development Model .....	110
Closing Thoughts and Circumstances .....	111
References .....	113
Appendix A: Interview Protocol .....	126
Appendix B: Administrator Interview Protocol .....	127
Appendix C: English Learner Teacher Professional Developer Survey .....	128



## List of Figures

<i>Figure 1.</i> Layers of language policy interpretation and implementation. ....	8
<i>Figure 2.</i> Current and previous Standards comparison table. ....	22
<i>Figure 3.</i> Education language policy texts, length and keywords. ....	23
<i>Figure 4.</i> Primary language, home language, first language, and native language references and coverage in California educational language policy documents, 1997–2015. ....	24
<i>Figure 5:</i> 2015 ELD/ELA Framework, number of references by themes. ....	38
<i>Figure 6.</i> Content analysis of 2014 ELD/ELA Framework. ....	52
<i>Figure 7.</i> Implicit and explicit knowledge and instruction. ....	71
<i>Figure 8.</i> Summary of findings. ....	71
<i>Figure 9.</i> Professional developer objectives. ....	82

## List of Tables

Table 1 <i>Descriptions of Participants</i> .....	11
Table 2 <i>Primary Language and Bilingual Education Advocacy Organizations</i> .....	56

## Acknowledgements

On July 6, 1980, my father, a self-educated novelist, was forced to flee Bolivia for fear of political persecution. My mother, sister, brother and I went to the airport to see him go and a year later we traveled to New York City to join him. When we arrived in the United States as political refugees, I found myself surrounded by bricks and pavement; but the joy of reconnecting with my dad transformed the drab streets of Queens into a colorful playground. As he walked me to school in the morning after working all night, he told me vivid stories and funny riddles.

Inside Public School 102 things were bleak. Mrs. McGinty rejected me in the third grade classroom and made life quite challenging for me as I tried to adapt to a new world and I spent half my time in an oversized closet for English as a Second Language “Pullout” students along with a handful of other immigrants “fresh off the boat.” We were ostracized from the rest of the school. My mother fought for us in and out of school, miraculously saving our family on more than one occasion from economic peril, and teaching and supporting thousands of immigrant children and families over the years as an educator herself. My mother is the teacher I wish every bilingual child could have, acknowledging and affirming our humanity and the complexity of our existence. As she completed her B.A., several Masters’ degrees, and worked full-time, she inspired me to push through an incredible journey that was to be my education in the United States.

I want to thank first and foremost my mother, Marcela von Vacano. An exceptional educator who never received gratitude from the system she worked for, but who receives boundless love from the children and families she has touched. She created an outstanding bilingual education program in Arlington, Virginia at Key Elementary School that should have been replicated due to the student outcomes it produced, but instead it was systematically jeopardized and marginalized. My father, Arturo von Vacano, is a brave man who has touched peoples’ lives through his writing. He risked his own life in order to expose corruption and hypocrisy in Bolivia at a time when dictatorships and puppet governments ruled. My older sister, Marcela Eliana von Vacano, has been there through thick and thin and I can always count on her. My brother, Diego von Vacano, has been an exceptional role model for me.

I came to California to find the love of my life; Severin Sáenz von Vacano has been my thought partner and my number one champion. Severin built the home that provided me peace and shelter so that I was able to find my voice, learn to write, and flourish. Her grandmother migrated back and forth from Mexico and Chihuahua, and through hard work in the fields and at a cannery pushed her entire family forward. Her mother, cousin January Villarreal, and aunt accepted me and loved me from the first time we met despite me being Queer. They are my Mexican family and a major source of inspiration and support.

The educational journey I have undertaken has been long and arduous. I have worked since I was 13 years old. So, my education has always been balanced with a hefty amount of labor. We came to this country at a time when there were social services, which are now sadly diminishing. I graduated Phi Beta Kappa from Oberlin College, and received highest honors in Latin American Literature with a technology language-learning project, guided by my mentors

and friends Professor Ana Cara and Professor Teresa Stojkov. When I received a Thomas J. Watson Fellowship, I travelled and lived in Nicaragua. Upon my return I received a Master's degree from Stanford University in Learning, Design, and Technology.

During my time at UC Berkeley, my dissertation committee—Bruce Fuller, Judith Warren Little, Tina Trujillo, and G. Cristina Mora—has been a great source of support and inspiration. Also, my work community has enabled me to grow intellectually and professionally. I would like to thank Dean Anthony J. Cascardi for his support and faith in me and Professor Cathryn Carson for her mentorship. I truly value my D-Lab/Digital Humanities community of practice. Also, I would like to give a shout out to Cynthia Coburn and the Policy Implementation Research Group, particularly Arturo Cortéz and his partner José Lizárraga. Though not formally involved in my dissertation work, Lisa García Bedolla, Patricia Baquedano-López, Kris Gutiérrez, Tomás Galguera, and Cecilia Lucas have each inspired and cheered me on. I also want to thank Zawadi Rucks-Ahidiana and Laura K. Nelson for their timely consultation.

Curriculum Vitae  
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### Education

Ph.D., University of California (UC), Berkeley	December 2016
M.A., Stanford University, Graduate School of Education	June 2000
B.A., Oberlin College	June 1998

### Experience

Executive Director, Social Science D-Lab	2015 – present
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· Raised \$350,000 in the first three months as Executive Director.</li> <li>· Designed and developed major services or research program components, oversees execution of programs once funded. These may include domain areas or resource infrastructure areas.</li> <li>· Coordinated varied and competing requirements associated with managing an innovative program in a university.</li> <li>· Planned, directed, and controlled program budget and manages financial, HR, technical and other supporting resources.</li> <li>· Lead the program budgeting and accounting processes to support financial infrastructure of program. Developed and prepared complex budgets, prepared short- and long-range planning for administrative services operations and improvement to processes, including coordination with other campus units, and designed strategies to reach the unit's long-term goals.</li> <li>· Assessed program's effectiveness, and recommends changes to program's content, policies and strategic goals accordingly.</li> <li>· Developed and maintained liaisons with campus stakeholders. Represented the program to governing boards, outside agencies, and the public.</li> <li>· Developed ideas and options for director &amp; staff review and decision, and developed and implemented instruction and research programs that reflect constituent interests. Lead professional conferences and advisory bodies.</li> </ul>	

Project Director, Digital Humanities (DH) at Berkeley 2015 – present

- Developed multi-faceted Request for Proposals (RFPs), including collaborative research for faculty and students, course development grants, and internship programs
- Conducted outreach and needs assessment activities across departments in the Arts and Humanities
- Functioned as a liaison with Research IT, the D-Lab, the School of Information (I School), the University Library, the Berkeley Center for New Media (BCNM), and the Berkeley Institute for Data Science (BIDS)
- Produced intensive summer DH workshops involving visitors from multiple institutions
- Produced DH Fair along with the DH Working Group and University Library, including speaker series, panel discussion, and poster session
- Supervised work-study student assistants, graduate student researchers, and teaching assistants involved in the program
- Organized seminars and workshops, including assisting faculty, supervising graduate student researchers, and scheduling guest speakers
- Worked with faculty to develop new DH-oriented courses and to introduce dh components into existing courses
- Provided staff support to the academic steering committee charged with the ongoing development of the program, including organizing meetings and other engagement opportunities
- Served as a central resource for information, publicity, materials, and publications produced by the program, and ensured that project information on the Berkeley DH website was kept current and relevant
- Managed \$2 million dollar program budget, including the preparation of required reports to the Mellon Foundation and to the Dean of Arts and Humanities

Services Lead, UC Berkeley D-Lab 2012 – 2015

- Assisted start-up and management of UC Berkeley D-Lab
- Facilitated services team that implemented more than 200 workshops with 1,000 participants (February 2013–August 2014)
- Mentored undergraduate students and led the Qualitative Data Analysis Working Group and Women Coloring Data Research Collective

- Developed the workshop evaluation survey
- Provided UC Berkeley faculty, staff, and students a venue for methodological exchange
- Designed and implemented an equity and inclusion work plan
- Coordinated the creation of a promotional video, logo, brochures, and the wireframe for the website
- Delivered D-Lab orientations for multiple departments and professional schools
- Conducted departmental and professional school needs assessment and developed appropriate programs
- Represented the D-Lab in meetings with key funders such as H. Michael Williams from the Board of Trustees of the UC Berkeley Foundation and Joshua Greenberg from the Sloan Foundation that led to additional funding for the D-Lab
- Developed relationships and contacts within the School of Information (I School), the University Library, the Berkeley Center for New Media (BCNM), and the Berkeley Institute for Data Science (BIDS)

Coordinator, UC, Office of the President

2005 – 2012

(Management & Senior Professional Level II)

#### Research and Evaluation Management

- Developed measurement instruments for data capture and research
- Collected data and wrote legislative evaluation reports
- Used Qualitative Data Analysis Tools, SPSS, STATA, ArcGIS and other software for data analysis and conducted data mining

#### Data and Reporting Coordination

- Developed, organized, maintained, and communicated a comprehensive work plan of all data reports required by the University, the Legislature, program funders, and other supporters of Education Partnerships
- Developed databases
- Served as lead coordinator and author of major legislative reports ensuring timely delivery by working with senior directors and program leaders
- Analyzed, summarized, and communicated results of program evaluations for internal and external audiences
- Coordinated the distribution of reports in print and digital formats

#### Project Planning, Development, and Implementation

- Analyzed State legislation related to student academic development, education

partnerships, and teaching and leadership

- Analyzed ‘a–g’ completion, college application admissions, and enrollment trends of program participants and comparison groups, and designed reports on student demographic trends
- Coordinated activities with internal and external researchers and evaluators
- Synthesized research findings for professional development, resource development, interpreted and wrote briefs about educational policy

#### Accountability

- Developed procedures to manage program information for 97 sites and nine statewide offices
- Redesigned, developed, and monitored statewide databases, including data dictionaries
- Conducted in-person and online training for staff on data requirements
- Managed projects through online tools, which includes document management, setting and meeting milestones, and maintaining messaging boards
- Prepared quarterly and annual accountability reports for state program officers and committees

#### Strategic Planning and Policy

- Developed a strategic plan with executive directors subsequently funded by the Stuart Foundation, which included a regional partnership initiative
- Wrote briefs and an annual report on lessons learned from the regional initiative
- Analyzed and quickly responded to complex policy and financial issues
- Co-authored a UC Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics (STEM) Consortium cross- program work plan for submission to the Bay Area Council Economic Institute that included college access, teacher professional development, and STEM programs

#### Program Management

- Provided operational management of yearly budget of 9.35 million dollars
- Reviewed and approved contract language, budgets, and program work
- Developed request for proposals and managed regional partnership initiative
- Convened work groups, collected information, conducted further research and analysis, and developed policies on intersegmental, K–12, and higher education issues
- Represented UC teacher professional development program on the Intersegmental Coordinating Committee (ICC) of the Education Roundtable
- Conducted original instrument development, data analysis, and research on English learner teacher professional development program in the San Francisco

## Bay Area, Region 4, Lick Middle School

### Communications

- Wrote, edited, and disseminated program information
- Designed and developed brochures
- Designed graphics, illustrations, took photographs, and directed video production

### District Coordinator, Oakland Unified School District Research and Evaluation Management

2000 – 2005

- Designed a PHP, SQL database for program evaluation
- Participated in a citywide data warehouse project
- Directed large data transfer and developed data dictionaries
- Wrote, edited, and developed request for proposals for external evaluation
- Wrote, edited, and disseminated yearly internal program evaluation reports
- Analyzed and made recommendations on WestEd and Community Crime Prevention evaluations

### Communications

- Designed, wrote content, and layout of parent guide, which was translated into Spanish, Cambodian, Vietnamese, and Chinese, with a distribution of 60,000
- Produced a website and collateral
- Established relationships with regional and statewide expanded learning collaboratives

### Management

- Supervised 43 staff members
- Coordinated involvement of district departments, public agencies, and community-based organizations with school sites
- Developed and implemented strategies for acquiring data from 40 school sites
- Maintained positive relationships with federal and state program officers regarding reports, budgets, evaluations, and program updates

### Fiscal Management and Grant Writing

- Managed yearly budget of 5 million dollars
- Co-authored a 17.5 million dollar federal grant
- Co-authored a 3.5 million dollar yearly local city grant
- Authored a \$125,000 multi-school city grant

### Curriculum and Web Designer, Center for Latin American Studies, Stanford University 1999 – 2000

- Developed curriculum, content, architecture, and layout for interactive educational website



- Documented murals and interviewed mural artists

Spanish Instructional Assistant, Romance Languages, Oberlin College 1995 – 1997

- Taught Spanish I and II

Technology Professional Developer, Romance Languages, Oberlin College 1997 – 1998

- Coached professors in the use of technology to enhance their teaching practices

### **Publications**

von Vacano, C. (2011). Report to the Legislature on the California Subject Matter Project for 2006–10. Oakland, CA: University of California, Office of the President. Retrieved from <http://budget.ucop.edu/legreports/1011/documents/csmp-2006-10.pdf>

von Vacano, C. (2011). Report to the Legislature on Student Academic Preparation and Educational Partnerships for the 2009–10 Academic Year. Oakland, CA: University of California, Office of the President. Retrieved from <http://budget.ucop.edu/legreports/1011/documents/sapep-funds-outcomes.pdf>

von Vacano, C. (2011). Report to the Legislature on the California State Summer School for Mathematics and Science (COSMOS) for 2006–2010. Oakland, CA: University of California, Office of the President. Retrieved from <http://budget.ucop.edu/legreports/1011/documents/cosmos-program-outcomes.pdf>

von Vacano, C. (2010). Report to the Legislature on Student Academic Preparation and Educational Partnerships for the 2008–09 Academic Year. Oakland, CA: University of California, Office of the President.

von Vacano, C. (2005). Oakland Activities for Kids: After-school Programs in Oakland Unified School District. Oakland, CA: Oakland Unified School District.

### **Presentations**

von Vacano, C. (2014). The Subjects Matter for English Language Learners, Mellon Mays Fellowship Conference, Pennsylvania State University, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

- von Vacano, C. (2012–2014). D-Lab Orientation and Needs Assessment. UC Berkeley, Berkeley, CA.
- von Vacano, C. (2011). Student Academic Preparation and Educational Partnerships (SAPEP) Evaluation Results. EAOP Directors Meeting. Oakland, CA: University of California, Office of the President.
- von Vacano, C. (2010). Student Academic Preparation and Educational Partnerships (SAPEP) Evaluation Results. SAPEP Council. Oakland, CA: University of California, Office of the President.
- von Vacano, C. (2008). English Learners: What Works for their Teachers? MESA Academy for Science and Math Educators Summit. Hayward, CA: California State University of the East Bay.
- von Vacano, C. (2007). California Subject Matter Project (CSMP) Regional Conference. CSMP Communications and Data Management Plan. San Jose, CA: University of California, Office of the President.
- von Vacano, C. (2006). Keynote Address. Educational Coalition for Hispanics in Oakland, Honoring Our Latino Scholars. Oakland, CA.
- von Vacano, C. (2002). Oakland After School Initiative. Presentations to Oakland City Council with Community Leaders. Oakland, CA.
- von Vacano, C. (2000). Expressions of Central America: An Online Educational Tool, Stanford University. Stanford Learning, Design, and Technology Expo. Stanford, CA: Stanford University School of Education.

### **Events Organized and Hosted**

Digital Humanities at Berkeley Summer Institute Sutardja Dai Hall	2015
Digital Humanities Fair UC Berkeley, Matrix	2015
Opening the Black Box UC Berkeley D-Lab Soft Opening Event, UC Welcomes Dr. Smith to Oakland	2013 2009
Event to introduce Superintendent of OUSD Smith to UC President Yudof Sacramento Capitol Event	2009
Attended by senators, assembly members, and more than 80 educational leaders Regional Meetings	2005 – 2008
Attended by nearly 200 people yearly, including California Department of Education (CDE) staff	

Regional Partnership Initiative Event 2008  
 Attended by nearly 100 people including CDE staff and educational leaders  
 San Francisco Bay Area Community-Based Organizations (CBOs) 2003  
 Attended by more than fifty representatives from CBOs in the East Bay and San Francisco  
 and public agency representatives

## **Honors**

Mellon Mays Fellowship: 2014, 2015  
 UC Office of the President Scholarship: 2009 – 2012  
 Flanders Scholarship: 2001, 2002  
 National Hispanic Scholar Fellowship: 1998, 1999, 2000  
 Rockefeller Brothers Fund Fellowship: 1997 – 2000  
 Thomas J. Watson Fellowship: 1999  
 Phi Beta Kappa: 1998  
 Highest Honors, Oberlin College: 1998  
 Paul Patrick Rogers Prize in Hispanic Studies Award: 1998  
 Middlebury Language Learning Technology Fellowship: 1997  
 Andrew W. Mellon Fellowship: 1996

## **Skills**

- Adobe Photoshop, Illustrator, In-Design, Macromedia Dreamweaver, Fireworks, Macromedia Flash, Final Cut Pro, After Effects
- QDAS (NVivo, Dedoose), STATA, SPSS, Beginning Python, Beginning R, Qualtrics, Text Analysis in R, ArcGIS, SQL Server Workbench, Zotero, EndNote
- Asana, MS Project, SmartSheet, Basecamp, Microsoft Office, Advanced Excel
- Experience with budget and contract information systems
- Fluency in English and Spanish

## Chapter 1: Introduction

Strong networks of professional development organizations serving teachers of English learners in California may enhance civil society through their crucial role as service providers, advocates, and capacity builders (Darling-Hammond & McLaughlin, 1995; Lieberman & Grolnick, 1997; Lieberman & Wood, 2002, 2003; McAdam, 2000). These organizations can democratize the education language policy implementation process (Levinson, Sutton et al., 2009; Menken & García, 2010) as they are the workhorses of democratic community (Putnam, 2001; Tocqueville, 1862). They are institutionally located between the state and economic structures and are engaged in creative interpretive practice of education language policy (Apple, Au et al., 2011; Gramsci, 1995). The process of interpretation is a practice of agency and power that at once must resist the unthinking bureaucracy and the pressures of the market (Burch, 2010; Trujillo, 2014; Trujillo & Woulfin, 2014). In order for organizations to accomplish this level of resilience, it is theorized that there are structural conditions that must be met: organizations must create a coalition or network and organizational agency must be activated (Dey, Schneider et al., 2016). However, so far little is known about how these organizations could come together and actually facilitate a critical interpretation of education language policy in the service of improving teaching of English learners (Trujillo, 2014; Trujillo & Woulfin, 2014). The present qualitative case study addresses that gap in the literature by examining professional development organizations that work with teachers of English learners in California.

Gramsci (1971) considered non-coercive organizations such as professional organizations and educational associations crucial parts of civil society. Gramsci argued that among these civil society organizations the dialectic exists that maintains or disrupts hegemonic order, as well as where new social order can emerge. A dialectical exchange is one where ideas and opinions are debated in logical discussion and represent oppositional forces. It is through the cooptation of organizations in civil society that coercion and consent occur. For Gramsci, hegemony or dominance occurs through the legitimization of ideology, values, and beliefs. In hegemony, a certain way of life and thought is dominant and informs norms, values, and practices, such as this project's focus on educational policy (Gramsci, 1995).

By implication, in this case the establishment and perpetuation of hegemony involves the regular deployment of educational language discourse that persists across time and space. These discursive reiterations involve policy texts and interpretation in order to build institutions, rituals, and practices through which a discursive formation is structured (Ball, 1993; Phillips, Lawrence et al., 2004). If one refers to a particular meaning as hegemonic, this means that it has been reified and objectified as part of common sense by its repeated usage. Furthermore, it means that alternative meanings have been successfully repressed if only temporarily. Importantly, hegemony is never complete because it is challenged by outsiders that obstruct its full realization (Gramsci, 1995; Laclau & Mouffe, 2001; Phillips, Lawrence et al., 2004).

## Literature Review

This chapter reviews professional developer research for teachers of English learners and culturally relevant literacy practices. First, the chapter reviews professional development practice generally, then the specific professional development for teachers of English learners, and ultimately concludes with culturally relevant and new approaches to literacy. I advance a pedagogical approach to literacy that is inclusive of the knowledge that students, families, and communities bring with them and a professional development approach that supports teachers' own investigation of their practice. This research informs my research questions and delineates gaps in the research.

At the center of this study are the California Subject Matter Projects (CSMPs), a group of organizations that fill this role and function and the largest professional development network within California's educational system. This organizational network is cross-disciplinary, distributed regionally statewide on college and university campuses, and deeply committed to developing a richly complex teaching repertoire among teachers of English learners. More than any other organizations in the state, this network has generated ideas regarding how to teach teachers to teach and has developed nuanced approaches to literacy development for English learners. Virtually every other professional developer in this study was influenced and shaped by these organizations, since these organizations are focused upon cultivating teacher leadership (Lieberman & Miller, 2011; Lieberman & Wood 2003). However, until this research these organizations have rarely been compared to other professional developers in order to contrast structural and programmatic features of their model.

Professional development is an essential method for deepening teachers' content knowledge and improving teaching practice (Little & Bartlett, 2010). There is an emerging consensus on the characteristics of high-quality teacher professional development grounded on several case studies of classroom teaching, evaluations of professional development programs, teacher surveys, and effective practice studies (Borko, 2004). The ideal design for professional development is active and engaging, involves a school-wide vision, in-class modeling and coaching, and a process of reflection on (a) teacher identity, (b) classroom lessons, and (c) curriculum (Desimone, 2009). Professional developers attempt to foment shared inquiry and common goals that lead to a culture of ongoing learning within communities of practice (Little, 2006; McLaughlin & Talbert 2001). All of these features make professional development the type of work that requires a profound level of commitment in order to sustain long-term and systemic efforts. Although much is known about professional development, little is actually known about the work of professional developers themselves—the implementers of professional development (Little, 1993, 2006; Little & Bartlett, 2010) and even less is known about professional development of teachers of English learners. In response to this void in scholarship, this study starts to explore Jim Gray and Richard Sterling's (1995) reflections about deeply committed teachers and teacher-centered professional development through the National Writing Project and the CSMPs, then extends that analysis across professional development organizations that impact teachers of English learners.

One rare exception to the research gap in professional development organizations that serve teachers of English learners is a study by Tina Trujillo (2014). Trujillo (2014) analyzed a professional development organization that implemented a managerial data monitoring system and framed teacher leadership in a reductive, managerialist pursuit. This organization's

business-inspired logics, roles, and language enabled it to compete in the marketplace. However, this organization erroneously equated data with professional judgment and held a strong ideological faith in technocratic solutions for complex educational problems pertaining to English learners and students of color (Trujillo, 2014). Trujillo's study begins to describe the ideological and pedagogical tensions central to my study, and it is important because it employs a critical analysis of standards-based policies and builds our understanding of how this professional development organization interpreted and implemented reform in a reductionist manner. The organization failed to promote practices responsive to English learners and students of color. Importantly, a few organizational staff dissented and tried to resist data collection instruments that were too general and did not meet the needs of the student population. One dissenter asked if culturally relevant practices were being used. Furthermore, this study also builds knowledge about what is commonly known as intermediary organizations—also deemed third space organizations—that reside between the state and the formal school system and notably comprise civil society. While Trujillo's study focuses on one organization at multiple sites, though, my study analyzes the strength of a statewide network of organizations. Both studies are concerned with how discourse defines reform and interpretation of policy; however, my study makes a contribution in that it actually details professional development for teachers of English learners, including language ideology and educational approach.

Another rare exception in this research gap is the work of Okhee Lee and colleagues. Lee and Fradd (1998, 2002) and Luykx and Lee (2007) advanced the professional development concept of instructional congruence based upon the idea of cultural congruence (Lee & Fradd 1998; Lee, Hart et al., 2004; Lee, Maerten, Rivera et al., 2008) or what Gutiérrez calls the cultural mismatch theory (Gutiérrez, 2008). Cultural congruence indicates a respect for the cultural background of students and emphasizes that in order for a teacher to implement lessons they must have knowledge and respect for the various cultural traditions of their students (Au & Kawakami, 1994). According to the principle of instructional congruence, meaningful connections must be made on the part of teachers to the knowledge, perspectives, and behavior students bring to the classroom. Within this professional development work, Latino educators are encouraged to connect with Latino students in terms of cultural practices and Spanish language use is encouraged in the classroom in order to provide content familiar to students.

There is mounting evidence that instructional congruence has a positive effect on English learners' ability to assimilate knowledge (Cuevas, Lee et al., 2005; Fradd, Lee et al., 2001). However, this approach requires an extensive amount of commitment, including reflection upon teachers' identity, culture and language and match or mismatch to students' own identity, culture, and language. Okhee Lee et al.'s work is focused on science instruction. My study explores literacy among English learners across the disciplines, and therefore explores ideas of cultural relevance in different and across disciplinary domains and provides in-depth discussion regarding tensions and points of disagreement. Thereby, it contributes to another body of research that pushes the boundaries of how literacy among English learners is defined.

An increasing body of research has begun to outline a vision for literacy that is transformative and empowering for English learners, their families, and their communities in a manner that is consistent with a culturally responsive approach. Gutiérrez, Morales, and Martinez (2009) discuss the need to update conceptions of literacy for English learners and non-

dominant communities. They describe how deficit notions about non-dominant communities portray these communities as non-literate/literate and uneducated/educated in a dichotomous manner and instead propose to re-mediate definitions of what it is to be literate and how to cultivate various types of literacies. Central to their view is conceiving of literacy as a social practice, a process with an emphasis on student ownership, and mindful of transformative pedagogical organizational structures (Gutiérrez et al., 2009; Luke, 1992). Increased migration, new diasporic communities, and the proliferation of technologies have resulted in a variety of intercultural activities in which a range of linguistic practices become available and central to members of non-dominant communities (Gutiérrez, 2008). My study explores professional developers' ideas about teaching English learners. I examine shifts that have been in the works regarding literacy. Furthermore, I operationalize these concepts and conduct a systematic corpus content analysis organized by these major themes. Professional developers negotiate various aspects of literacy among English learners such as: (a) priorities regarding literacy focused on process instead of skill; (b) the role and use of the primary language; (c) selection of instructional materials; (d) classroom interactions and grouping; (e) relationship to English learners' family and community; and (f) the role of assessment. These ideas are all negotiated within the design and delivery of professional development for teachers of English learners.

Consistent with this vision for culturally relevant literacy are a series of empirical studies that strengthen the claim that these approaches actually lead to increased learning on the part of English learners. The National Literacy Panel (NLP) is the largest and most respected study to date regarding English learner literacy. The NLP found evidence that bridging home-school culture and taking account student sociocultural characteristics can positively impact English learners. One area of findings is related to using literacy materials containing familiar content to students. The other is related to relating school to parents and families.

The NLP reviewed a group of studies that argued that English learners literacy improved when materials had familiar content even in the second language. Conversely, unfamiliar content undermined reading comprehension and general understanding (August, Shanahan et al., 2009; Goldenberg & Coleman, 2010). For example, a study in the United States of low performing middle school Latino students found a number of benefits to using reading materials with culturally relevant topics. The familiar material led to students' becoming more interested in the topics and were better able to use strategic reading procedures such as questioning, predicting, and relating to their own experiences. Also, lack of background knowledge led to poor academic performance in another study reviewed by the NLP (August, Shanahan et al., 2009; Goldenberg & Coleman, 2010).

NLP reviewed a set of studies that showed that Latino parents of English learners lacked knowledge of how to support their children in school, but when they were provided that information (such as having books at home, reading to their children, conducting religious literacy activities, and generally providing an environment conducive to learning), parents were able to help their children academically (August, Shanahan et al., 2009; Goldenberg & Coleman, 2010).

California is the ideal location to undertake this study. More than 40 percent of English learners in the United States reside in California, yet there is a dearth of knowledge about the

structural conditions that affect their education here (Bedolla, 2005; Gándara & Contreras, 2009; Gándara & Rumberger, 2003, 2009). English learners comprise 25 percent of California's student population; in fact, 89 percent of teachers have English learners in their classrooms. Scholars have argued, moreover, that English learners have less-qualified teachers (Gándara, Maxwell-Jolly et al., 2005; Gándara & Rumberger, 2009). These teachers are reporting that they do not know how to provide instruction to English learners (Gándara, Maxwell-Jolly et al., 2005).

Ultimately, we need to know more about what enables these organizations that are serving teachers of English learners to critically evaluate and interpret English Language Development and English Language Arts Standards and Framework. In particular, we must know more about teacher professional development organizations because they hold the potential to improve general, subject-specific, and literacy knowledge and skills, ultimately resulting in enhanced teaching practices at a time when major changes are occurring in the education of English learners. These new educational language policies are redefining the relevant rules of engagement for these teacher professional development organizations and provide an analytical window into evolving organizational ideas and values of literacy-related professional development (Hakuta & Castellón, 2012; Hakuta & Santos, 2012).

Despite this progress in the research in understanding the work of professional development organizations, we know very little about how these organizations actually operate, interpret, and implement policy within the larger landscape. This dissertation makes a unique contribution by analyzing teacher professional development organizations in California and by showing the structural constraints and affordances that both limit and enable professional developers' critical interpretation and implementation of the current English Language Development and English Language Arts Standards and Framework. This dissertation also advances language policy theories by pushing forward a vision for culturally relevant and transformative literacy instruction (Au & Kawakami, 1994; Cummins, 2009; Gutiérrez, Baquedano-Lopez et al., 2000).

Ultimately, this study outlines the contours of a new organizational field of professional developers focused on teachers of English learners. This two-part study necessarily begins with an analysis of the educational language policies in California between 1997 and 1999, after Proposition 227 passed, and between 2013 and 2015, immediately before it was revoked. This type of analysis has never been conducted previously, starting with a systematic policy corpus analysis. In my findings, I focused specifically on the network of professional development organizations that has a bi-directional relationship with these policies. In other words, these professional development organizations authored policies, critically engaged with interpreting these policies, and built capacity to implement the same policies. In this dissertation, the teacher professional development organization at the center of the findings played a crucial role in setting California language policy and subsequently re-interpreting and implementing it. For more than 40 years, a small number of professional development organizations in California have grown into an established field (Gray, 2000) that has spawned an emerging array of service providers for teachers of English learners. These not-for-profit and for-profit organizations compete for contracts in an educational system that is highly marketized and increasingly deregulated. The two sub-studies I undertake inform my overarching question: Can professional



development organizations for teacher of English learners operate independently of state policy, or must they remain in synchrony with evolving state ideal and policies to survive?

### **Research Questions**

In this two-part study, I engage two lines of inquiry. First, has there been an ideological shift towards culturally relevant and transformative literacy practices in educational language policy between the previous generation of Standards and the current? That is, we need to understand how the policy context may have been changing as professional development organizations actively interpreted and variably aided the implementation of these evolving policies. In California, policies were developed that culminated in the passing of Proposition 227 (1997–1999), and subsequently, policies were developed preceding Proposition 58 that repealed Proposition 227 (2013–2015). To date, no one has systematically studied these two sets of policies to understand the major differences. These policies are very important as they represent the California State Board of Education and the California Department of Education adopted regulations regarding language learning. Together, they also could be a major policy lever to affect positive change for the education of English learners.

Second, what structures and resources enable or hinder a critical interpretation of education language policy? What has happened to those structures over time? California had invested in a complex structure and system for teacher professional development in the past that provided resources for the administration, coordination, and evaluation of the services provided. I explore if these structures and systems are being maintained or dismantled under new market-based policies. Further, I interrogate the challenges that teacher professional developers are facing in the process of interpretation and implementation. This is an undertheorized area, and scant empirical research has enriched our understanding.

### **Theoretical Framework**

In order to address these research questions, my dissertation draws on critical theory and policy implementation studies to first analyze education language policy and second to analyze how professional development organizations interpreted policy. My own nested research design attempts to “slice the layers of the onion” (Hornberger & Johnson, 2007) of educational language policy by analyzing policies approved by the state and then examining interpretations—in this case, at the meso-level among teacher professional developers. Since these are the ideas of literacy and content educators within different subject areas, they are influenced by both language and educational ideas.

The present study is concerned with the creation, interpretation, and appropriation of policy, analyzing language status, and interrogating a policy corpus within a particular context—California during two periods. I seek to understand, illuminate, and explain both how policy was shaped and how policy shapes practice (Johnson & Ricento, 2013; Schiffman & Ricento 2006; Shohamy, 2006). This means that I analyze not only top-down regulations, but also bottom-up influences (Canagarajah, 2005; Hornberger, 1998). I also analyze the unintended consequences of policies in the ways that human experience is reproduced (Blommaert & Rampton, 2011; Rampton, 2001). Further, I analyze societal power relations (Creese & Blackledge, 2010;

Foucault, 1980; Gramsci, Nowell-Smith et al., 1971; Heller & Martin-Jones, 2001; Hornberger, 2002; Jaffe, 1999). I place my focus on contextualizing the authority of local actors and their local challenges.

Little research exists about the complex process of education language policy implementation—specially the consequential role of professional developers. There is a bi-directional relationship between policy and practice. Language policy is as nuanced and dynamic as the educators who interpret and re-interpret policy. Questions of agency and resistance are still being understood (Menken & García, 2010). Educators' beliefs about the needs of English learners interact with their interpretation of evolving language policies (Johnson & Freeman, 2010; Marschall, Rigby et al., 2011). Much language policy research has focused on the restrictions on power and limitations of agency. Critical language policy research emphasize how policies subjugate linguistic minorities and maintain hegemony (Pennycook, 2002; Tollefson & Ricento, 2006). However, Levinson and Sutton (2001) propose a theoretical framework that both recognizes the power of authorized policy and also illuminates policy appropriation, where it may be applied, interpreted and contested by educators (Levinson, Sutton et al., 2009). The word appropriation highlights the powerful role of educators in the language policy implementation process.

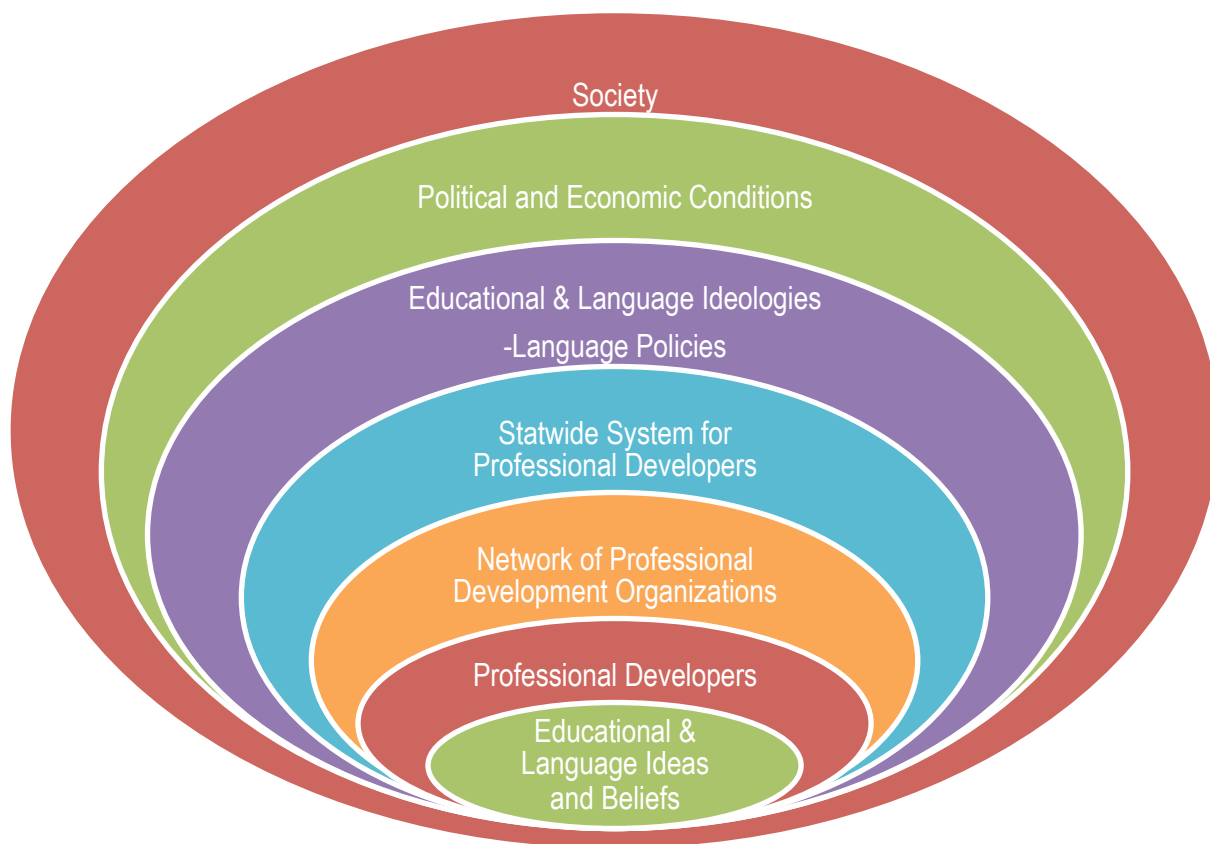
The tension between structure and agency is reflected also in Ball's theoretical framework (1993, 2006). He describes policy as text emphasizing various interpretations. He also explains the mechanism of policy as discourse focusing on the potential power of educational policies to set boundaries on what is feasible and thinkable (Ball, 1993, 2006).

Gramsci (1971) argues that across civil society, organizations play a crucial role in the development of a dialectic that maintains or disrupts hegemonic order. Coercion and consent occur through the cooptation of organizations in civil society. For Gramsci, hegemony or dominance occurs through the legitimization of ideology, values, and beliefs. In hegemony, a certain way of life and thought is dominant and informs norms, values, and practices, such as this project's focus on educational policy (Gramsci, 1995).

The concept of an organizational field plays a central role in the process of institutionalization. Institutionalization is establishing a definition, practice, or activity as a convention or norm in an organization or culture. A distinct set of organizations shares a set of institutions. An organizational field also shares a distinct set of discourses that constitute the institutions and the related mechanisms that regulate appropriation or resistance (Phillips, Lawrence et al., 2004).

This dissertation seeks to understand how organizations position themselves for competitive advantage in order to exist, as well as how they insert their values into policy through discourse. To better understand these issues, I investigated how organizations negotiate policy ideas and thereby reshape them and how these differ across the organizational field. The analysis spans macro-level analysis down to the meso-level, but does not attempt to investigate observed practice.

*Figure 1.* Layers of language policy interpretation and implementation.



## Chapter 2: Methodology

This is a two-part study. First, I ask, has there been an ideological shift towards culturally relevant and transformative literacy practices in educational language policy between the previous generation of Standards and Framework and the current? Second, I ask, What structures enable or hinder a critical interpretation of education language policy? What has happened to those structures over time? The first part is a comparative policy analysis that used the entire corpus of an educational language policy during two periods. The second part is a qualitative case study using content analysis through critical policy analysis.

### **Data Collection**

The English Language Development and English Language Arts Standards and Framework are important because the California State Board of Education and the California Department of Education adopted these policies and regulations and they provide guidance regarding language learning. These policies dictate to a great extent what professional developers do and the programs that they develop. The policies were selected in alignment with the passage of Proposition 227 (1998), an English-only provision to classroom instruction that effectively eliminated bilingual classrooms in California, and the passing of Proposition 58 (2016), which revoked Proposition 227.

### **Site Selection**

California is the most appropriate setting for this study for several reasons:

- 1) More than 40 percent of English learners in the United States reside in California, yet there is very little knowledge about the structural conditions that affect their education here (Bedolla, 2005; Gándara & Contreras, 2009; Gándara & Rumberger, 2009; Gándara, Rumberger et al., 2003). English learners comprise 25 percent of California's student population; in fact, 89 percent of teachers have English learners in their classrooms (<http://data1.cde.ca.gov/dataquest/>)
- 2) Scholars have argued that English learners have less-qualified teachers (Gándara, Maxwell-Jolly et al., 2005; Gándara & Rumberger, 2009). These teachers are reporting that they do not know how to provide instruction to English learners (Gándara, Maxwell-Jolly et al., 2005).
- 3) The teacher professional development infrastructure in California used to be a model nationally (Lieberman & Wood, 2003) and we need to try to salvage these resources before it is too late.
- 4) There are new educational language policies being introduced, which are changing the way that professional developers work in California.
- 5) Primary language and bilingual education are now sanctioned through Proposition 58 and we need to understand what led to that success and if professional development organizations played a role, as they did historically in bilingual education.

All of these are compelling reasons to investigate professional development of teachers of English learners in California at this historical moment and compare ideas to the previous most significant moment, when Proposition 227 passed.

To pursue this dissertation's interest in the ideas and educational models developed and implemented for English language learners, I conducted in-depth interviews with professional developers, surveyed professional development organizations, and analyzed the discourse of education policies produced in California between 1995 and 2015. This cross-sectional approach follows Yanow's (2000) postulation that interviews and document analysis constitute central interpretive methods for understanding local knowledge, and for identifying communities of meaning and the symbolic artifacts (language and objects) that hold meaning for them, reveal values, beliefs, and feelings about a policy issues, in particular (Yanow, 2000). In all, these sources of data enabled the triangulation of information (Eisenhardt, 1989), providing me rich information regarding the meso- and macro-level processes and ideas influencing professional developers' perspectives and official organizational ideas, to field-level logics of their implementation and to policy texts themselves.

Overall, I take a reflexive positionality. I question my own ontological and epistemological assumptions (Habermas, 1979). As a researcher, I inhabit a middle ground between practical (communicative) and critical (emancipatory) positionality. I strive to build knowledge that is descriptive and interpretive of sociocultural understanding, transformative, conscious and critical. I seek to answer questions that cannot be answered from a positivist paradigm, such as "How will your research affect those studied?" in an attempt to empower subordinated groups in society through showing educational institutions as they are and linking ideas to institutions, in an attempt to stop the reproduction of dominant elites (Soltis, 1984). I acknowledge my own identity as an immigrant, political refugee, second language learner, Latina, educator, and researcher. I also use my experience as a professional developer of six years. I reflect critically upon these identities through memos and conversation. I do not claim objectivity, but seek to expose various views and perspectives.

I present policies and ideas about practice within their historical, social, and political context, mindful of identities, conceptions of citizenship, and language ideologies (Blommaert, 1999). I analyze the relationship between state-mandated and national language in contrast to minority primary languages (Wright, 2000). I interrogate issues of citizenship and the construction of monolingualism and multilingualism.

In order to conduct this investigation, I engaged a wide group of professional developers that work within professional development organizations of teachers of English learners. Table 2 provides an overview of these study participants.

## Participants

Table 1

### *Descriptions of Participants*

<b>Language</b>	<b>Race/ Ethnicity</b>	<b>Organization</b>	<b>Org Stage</b>	<b>Host</b>
Bilingual	Latino	California Bilingual Education Association	Veteran	CABE
Bilingual	White	California History-Social Science Project	Veteran	UC
Bilingual	White	California History-Social Science Project	Veteran	UC
Bilingual	White	California History-Social Science Project	Veteran	UC
Monolingual	White	California History-Social Science Project	Veteran	UC
Monolingual	White	California History-Social Science Project	Veteran	UC
Bilingual	White	California Mathematics Project	Veteran	UC
Monolingual	Asian	California Mathematics Project	Veteran	UC
Bilingual?	Asian	California Reading and Literature Project	Veteran	UC
Bilingual?	Asian	California Reading and Literature Project	Veteran	UC
Bilingual Limited	Latino	California Reading and Literature Project	Veteran	UC
Bilingual	Latino	California Science Project	Veteran	UC
Bilingual	White	California Science Project	Veteran	UC
Multilingual	White	California World Language Project	Veteran	UC
Bilingual	White	California World Language Project	Veteran	UC
Bilingual	White	California World Language Project	Veteran	UC
Bilingual	Asian	California Writing Project	Veteran	UC
Bilingual	Asian	California Writing Project	Veteran	UC
Bilingual	Asian	California Writing Project	Veteran	UC
Bilingual	White	Californians Together	Veteran	Californians Together
Bilingual	White	Comprehensive Center	Established	WestEd
Bilingual	White	Comprehensive Center	Established	WestEd
Bilingual	White	CSU Teacher Education	Veteran	CSU
Bilingual	Latino	E.L. Achieve	New	E.L. Achieve
Bilingual	Latino	E.L. Achieve	New	E.L. Achieve
Bilingual	Latino	E.L. Achieve	New	E.L. Achieve
Monolingual	White	Kern County	Veteran	County
Bilingual	Latino	Oakland Unified School District	Veteran	District
Bilingual	Latino	Oakland Unified School District	Veteran	District
Bilingual	Latino	Oakland Unified School District	Veteran	District
Bilingual	White	Quality Teaching for English Learners	Established	WestEd
Bilingual	Latino	Quality Teaching for English Learners	Established	WestEd
Bilingual	White	Quality Teaching for English Learners	Established	WestEd
Bilingual	Asian	San Francisco Unified School District	Veteran	District
Bilingual	White	San Francisco Unified School District	Veteran	District

Language	Race/ Ethnicity	Organization	Org Stage	Host
Bilingual	Latino	Smarter Balance	New	Sobrato Foundation
Monolingual	Black	Sobrato Early Academic Language Model	New	Sobrato Foundation
Bilingual	Latino	Sobrato Early Academic Language Model	New	Sobrato Foundation
Monolingual	Black	UC Office of the President	Veteran	UC
Monolingual	Black	UC Office of the President	Veteran	UC
Bilingual	Latino	Understanding Language	New	Stanford
Bilingual	Asian	Understanding Language	New	Stanford
Bilingual	White	Understanding Language	New	Stanford
Bilingual	Asian	Understanding Language	New	Stanford

## Analysis

### Interviews

For this dissertation, I conducted semi-structured interviews (Spradley, 2016) with a total of 44 professional developers from 19 public, non-profit, and private professional teacher development organizations in California. I was less interested in school district and county work because these were very different types of organizations and because they had more data available for review, such as documents, surveys, and detailed program descriptions. Each respondent provided a rich context and historical background that contributed to understanding the education language policy implemented between 1997 and 1999, and between 2013 and 2015. Several of the respondents were well-known educators in California—nine sat on committees that provided advice regarding education language policy, and three were principal authors of education language policy.

Spradley (1979) interview methods guided my interview protocols of teacher professional developers. I tried to understand issues from the perspective of the professional developers, encouraging them to provide me with a grand tour of their work and ideas. I employed a semi-structured interview protocol, keeping dialogue fluid, but systematic across all interview, covering the same ground. All interviews were recorded and transcribed professionally by Rev.com (Spradley, 2016).

The goal of these interviews was to know how organizational actors interpret and implement policies between 2013 and 2015. Interview questions probed how teachers insert their ideas and agenda into the process of implementing English language learning policy. Questions queried whether interviewees' values and beliefs changed or were consistent as they moved between professional development organizations, how their work was consistent with English learner instruction, the structure and content of professional development, and accountability policies.

Organizations	Interviews
California Bilingual Education Association	1
California History-Social Science Project	5
California Mathematics Project	2
California Reading and Literature Project	3
California Science Project	2
California World Language Project	3
California Writing Project	3
Californians Together	1
Comprehensive Center (WestEd)	2
CSU Teacher Education	1
E.L. Achieve	3
Kern County	1
Oakland Unified School District	3
Quality Teaching for English Learners (WestEd)	3
San Francisco Unified School District	2
Smarter Balance	1
Sobrato Early Academic Language Model	2
UC Office of the President	2
Understanding Language	4
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>44</b>

## Survey

Professional developers responded to surveys regarding their beliefs and practices concerning literacy of English learners. I solicited their opinions and sentiments. The survey included closed and open-ended questions. I pilot tested the survey on a group of three professional developers before sending out to 98 professional developers and received 51 responses.

## Document Analysis

The most appropriate policies related to English language development and specified teacher practices with English learners. I selected the previous iterations of the same policies in two highly relevant and cogent periods of time. I compared the newer version of the policies with the previous version. I illustrated the significant areas of debate. Specifically, I discussed sociolinguistic discourses within official policy texts adopted by the California Board of Education.



Hundreds of pages of organizational documents provided information regarding intertextual themes between policy and organizational documents. These documents helped me contextualize historical and structural factors. I was able to map terms, themes, and ultimately discourses (Crotty 1996).

### **Data Analysis**

Although, this study is heavily influenced by discourse analysis, it primarily employs content analysis because it is concerned with the content of policies, organizational documents, and interviews, and their intertextual connections rather than with a truly discursive exchange between more than one organization or professional developer.

I take an interpretive policy analysis stance. Yanow (2000) notes that the antecedents of a interpretive policy analysis are phenomenological and hermeneutic traditions. For this reason, I identified the relevant policy documents that would be carriers of meaning for English language development and I interviewed the interpretive community of relevance. I defined the discourses these documents and this community articulated and I identified points of conflict and tension (Yanow, 2000).

This is a two-part study. I collected a corpus in the first part and conducted text analysis and content analysis. I identified themes and categories. In the second part of the study, I conducted document and interview analysis. I seek to understand professional developers' interpretations and contributions to policy. I identified the kinds of ideas within policy texts and interviews. For the first part, my units of analysis are text fragments. For the second part, my units of analysis are professional developers nested within organizations that are in turn nested within an organizational field. In both cases, I am concerned with the process of linguistic standardization (Wiley & Wright, 2004).

I used cyclical coding in order to find themes and patterns in my data (Miles & Huberman, 1994). This led me to identifying and elaborating upon relevant critical theory. I discovered, refined, and linked concepts in an iterative process. Open codes were condensed into categories and subcategories (Strauss & Corbin, 1990).

I went through four cycles of analysis of policy texts: (a) I reviewed policies internally identifying keywords and phrases; (b) I identified intertextual connections to the past; (c) I discussed the institutional and sociolinguistic contexts within which the text was created; and (d) I provided historical context and repercussions.

First, I did topic modeling on the policy texts and was able to define several areas of topics including the following: teacher development features (language learning, subject specific language, knowledge of English learners, primary language, teacher disposition, effective practice); assessment (student failure/student success, summative assessment, formative assessment), instructional methods (vocabulary, repetition, conversation, meaning making and understanding, student-centered, expectations, multicultural, meta-cognitive, self awareness, deficit/asset); relationship to community (parental involvement, attention to community needs); content (complex, relevant); classroom management (interaction, teacher facilitation, writing,

reading time, culturally responsive, grouping, conversations). Moving from these topics, I then started cycles of content analysis. I developed a dictionary of related words and phrases and queried the corpus based upon these terms. I conducted content analysis and defined keywords. I found collocated terms and I also conducted frequency lists for key terms.

Keyword analysis is also based on word frequency, but is a comparative measure. Keyword analysis juxtaposes two wordlists with each other—one from a relatively small corpus of interest and one from a much larger, more general reference corpus. A comparison between the two wordlists produces a list of keywords—words that are unexpectedly common—in the corpus of interest, with numerical measures of keyness (Scott & Tribble, 2006). The keywords tell the researcher what the corpus is about, the genre and topic, the keywords can be used to reveal ideologies (Stubbs, 1996).

Collocation and concordance analyses look at words or phrases in context. Collocation analysis is the study of the co-occurrence of words within a given window of language. Concordances show the context of words or phrases of interest in the corpus. Concordances are used in qualitative analysis to understand what the quantitative patterns identified by wordlists, keyword analysis, and collocation lists mean in terms of function.

In order to analyze large amounts of text, I used MaxQDA, which improved the validity, reliability, and reproducibility of my content analysis (Nord, 2005). To ensure that the text speaks to those pertinent variables, I manually checked all text analysis results. I also ensured that other interesting variables discovered in the text were incorporated into the classificatory scheme. I also ensured that the classificatory scheme's organization of information is correct (i.e., attributes are appropriately identified under well-conceptualized variables that are appropriately identified with the correct units of analysis). I conducted systematic sampling of professional developer ideas (Miles & Huberman, 1994). This work is grounded in sociolinguistic layered systems. I drew heavily from theory and returned to theory in order to identify patterns and evolve my understandings. These patterns were then refined into conceptual categories within several data sources (Erickson, 1986; Sipe & Ghiso, 2004).

## **Background**

While this study focuses on education language policy in the mid-1990s and early 2010s, some important earlier events continue to shape language ideology and educational approaches in California. The growth of the Civil Rights Movement, the Chicano Movement, and the Free Speech movement played a particular role in the emergence of progressive teacher professional development organizations in the state, as did right-wing backlash to these progressive reforms and the Republican accountability agenda, both of which were used as a smoke screen to strip language rights nationally. This section subsequently explores how English-only language policies become institutionalized in the era of accountability in order to understand the language policies that emerged in the 1990s and 2000s.

In the 1960s, professional educational organizations, professional developers, and academic scholars, particularly in the San Francisco Bay Area, were key to passing the Bilingual Education Act (San Miguel, 2004). Bilingual education signaled a move away from laws

framing English as the only medium for instruction and towards a more pluralist language approach. Bilingual education was also about integration of classrooms in contrast to having Mexican-only schools or Latino-only classrooms. Chicano activists, civil rights groups, and educational activists strengthened the movement for bilingual education—spurred by new bilingual research agenda and findings, the Civil Rights Movement, welfare legislation, and the wider Chicano Movement itself—and questioned the role of education in students' national identity and the potential for equal access to curriculum.

Socioeconomically disadvantaged people of color came to the forefront of public discourse during the Civil Rights Movement and the War on Poverty, moments that greatly shaped the approach to language in the classroom. Activists argued that discrimination was not only a race issue, but that it also involved language and culture. There has been great emphasis on African Americans in the Civil Rights Movement, but other groups such as indigenous peoples, mestizos, and immigrants also played significant roles (Dinnerstein, 1996). The African American goals were to attain voting rights, equal employment, and an end to segregation. For language minorities, discrimination negatively impacted their educational opportunities in public schools. Since education was an instrumental way to win the War on Poverty, Congress passed the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 and the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. These acts involved poor parents in reform efforts and placed emphasis on eliminating poverty through educational programs (San Miguel, 2004).

Following these larger federal victories, scholars gained greater support for studying Mexican-American and Mexican immigrant education. Prior to the 1960s, it was commonplace to not allow Spanish to be spoken in schools, bolstered by English-only laws that were shown to negatively impact poor Spanish-speaking students in particular (Fishman, 1967). By the 1960s, however, scholars had counter-evidence to research of the 1920s that showed a negative relationship between bilingualism and intelligence. In fact, dual language capability was found to be an asset to learning in school and in intelligence overall. Bilingual children were either equal to or superior to monolinguals on intelligence and on language usage (Peal & Lambert, 1962). Additionally, researchers found that non-English or native language instruction could improve school performance (Andersson, 1965). Perhaps most interesting of all, these studies showed that the use of home language actually improved the acquisition of English. One study during this period found that Spanish-speaking students who were instructed in both Spanish and English performed as well as their English-speaking counterparts in English language skills and within the content areas, and white students in bilingual programs were enriched by learning a second language and were not negatively affected in their English language development and in the content subjects (Cohen, 1975).

Until this research, traditional assimilation theories had assumed that ethnic minority languages and cultures would disappear in the process of assimilation into American life. The Chicano Movement ideologically opposed assimilation and instead proposed the concept of lingual and cultural pluralism. They associated assimilation with cultural repression and white American hegemony, and they felt culturally excluded from dominant elite society within its institutions, particularly within education. For the intellectuals of that time, the identities of the learner (cultural, ethnic, language, national) were intricately connected to their ability to feel empowered within elite educational institutions. Without feeling empowered in and by their own

cultures, students would not be able to be academically successful and therefore would not attain socioeconomic progress (García-Vázquez, Vazquez et al., 1997).

California eventually strengthened bilingual legislation by passing the Bilingual Multi-Cultural Education Act in 1973, providing bilingual teaching from kindergarten through sixth grade and later expanding it to include mandatory provisions for hiring bilingual teachers. The San Francisco Bay Area, however, remained a crucial site for the battle for language access and rights in the coming years. In *Lau v. Nichols* (1974), San Francisco Unified School District students claimed that they were not receiving the necessary support in school due to their inability to speak English; they argued that they were entitled to this support based on the ban on educational discrimination on the basis of national origin under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The U.S. Supreme Court ruled in favor of the students, thus expanding rights of students nationwide with limited English proficiency. The Office of Civil Rights (OCR) then became involved actively to ensure compliance with the *Lau* decision, demonstrating the high degree of institutionalization of bilingual education to come.

Following this, Chicano struggles around linguistic and cultural pluralism in the classroom were intimately connected to statewide protests around the Free Speech Movement. In 1965, a series of protests at the University of California at Berkeley comprised of walkouts and sit-ins forced the university administration to lift a ban on free speech, strengthening students' critical voice and increasing their academic freedom. (It is likely that these highly visible protests had an impact on the Chicano Movement in Los Angeles as they used similar tactics during the 1968 East Los Angeles Walkouts and Chicano Blowouts protesting the unequal educational conditions in the Los Angeles Unified School District. At the time, the district had the highest dropout rates in the state and the lowest rate of college-bound students.) The Graduate School of Education faculty at UC Berkeley became concerned that although there was an improved context for free speech, writing was a serious barrier to free expression—only a fraction of students were able to pass minimal writing requirements. Indeed, *Newsweek* published samples of teachers and students' writing that demonstrated a broad inability to write. Similarly, *Time* magazine reported that there was a decline in writing abilities not just among UC Berkeley freshmen but also across universities nationally, with *The Chronicle of Higher Education* reporting similar findings and documented a decline in SAT scores.

At the same time that grassroots activism surrounding pluralistic and bilingual education took hold on high school and college campuses, educators themselves worked to develop more inclusive modes of education from within educational institutions. A simple but transformative idea was born out of Berkeley's Graduate School of Education, in partnership with a prominent teacher leader and professor, James Gray: let the best teachers teach other teachers. Gray advocated a widely-embraced pedagogical-professional development model for improving undergraduate student writing by partnering college professors with high school teachers. The teachers-teaching-teachers model informally began in 1974 when 25 teachers gathered on the UC Berkeley campus to share their teaching practice with one another, primarily through writing exercises under the belief that writing teachers should practice their craft.

Once this transformative summer experience ended, the model then developed into a teacher leadership model. This ran counter to extant methods whereby professional development

for teachers was imparted by textbook companies and by lecture circuits. Gray's model was innovative in its insistence on the expertise of teachers themselves:

I knew that the knowledge successful teachers had gained through their experience and practice in the classroom was not tapped, sought after, shared, or for the most part, even known about. I knew also that if there was ever going to be reform in American education, it was going to take place in the nation's classrooms. And because teachers—and no one else—were in those classrooms, I knew that for reform to succeed, teachers had to be at the center. It became a burning issue with me that teachers were not seen as the key players in reform or as true experts on what went on in their classrooms. (Gray & Sterling, 1995)

This school-university partnership Gray initiated was generative in many ways. As a professional development model it became a statewide and national example that was embraced by teachers and professors, ultimately becoming the foundation for the Bay Area Writing Project and subsequently the California Writing Project, California Subject Matter Project, and the National Writing Project.

With the support of UC Berkeley's Provost and the Dean of the College of Letters and Sciences, the Bay Area Writing Project (BAWP), dedicated to aid writing teachers across grades and disciplines, was established in 1974 and it continues to train teachers today. Shortly thereafter state assembly member Gary Hart procured funding for the organization. A series of initiatives followed with the intention of elevating teachers' professional status. In 1983, the Mathematics Project was established by statute to enhance mathematics curriculum for grades K–16. The California Postsecondary Education Commission (CPEC), which was commissioned by Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Policy Analysis for California Education—now known as WestEd, a prominent professional development organization included in this study—found BAWP to be consistent with best practices in professional development and one of the most promising professional development programs in California (Little and Lieberman 1987).

The CPEC report was instrumental in Senate Bill 1882 (1988) that authorized the Regents of the University of California, with concurrence from the California Department of Education (CDE), and the Trustees of the California State University (CSU), to extend the BAWP model to all of the high school subject areas. This created a coordinated statewide system of professional development organizations for teachers known as the California Subject Matter Project (CSMP), hosted by the UC Office of the President in partnership with the CSU Chancellor's Office and the Superintendent of Public Instruction. The California Superintendent of Instruction at the time, Bill Honig, conceived of curriculum policy as a dynamic process that necessarily involved teachers and teacher leaders in collaboration with university faculty and researchers. Although he may not have realized what he was doing, his approach helped to change these organizations from grassroots educators and activists to policy reform advocates, interpreters, and implementers.

To be sure, Senate Bill 1882 had three main objectives for the CSMP's collective work: (a) identify exemplary teaching practices; (b) examine and develop research on learning,

knowledge, and educational materials; and (c) to give consideration to state-recommended curriculum framework in the subject matter area, with particular attention to the learning needs and styles of an increasingly diverse (and largely underachieving) student population (LCD, 1988, p. 234). At the same time, the CSU, along with the CDE, formed five collaborative projects for new teacher support in inner-city schools, an initiative that was expanded into the California New Teacher Project, which would go on to be present on 15 campuses across the CSU and UC systems and to private colleges and universities.

With the advent of these new teacher development policies, a network of affiliated organizations flourished across university campuses, connecting K–12 teachers to new resources and providing more support than previously available. In 1984, the foundation for the History-Social Studies Project was established when more than 500 California teachers joined UC Berkeley faculty and state educational administrators at the “History in the Schools: What Shall We Teach?” conference sponsored by Bernard Gifford, UC Berkeley Graduate School of Education professor, and the State Department of Education (Gifford, 1988). The conference and a publication that resulted from it had an impact on the development of a new framework for history that was inclusive of social studies and the humanities. The framework was adopted by the State Board of Education in 1987 (reapproved in 1994).

By the 1990s, several CSMPs developed around specific subject matters, though the struggles around bilingual education that surfaced in the 1960s continued to create conflict between students, educators, policy makers, and legislators. In 1989, new CSMPs were established in foreign languages, literature, and the arts, and by 1993, physical education-health joined the pre-existing writing, mathematics, and international studies projects. But during the early 1980s, the California Department of Education (CDE) was supportive of local language access needs but did not know how to manage bilingual education programs (Crawford, 1998). By 1986, the CDE had been able to pilot a successful bilingual education program. Just as the program was flourishing, however, it was cut by the U.S. Department of Education. There were existing pressures surrounding bilingualism in California, as 1986 was the same year that Proposition 63 passed the first statewide English-only voting ballot measure in California, with a stunning 73 percent of voters favoring ballots that were *not* translated to other commonly spoken languages such as Spanish (Draper & Jiménez, 1992). Proposition 63 was certainly in the air by June 1987, when Governor Deukmejian vetoed funding from the state budget that would have extended the Chacon-Moscone Bilingual Education Act (1976), which mandated school districts to provide equal education opportunities for students not proficient in English.

By 1987, Superintendent of Schools Bill Honig promoted a literature-based approach to reading and language arts that, combined with reading comprehension research and whole-language approaches to literacy, generated a broad increase of literature-based literacy instruction among professional development organizations. Honig worked with the legislature to pass SB 813, which more tightly linked the state to the development of curriculum and instruction, while he also wanted to use the CSMP and other professional development organizations in a systemic reform structure. This grassroots movement for literature and whole language reform enforced the teacher leadership model emerging in California, and these leaders made up the commission that developed the English Language Arts Framework in 1987. Surrounding the development of the English Language Arts Framework, a distinct group of

professional developers emerged based on three university campuses—California State University (CSU)-Fresno, CSU-San Bernardino, and St. Mary’s College.

As progressive educational and bilingual policies became institutionalized and in the 1980s and 1990s, conservative interests began to react against the new norms. In San Francisco in 1983, 62 percent of voters supported Proposition O, which asked the federal government to end the practice of issuing bilingual ballots for local and state elections. Several similar local initiatives were the first signs of the return of the English-only movement in California, which undoubtedly influenced Ronald Reagan as he went from the California governor’s office to the Oval Office in 1981. His secretary of education, William Bennett, believed that the national culture was under attack and targeted bilingual education as a threat to a common culture and language. In a 1985 speech titled “In Defense of Our Common Language,” Bennett asserted that having a common language would secure a common cultural identity and that bilingual education had been a failed path.

The Reagan administration reframed the issue of bilingual education and systematically delegitimized and discredited the effectiveness of the federal bilingual education program while disguising the change as a policy of accountability. The ultimate aim was to hegemonize the education of English learners within the environment of the welfare state. The Office of Planning, Budget, and Evaluation (OPBE) released a series of reports in 1981 that challenged the size of the language minority population that was eligible for services, arguing that the population was sparse and therefore difficult to serve. More than this, the reports stated that poverty was the cause for underperformance, not limited English language proficiency. Representative of the larger English-only movement, OPBE argued that immigrants who refused to learn English were threatening English in the United States and maintained “that languages are best learned in a situation where one is forced to do so, where there is no escape from brutal necessity, unlike the situation in a bilingual classroom” (San Miguel, 2004, p. 64). Following this, OPBE began to introduce standards, tests, and other accountability measures based on several recommendations: (a) That bilingual education should not be the sole approach, (b) state and school districts should have greater discretion to decide which type of special program was appropriate, (c) categorical funding should be lifted, and (d) that there should be increased evaluation of bilingual education programs.

In this chapter, I provided an overview of my methods and of the background that motivates my study. This overview offers a justification for the research design and aims to explain and contextualize the importance of the present study.

### Chapter 3: Language Ideology in California Education Language Policy Texts

The Common Core State Standards (CCSS) theory of action proposes that a set of Standards with summative assessment will deliver equitable outcomes from schools in the same way that the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 (NCLB) promised to close the achievement gap. As test prep increasingly takes time away from instruction (Hursh 2005), we now know that NCLB has not delivered on its promise and is hugely unpopular as a consequence. Following this, California now has two interrelated sets of Standards—the California CCSS for English Language Arts and Literacy in History/Social Studies, Science, and Technical Subjects (2013 ELA Standards) and the California English Language Development Standards (2014 ELD Standards)—that promise to raise expectations and improve education with the same underlying theory of action. The State Superintendent of Public Instruction and the California State Board of Education adopted these policies in order to provide high expectations for curriculum, instruction, and assessment. This Framework specifically defines the progression of language development and enrichment, informing the implementation of relevant programs and initiatives statewide, and, in the process, contains detailed references to the importance of biliteracy that revise and reform earlier Standards and Frameworks.

In this chapter, I argue that the current educational Standards and Frameworks that are rooted in the belief that grammar is socially constructed and that accept variability depending on contextual factors embrace a culturally relevant and transformative literacy practices much more than previous models. These previous models contained problematic biases toward an abstracted, idealized, homogenous spoken language—that in turn names as its model written languages—and were thus drawn primarily from the spoken language of the Euro-American upper-middle class. This chapter is staged around the passage of, and contributes to attempts to revoke, Proposition 227 (1998), an English-only provision to classroom instruction that effectively eliminated bilingual classrooms in California. I argue that the educational language policies from 1997 to 1999 were more antiquated and limited on the issue of language ideology in the classroom. In the 1997 English Language Arts Standards, the 1999 English Language Development Standards, and the 1998 Reading & Language Arts Framework, the idea of using the home language of students as a resource was unthinkable at the height of the Proposition 227 debate. To be sure, the 1997 ELA Standards make no mention of “primary language” at all while the 1999 ELD Standards make very few mentions of it.

Surrounding the development of the 2013 ELA Standards, the 2014 ELD Standards, and the 2015 ELD/ELA Framework, however, there was a desire to place a proposition on the ballot to revoke Proposition 227—the first indication that the language ideology in California had shifted. Although Proposition 227 was still on the books, an increasing number of parents were opting into bilingual education (Maxwell, 2012) which, according to federal law, must be provided if there are at least 20 children of the same primary language. As a compromise between state and federal law, students in California are taught in English for the first 30 days of the school year regardless of how little, if any, English children may have. At the end of this period children take an exam and the parents decide if they want their child to be in an English class or bilingual class based in part on the results of the exam. In light of this, and as a response to English-only legislation of the previous decades, the 2014 ELD Standards and the 2015 ELD/ELA Framework describe the many educational uses of primary language in rich detail.



By examining the shifting rhetoric of educational policy surrounding biliteracy from 1997 to 2015, this chapter ultimately argues that there is a much more prominent place for formative assessment to help English learners grow in their understanding. This perspective contrasts the high-stakes summative assessments that have historically sorted and marginalized English learners. As I discuss in this chapter, key to the shifting rhetoric is changing beliefs around the mobilization of students' home languages within the classroom. For example, a major difference between the two generations of Standards is that the Standards of 1997 and 1999 do not mention much variation within methods of spoken and written language, but rather foreground the importance of grammar and fidelity to Standard English. Rather, the current Standards recognize that there are different social and academic contexts for language and that it is acceptable for language to vary depending on the context, and recognize that spoken and written language can vary based upon cultural and ethnic/racial backgrounds. The 2014 ELD Standards, in particular, discuss how English learners will attain what they call "communicative effectiveness" beginning with their full participation in various discourse communities. Apart from this, the 2015 ELA/ELD Framework provides highly detailed guidance for how to optimize English learners' participation through writing and speaking with a greater emphasis on social participation and engagement; the dimensions of communicative effectiveness include collaborative, interpretive, and productive modes of learning, as the objective is for teachers to function as facilitators for English learners finding their voices and expressing their feelings and ideas in various situations.

This research contributes to the assumption that testing students who have just arrived from non-English speaking countries, or who still have little command of the English language in English-only classrooms, is damaging. It advocates the current Standards that have progressed from the euphemism of "all students" prevalent in the 1997–1999 policies and instead recognizing the particularities of English learners' backgrounds and experiences and arguing that educators have a responsibility to educate themselves about their students and their lives—essentially, current Standards acknowledge that their reality may be very different from their students. The current generation of Standards ultimately asks educators to map new knowledges to those experiences, thereby validating their students' lives and struggles, their families, and their greater community.

*Figure 2.* Current and previous Standards comparison table.

	<b>Current Standards (2013-2015)</b>	<b>Previous Standards (1997-1999)</b>
Goal of Instruction	Literacy process and attitudes, with an emphasis on ownership and social practice	Emphasis on phonics and phonemic awareness, decontextual, sequential
Role of primary language	Primary language formulated as a resource; additive and pluralist (biliteracy, acceptance of variability, emphasis on communicative effectiveness, focus on diversity, formative assessment for inclusion)	Primary language formulated as a barrier
Instructional materials	Emphasis on multicultural literature plus authentic materials	Open court, High point, English-only, leveled decodable texts
Classroom management and interaction with students	Teacher conducts lessons and organizes peer working groups in culturally responsive manner	Rare focus on student-centered grouping

	<b>Current Standards (2013-2015)</b>	<b>Previous Standards (1997-1999)</b>
Relationship to community	Attention to community surrounding the school; greater parental involvement; instruction related to community issues and funds of knowledge	Rare attention to parental involvement and community
Instructional methods	Authentic literacy activities; teaching occurs in context; emphasis on meaning making	Sequenced skill instruction
Assessment	Foregrounding formative assessment for teaching and learning; attention to sources of bias in both summative and formative assessment	Phonemic awareness assessment,
Teacher Development	Knowledge of students, content, language, and effective practices. Understanding of English learners and experience with English learners. Positive attitude and disposition. Knowledge of primary language and target language. Disciplinary knowledge, subject-specific linguistic and content knowledge (Brisk & Proctor, 2012; Clayton, 2008; Lucas & Villegas, 2011)	Scripted, short-term, general (i.e., not subject specific and without specific language goals)

In the following chapter, I review a corpus of policy documents in order to discern the broader acceptance of language variability, emphasis on communicative effectiveness, knowledge of English learners, and low-stakes formative assessment among teacher professional development organizations.

### **Analysis of Educational Language Policy Texts**

*Figure 3.* Education language policy texts, length and keywords.

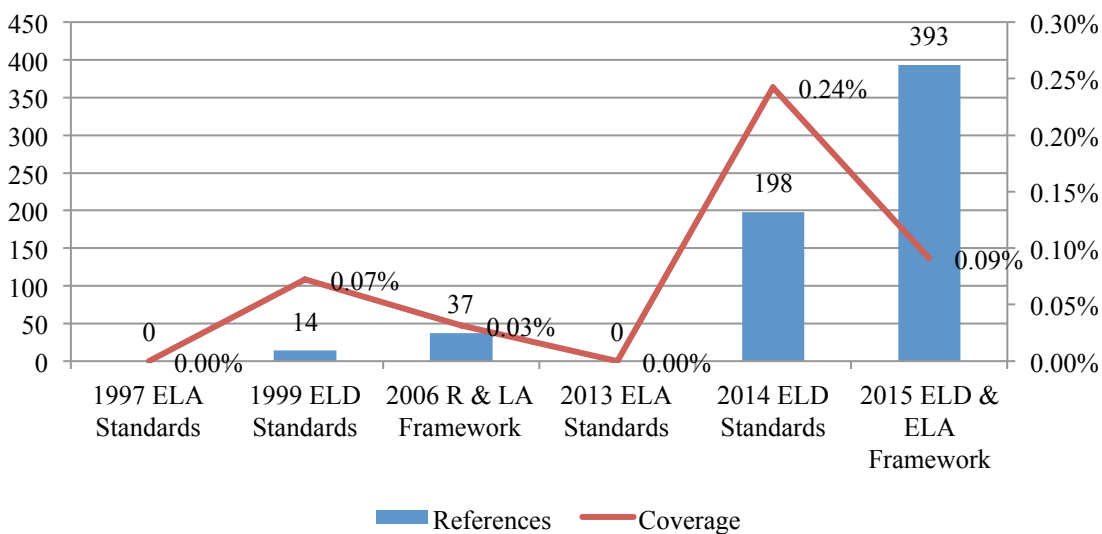
Educational Language Policy Text	Length	Keywords selected by authors
<b>Previous Standards and Framework Documents</b>		
1997 ELA Standards <a href="http://www.cde.ca.gov/be/st/ss/documents/elacontentstnds.pdf#search=California">http://www.cde.ca.gov/be/st/ss/documents/elacontentstnds.pdf#search=California</a>	92 pages	Textbooks, instructional materials, evaluation criteria
1999 ELD Standards <a href="http://www.cde.ca.gov/be/st/ss/documents/englangdevstnd.pdf">http://www.cde.ca.gov/be/st/ss/documents/englangdevstnd.pdf</a>	91 pages	English, language development, language, English learners
1998 R/LA Framework <a href="http://www.ocde.us/CommonCoreCA/Documents/elaFramework2007.pdf">http://www.ocde.us/CommonCoreCA/Documents/elaFramework2007.pdf</a>	386 pages	Writing, speaking, reading, listening, language, English, Framework
<b>Current Standards and Framework Documents</b>		
2013 ELA Standards <a href="http://www.cde.ca.gov/be/st/ss/documents/finalelaccssStandards.pdf#search=California%20English%20Language%20Arts">http://www.cde.ca.gov/be/st/ss/documents/finalelaccssStandards.pdf#search=California%20English%20Language%20Arts</a>	98 pages	California Common Core State Standards, ELA Standards, Literacy Standards.
2014 ELD Standards <a href="http://www.cde.ca.gov/sp/el/er/documents/eldstndpublication14.pdf">http://www.cde.ca.gov/sp/el/er/documents/eldstndpublication14.pdf</a>	204 pages	ELD, CCSS ELD, English Language Development, Standards, Common Core State Standards, California
2015 ELA/ELD Framework <a href="http://www.cde.ca.gov/ci/rl/cf/documents/elaelfwintro.pdf">http://www.cde.ca.gov/ci/rl/cf/documents/elaelfwintro.pdf</a>	1,084 pages	None provided

The concept of primary language became virtually unspeakable during the height of debates surrounding Proposition 227 in 1998. This is also the reason this findings section begins with an analysis of the number of times the term “primary language” and its synonyms, such as “home language,” are used in each education language policy document reviewed, and which are visible in Figure 3.

From the data, one can observe that the 1997 ELA Standards and the 2013 ELA Standards make no mention of “primary language” at all. The 1999 ELD Standards mention “primary language” only 14 times, while the 1999 Reading and Language Arts Framework discuss “primary language” 37 times. In contrast to these earlier documents, the 2014 ELD Standards and the 2015 ELA/ELD Framework discuss the idea of “primary language” many more times. The 2014 ELD Standards mention “primary language,” “home language,” “first language,” and “native language” 198 times, which represents 0.24 percent coverage of the overall document, the highest coverage of those terms within any educational language policy document reviewed. This is about three times more coverage than in the 1999 ELD Standards. This is true also of the 2015 ELA/ELD Framework, which had about three times more coverage of the terms regarding primary language.

However, it should be noted that the 2015 ELA/ELD Framework is a much longer document and references “primary language” and its synonyms 393 times of 666 references across all documents. Therefore, nearly 60 percent of times the idea of primary language is discussed, it is within the 2015 ELA/ELD Framework. The authors of these documents discuss topics related to primary language in greater detail and specificity, and provide a greater amount of guidance to educators. I reviewed and coded these references and in the following pages I discuss my findings organized by acceptance of language variability, emphasis on communicative effectiveness, knowledge of English learners, and low-stakes formative assessment.

*Figure 4.* Primary language, home language, first language, and native language references and coverage in California educational language policy documents, 1997–2015.



### Acceptance of Language Variability

The 1999 ELD Standards begin by describing English learners as those students that “enter school with language abilities very different from monolingual English-speaking students, who begin school with speaking vocabularies of between 2,000 and 8,000 words” (ELD Standards, 1999, p. 11). This troubling deficit-oriented statement sets the tone for the entire document, which places monolinguals as the idealized model that multilingual students should aspire to emulate, yet says nothing of the language resources English learners themselves bring from their primary language. The somewhat inflammatory Standards are riddled with misinformation about English learners that is not backed up by scholarly research, and serves to largely underscore the belief, as the Standard argues, that “English learners need to catch up with the state’s monolingual English speakers” (ELD Standards, 1999, p. 11).

The 1999 Standards specifically frame English learners as not only deficient in their English language skills, but as also deficient in the very organizing structures of language itself: “Many of these children are unfamiliar with the Roman alphabet often have to learn new sounds for many of the letters” (ELD Standards, 1999, p. 11). Statements such as this misconstrue the fact that the majority of English learners are Spanish-speaking and therefore *do* have familiarity with the Roman alphabet. The statement is offered in support of the 1999 Standards approach to English learning, however, which assumed that students who entered California schools not literate in their primary language should simply be taught ELD literacy Standards for earlier grades. Needless to say, rigorous grade-level work should be provided to English learners with supports and scaffolding, as I will discuss in the chapter on educational approach.

Unlike the current 2014 ELD Standards, the 1999 Standards do not recognize the value of English learners’ cultures and languages and do not acknowledge that these students bring with them unique perspectives that do not need to be homogenized to a monolingual and monoculture

standard. The 2013 to 2015 Standards, however, accept language variability much more than the previous generation of Standards. There are several ways that these Standards and Framework embrace culturally relevant and transformative literacy practices. First, they acknowledge the very idea of language varieties. Second, the texts recognize different social and academic contexts for language. Third, the Standards articulate an acceptance of differences based upon cultural, racial, and ethnic background. Fourth, the newer documents legitimate the value of biliteracy, language transfer from the first to the second language, outline types of bilingual programs, and discuss the California Seal of Biliteracy—an award for bilingual high school graduates. Finally, these Standards and Frameworks provide detailed information about various language registers—the level of formality with which one speaks within different situations, contexts, and audiences—including academic and non-academic.

To begin with, the 2015 ELD/ELA Framework defines “Standard English learners” as native English speakers who are ethnic and racial minorities such as African American, Native American, Southeast Asian American, Mexican American, and Native Pacific Islander who use nonstandard varieties of English in their homes and communities. Within this, the Framework’s definition of Standard English is “the variety of English that is generally acknowledged as the model for the speech and writing of educated speakers, especially when contrasted with speech varieties that are limited to or characteristic of a certain region or social group” (American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language as cited in ELD/ELA Framework, 2015, p. 882). Although the 2015 ELD/ELA Framework uses a very problematic definition of Standard English that does not acknowledge the bias that is inherent within the definition—specifically that this definition of “educated” is actually derived from upper-middle class Caucasians and is contrasted to the language of poor people of color—the 2015 ELD/ELA Framework authors do go on to explicitly state that, in their view and consistent with the sociolinguistic view, all varieties of English are equal and should not be subordinated to Standard English.

It is very difficult to even verify, moreover, what is Standard English use and grammar since we do not have an official structure for grammatical verification, as discussed in the introduction of this dissertation. The 2015 ELD/ELA Framework does acknowledge that there is no universal definition for Standard English and that it is elastic and variable, making the statement that non-Standard English varieties should not be viewed by teachers as “improper” or “incorrect” and instead are valuable varieties of English for the home, community, and classroom.

Following this, the 2015 ELA/ELD Framework states that it aims to ensure that English learners are fully supported as they “become aware that different languages and variation of English exist” (ELA/ELD Framework, 2015, p. 7). Furthermore, the 2015 ELA/ELD Framework declares:

As teachers and the broader educational community openly recognize and genuinely value students’ home cultures, primary languages, and variations of using English, California’s culturally and linguistically diverse learners, including ELs [English learners], are better positioned to thrive socially and academically citing English learner research that is the foundation for this statement (De Jong & Harper, 2011; García-

Vázquez, Vazquez et al., 1997; Lindholm-Leary & Genesee, 2010; Moses & Cobb, 2001; Villegas & Lucas, 2007).

In light of this, the 2015 ELA/ELD Framework describes various types of acceptable language variability, including variations based upon cultural (p. 94), racial and ethnic, religious, familial, and socioeconomic differences among students (p. 881). In California, about 22 percent of students are English learners and data are collected on 60 different language groups. Nearly 84 percent of students speak Spanish. The other 16 percent of languages spoken include Vietnamese, Filipino, Mandarin, Cantonese, Arabic, Hmong, Korean, Punjab, and Russian, ranging from 1.4 percent to 0.6 percent (<http://dq.cde.ca.gov/dataquest/>). Since there are such a high percentage of English learners and many cultures and racial and ethnic groups represented here, it makes sense to acknowledge these differences as reflected in the types of acceptable language varieties.

As stated in the introduction to this chapter, the 2015 ELD/ELA Framework asks teachers to value the cultural, racial and ethnic background of students. In line with this, the 2015 ELD/ELA Framework also makes a statement about how it defines “a person who is broadly literate” as including engagement with a broad range of books and texts across a variety of cultures and perspectives on various topics. Importantly, the Framework goes on to discuss teachers’ unconscious biases and expectations regarding oral language. The authors of the 2015 ELD/ELA Framework discuss that teachers often take a subtractive stance towards non-Standard English speakers and even are ignorant of the fact that these varieties of English are systematic and rule-governed rather than ungrammatical or improper (ELD/ELA Framework, 2015, p. 883). In contrast, they argue an additive approach that values the myriad of cultural tools English learners have sends strong messages about the validity and value of non-Standard varieties of English.

The 2015 ELD/ELA Framework goes further and actually refers to students’ rights to their own language, citing a resolution of the National Council of Teachers of English that states:

We affirm the students’ right to their own patterns and varieties of language—the dialects of their nurture or whatever dialects in which they find their own identity and style. Language scholars long ago denied that the myth of a standard American dialect has any validity. The claim that any one dialect is unacceptable amounts to an attempt of one social group to exert its dominance over another. Such a claim leads to false advice for speakers and writers and immoral advice for humans. A nation proud of its diverse heritage and its cultural and racial variety will preserve its heritage of dialects. We affirm strongly that teachers must have the experiences and training that will enable them to respect diversity and uphold the right of students to their own language (Conference on College Composition and Communication Resolution adopted in 1974 and reaffirmed in 2003).

Drawing upon the insight of the National Council of Teachers, the Framework specifically attends to the dynamic varieties of English circulating within African American and Chicano/Chicana students in the California school system, arguing that teachers work against

penalizing these speakers for perceived “improper” English language skills. They do so by specifically addressing the diverse modes of dialect that pervade English language systems.

The 2015 ELD/ELA Framework asserts that African American English is fully capable of serving all of the intellectual and social needs of its speakers (ELD/ELA Framework, 2015). Where some teachers may view their students who use African American English as less capable (Chisholm & Godley 2011) overcorrecting African American English pronunciation and grammar inhibits reading development and importantly blocks meaning-making (Delpit 1988). Like all languages, African American English is linked to group identity, empowerment and positive self-image; therefore, the advice for teachers is that corrective feedback be done in a way that is judicious, purposeful, and respectful (ELD/ELA Framework, 2015, p. 885).

Similar to African American English, Chicano/Chicana (or what is now referred to Chicax) English is frequently viewed by teachers as ungrammatical or misused English. However, Chicax English is independent, systematic, and rule-governed language that bilingual and bidialectal people speak based upon their social and political context (ELD/ELA Framework, 2015, p. 886). The 2015 ELD/ELA Framework describe Chicano/Chicana English as a contact dialect because it developed independently after a period of time and began to distinguish itself from the interlanguage—the term for a dialect that has been developed by English learners who have not yet reached proficiency in the second language—of English learners. In short, a learner's interlanguage preserves some features of their primary language. The 2015 ELD/ELA Framework suggests that teachers should view Chicax language as an asset and should work to preserve the language as a resource, further underscoring this belief with the understanding that most Chicax use the term Chicax or Latinx as a marker of self-determination and pride (Conchas, Oseguera et al., 2012). In all, this assertion goes against the predominant stereotype in California classrooms that Chicax are inferior, linguistically or culturally deprived or lacking in language assets.

The following example was provided in the 2015 ELD/ELA Framework as the type of activity that would enable students to explore varieties of language and thereby validate these varieties. The snapshot is drawn from a school within an urban neighborhood, Nelson Mandela Academy, which is home to bilingual students who speak Chicax English, African American English, Cambodian American English, and with a large English learner population. The school acknowledges tensions students experience regarding their languages and, as a response includes the Linguistic Autobiographies project allowing students to reflect on their own histories of using language in different contexts including at home, with friends, at school, at stores, and in other public places (ELD/ELA Framework, 2015, p. 726).

As the current generation of Standards and Frameworks work to validate the social and cultural histories and tools of English learners, key to the design of the policies are the ways that they approach language variability with a nuanced understanding of register, which the 2014 ELD Standards define as:

variation in the vocabulary, grammar, and discourse of a language to meet the expectations of a particular context. A context can be defined by numerous elements, such as audience, task, purpose, setting, social relationship, and mode of communication

(written versus spoken). Specific examples of contextual variables are the nature of the communicative activity (e.g., talking with someone about a movie, persuading someone in a debate, or writing a science report); the nature of the relationship between the language users in the activity (e.g., friend-to-friend, expert-to-learner); the subject matter and topic (e.g., photosynthesis in science, the Civil War in history); and the medium through which a message is conveyed (e.g., a text message versus an essay).” (2014 ELD Standards, 2014)

The Standards and the accompanying 2015 ELA/ELD Framework further stress the variability of language depending on the discipline and domain given that the language of each discipline differs and those differences need to be made explicit by teachers for English learners. The 2014 ELD Standards specifically recommend that teachers then clarify for English learners the context within which they make choices about how they use language such as discipline or content area.

In these Standards, the primary purpose of language is for students to make meaning of many complex concepts that are embedded within a given disciplinary discourse, as the language in one disciplinary discourse community will differ from another, and there can be wide variability even in the use of similar terms. To this end, the 2014 and 2015 Standards and Frameworks intimately entwine dynamic pedagogical practices that account both for the social and cultural contexts of students and teachers alike. The 2015 ELD/ELA Framework goes into some detail about how to create culturally and linguistically responsive teaching environments, making recommendations that the language practices used in the home are taken into consideration in the classroom—though I would add that these practices must themselves be related to the language practices of the discipline in question. For example, the English Learner Master Plan for Los Angeles Unified School District defines culturally and linguistically responsive teaching as helping students of color validate and maintain their identity and connections with their community through cultural and linguistic pride.

The 2015 ELD/ELA Framework ultimately recommends that teachers self-educate, address language status, and expand students’ broader awareness of how language operates by teaching them to think of language as effective or ineffective, and helping them to consider grammar as patterns that vary on situation. Doing so includes seeing students as following patterns of their home language, inviting students to code-switch, and leading students to think critically about language choices and compare and contrast language. This is a radical change from the idea of language as proper or improper, good or bad, right or wrong, correct or incorrect prevalent in the earlier generation of Standards (ELD/ELA Framework, 2015, p. 919).

One of the most significant departures from the previous generation of Standards and Framework is not only the acknowledgement of language variability, but also the promotion of bilingual programs. The 2014 ELD Standards and the 2015 ELA/ELD Framework state “research evidence indicates that EL students in programs where biliteracy is the goal and bilingual instruction is used to demonstrate stronger literacy performance in English, with the added metalinguistic and metacognitive benefits of bilingualism” (ELD Standards, 2014, p. 151; ELD/ELA Framework, 2015, p. 61), subsequently recognizing the research base outlining the benefits of biliteracy in cognition. The 2014 ELD Standards further state that students with written literacy in a native language can benefit from that knowledge, stating:



The more closely the student's native language writing system and English are related, the more students can apply knowledge of similarities of print or alphabetic features in the two languages to learning to read and write with the English alphabet, such as sound-letter correspondences or direction of print. (ELD Standards, 2014, p. 181)

The 2015 ELA/ELD Framework specifically lauds California's "Seal of Biliteracy," which is awarded to high school graduates who attain a high level of proficiency in more than one language. The majority of the students who receive this seal are English learners, but include native English speakers who are heritage language speakers (ELA/ELD Framework, 2015, p. 61). This award provides an opportunity for educators to acknowledge the value of maintaining a primary language while also validating students' home language and culture. In the process, the Framework is consistent with research exploring the cognitive (Bialystok, 2009; Bialystok & Majumder, 1998; Peal & Lambert, 1962), social (Church & King, 1993; Cho, 2000), psychosocial (Colzato, Bajo et al., 2008; Portes & Hao, 2002), sociocultural (Zhou & Bankston, 1998), academic (Mouw & Xie, 1999), and economic (Callahan & Gándara, 2014), effects of bilingualism.

As part of the process of promoting biliteracy within a larger rubric whereby language variability is positively assessed in California classrooms, the 2015 ELA/ELD Framework further promotes the use of Spanish language resources such as the Common Core en Español for Spanish Language Arts and Literacy (SDCOE, 2013). These are significant changes to the previous generation of Standards and Framework that were written within a strongly ingrained English-only context. Whereas the earlier generation of English-only opinions on classroom education shaped ideologies (Macías, 2014) and influenced state policy—particularly with respect to the education of children from immigrant families (Kloss, 1977; MacSwan & Rolstad, 2003)—the current California ELA/ELD language Standards and Framework actually espouse the use of Spanish language resources.

This is all to say that both transitional and maintenance bilingual programs are discussed in these documents which state that language arts may be provided in a language other than English. They not only describe a wide variety of bilingual education programs, but they also provide vignettes of best practices from these programs, such as the following vignette from the 2015 ELA/ELD Framework. In it, Ms. Campbell encourages students to read multiple version of a story in English and in Spanish and then to create a bilingual book that is their version of retelling the story. When the children and Ms. Campbell finish reconstructing the story, they read the story together chorally. As they do, Ms. Campbell models enthusiastic reading and prosody, and she encourages the children to do the same. The next day, Ms. Campbell will guide the children to rewrite the story in Spanish. Then, she will use the text from the reconstructed story in English and Spanish to make a bilingual big book illustrated with photographs she has taken of the children acting out the story in the dramatic play center. The big book will remain in the classroom library corner for the students to read and re-read to themselves, to one another, and to visitors (ELD/ELA Framework, 2015, p. 195).

The current generation of Standard and Framework promote language variability as a necessary component to successful classrooms that house English learners. They do so by

guiding teachers to understand language variability (for example different dialects of English spoken by Chicax students), and creating generative and generous moments whereby the social and cultural backgrounds of English learners can be incorporated into the classroom. This leads to structured bilingual classes that help students advance their English language skills while validating the unique context from which their existing language skills arose, rather than denigrating their primary language skills and marking them as inept.

### **Emphasis on Communicative Effectiveness**

In lauding the current generation of Standards and Framework as embracing culturally relevant and transformative literacy practices much more than the generation of policies surrounding the passage of Proposition 227, I have ultimately argued that it is more important to focus on English learners' ability to speak clearly, logically, concisely, persuasively, and that they communicate effectively rather than to have them subscribe to a prescriptivist definition of grammaticality, or a limited and rigid understanding of the rules and conventions of grammar. The previous generation of Standards subscribed to prescriptivist grammaticality by placing great emphasis on phonics, phonemic awareness, and professional development focused on those areas was both incentivized and mandated by legislation such as AB 3482 (Coburn, 2001) and AB 1086, which outlined new requirements related to basic skills, direct instruction, and systematic explicit phonics, and provided specific definitions of the content of professional development and required state approved service providers. For example, the 1998 ELD Standards required that "all English learners, regardless of grade level or primary-language literacy level, must receive reading instruction in English . . . phonemic awareness, decoding, and concepts of print appropriate for their grade level" (ELD Standards, 1998, pp. 12–13). In a subsequent chapter, I describe the struggle that some teacher professional developers faced in shaping the Standards and Framework at that time.

In analyzing how the current generation of Standards and Framework press against this prescriptivist grammaticality, I build upon a sociolinguistic perspective that asserts that it is very difficult to define what the "correct" version of English is, and that all young people are innately able to discern patterns in language that amount to grammar. Fluidity and integration into discourse are more important than silencing through "drill and kill" modes of teaching grammar. The authors of the 2015 ELA/ELD Framework similarly emphasize communicative effectiveness over prescriptivist grammaticality, placing emphasis on access to the curricula and the importance of integration into domain and disciplinary discourse, specifically encouraging teachers to provide rich language environments that provide a safe space to ". . . deepen all students' understandings of the curricula and strengthen students' abilities to communicate effectively by encouraging the range of voices to engage in academic conversations and exploration" (ELA/ELD Framework, 2015, p. 13).

The stated objective in the Framework is to:

. . . meet each student where he or she is; tap what is important in students' diverse personal worlds to establish relevance and meaningful purposes for reading, writing, speaking, and listening; ensure that all students achieve the intellectual and

communicative skills and knowledge to succeed; and respects and is responsive to students, their families, and their communities (ELA/ELD Framework, 2015, p. 13).

In line with this perspective, the 2014 ELD Standards and the 2015 ELA/ELD Framework define and describe communicative effectiveness in richer detail than the previous Standards and Framework.

The 2014 ELD Standards, in particular, go into much greater detail regarding how English learners will attain communicative effectiveness beginning with their full participation in various discourse communities, and the 2015 ELA/ELD Framework provides highly detailed guidance for how instruction should take place in order to optimize English learners' participation through writing and speaking. According to the 2014 ELD Standards, there are three modes of effective communication for English learners: collaborative, interpretive, and productive. The ultimate objective is for English learners to express a wide gamut of feelings, needs, ideas, and opinions using an extensive oral and written repertoire and to be fully integrated into various types of discourse communities. This entails participating in collaborative conversations across the content areas with various types of support. Further, the goal is for English learners to comprehend detailed information initially derived from a variety of contextual clues and ending with fewer contextual clues. Finally, English learners are to produce, initiate, and sustain spontaneous interaction on a variety of topics and write and express ideas to meet most social and academic needs (ELD Standards, 2014, p. 21), reading classic and contemporary works of literature representative of a variety of periods, cultures, and worldviews (ELA/ELD Framework, 2015, p. 6). These objectives are ambitious and articulated in thorough detail within the Standards and Framework.

The way that the 2015 ELA/ELD Framework represents communicative effectiveness is two-fold: culturally sensitive and technologically inflected. First, students are able to communicate effectively with people of varied backgrounds if they understand other people's perspectives and cultures through reading and listening. The 2015 ELA/ELD Framework specifically states that students should be able to "evaluate other points of view critically and constructively" (ELA/ELD Framework, 2015, p. 6). Second, students demonstrate fluency if they can use technology and digital media strategically and capably. According to the 2015 ELA/ELD Framework, technology enhances students' reading, writing, speaking, listening, and language use. Students will ideally integrate offline and online sources of information to inform their views and communicate them through various mediums, selecting the most appropriate to suit their communication purpose (ELA/ELD Framework, 2015, p. 6). All told, the authors of the 2015 ELA/ELD Framework see effective communication as necessarily collaborative and interconnected in complex ways.

Such recognition echoes contemporary research on "translanguaging," an important aspect of language practice, if not policy, in California. Translanguaging is an approach to understanding bilingualism not as two autonomous language systems but as one integrated linguistic repertoire (García and Wei 2014). Translanguaging allows speakers to navigate complex social and cognitive contexts strategically, and can be aided through the use of the Internet and other technological resources such as on-demand translation tools like Google

Translate. Although the 2015 ELA/ELD Framework falls short of describing translanguaging, it begins to explore some similar themes in useful ways.

In various ways, the 2014 ELD Standards and the 2015 ELA/ELD Framework take bold steps in updating their definition of communicative effectiveness. These definitions and descriptions place greater emphasis on the integration of English learners into discourse communities and access to the full curriculum. The Framework outlines strategies that can be employed to improve the learning context for developing these abilities among English learners. To be sure, they are not at the cutting edge of sociolinguistic theory or research, but signify progress and alignment with less traditional ideas regarding language.

### **Knowledge of English Learners**

The 2014 ELD Standards and the 2015 ELA/ELD Framework offer a refreshing view of students—newer Frameworks have progressed from the previous generation of Standards and Framework that frequently employed the euphemism of “all students” toward acknowledging and respecting English learners’ specific languages, cultures, families, and communities. The documents provide positive statements about developing the language of parents and grandparents and emphasize English learners’ self-image as part of a larger language policy that encourages integrating the school with the family and community through authentic multicultural topics and materials.

Among other prominent examples, language and culture are seen as “inextricably linked” and connected to students disposition towards learning (ELA/ELD Framework, 2015, p. 918). In this case, the 2015 ELA/ELD Framework highlights developing the language of parents and grandparents for reasons of self-esteem and pride:

Developing the language used by parents, grandparents, or other relatives also promotes healthy self-image, pride in one’s heritage, and greater connection with one’s community. This cultural awareness and appreciation for diversity is, in fact, critical for all students to develop as global-minded individuals. (ELA/ELD Framework, 2015, p. 61)

This passage stresses the need to encourage English learners to embrace their language and culture as a way to stay connected to their own communities. Furthermore, the passage proposes that this is not only important for English learners, but that all students need to have cultural awareness and sensitivity and value diversity to be good global citizens. This is certainly a much more positive stance towards a pluralist society than an English-only monolingual position that seeks to obliterate other languages and cultures.

The current Framework also motivates teachers to get to know how individual students interact with their home language and cultures (ELA/ELD Framework, 2015, p. 64), advocating that teachers use texts that “accurately reflect students’ cultural, linguistic, and social backgrounds so that students see themselves in the curriculum” (ELA/ELD Framework, 2015, p. 64, p. 397, p. 671). In addition, teachers are asked to “continuously expand their understandings of cultures and languages so as not to oversimplify approaches to culturally responsive pedagogy” (2015 ELA/ELD Framework, p. 64). (Although the current Framework mentions the

idea of relevant topics a handful of times, they provide few resources to ensure that educators can actually understand what topics might be of relevance to the English learners in California or where they could attain them.)

Ultimately, however, the 2015 ELA/ELD Framework argues that if students see themselves reflected in the curriculum and if teachers are able to tap into their “funds of knowledge,” then the instructional space becomes more expansive:

When teachers are aware of their students’ “funds of knowledge,” they can create “zones of possibilities,” in which academic learning is enhanced by the bridging of family and community ways of knowing with the school curriculum (Moll & Gonzalez, 1994).

Once students feel that they have something to contribute to the classroom, then they are validated and empowered to participate. Similarly, by being assured their families have valuable knowledge and that their ways of thinking and problem-solving are useful in the school context, students can then start to tap into their existing schema and problem-solving strategies with less hesitation.

To support the assertion that an integrated bilingual classroom is beneficial for all students—English learners and otherwise—the 2015 ELD/ELA Framework provides a definition of what they describe as culturally and linguistically responsive teaching, noting that it “can be defined as using the cultural knowledge, prior experiences, frames of reference, and performance styles of ethnically diverse students to make learning encounters more relevant to and effective for them.” The Framework argues this method:

. . . helps develop a sense of personal efficacy, building positive relationships and shared responsibility while they acquire an ethic of success that is compatible with cultural pride. Infusing the history and culture of the students into the curriculum is important for students to maintain personal perceptions of competence and positive school socialization (English Learner Master Plan, Los Angeles Unified School District, 2012 as cited by ELD/ELA, 2015).

The 2015 ELD/ELA Framework advances the idea that culturally and linguistically responsive teaching should be equity-oriented and validate students’ heritage and identity in order to help them engage in all academic disciplines and to develop the language to interact within those discourse communities. The current Framework, however, does fail to go into greater analysis of how the language of schooling can itself be alienating and incongruent with home language and culture, nor does it provide a trenchant critique of how teachers’ identities as predominantly Anglo and middle class can perpetuate alienation rather than break down silos. Nevertheless, it begins an important analysis of the types of instruction that can engage English learners, which was largely absent from the previous Framework.

The current generation’s approach to validating the knowledge English learners carry into the bilingual classroom starkly contrasts the earlier generation of Standards and Framework. Although the 1998 R/LA Framework states that their ultimate goal is universal access, the framing of this topic within the document is almost entirely deficit-oriented and places the

responsibility on the learner to meet Standards, without sufficient guidance for the teacher beyond assessment and diagnosis, which is inherently problematic in the case of English learners (Abedi, 2011; Menken, 2008):

Students who have trouble in reading and writing are at risk of failing to meet the Standards, becoming discouraged, and eventually dropping out of school. The teacher should try to determine the cause of the learning difficulties. Contributing factors might include a lack of foundation skills; limited-English proficiency; uncorrected errors; confusing, inadequate, or inappropriate instructional resources or instruction; or an undiagnosed specific learning disability. A teacher can use the results of assessment and classroom observations to determine what interventions should be tried in the classroom and whether to refer the students to a student success team (student study team) or seek assistance from specialists. Most learning difficulties can be addressed with good diagnostic teaching that combines repetition of instruction, focus on key skills and understanding, and practice. For some students modification of the curriculum or instruction (or both) may be required to accommodate differences in communication modes, physical skills, or learning abilities.

From the passage above, it would seem that universal access is one standard approach that in rare cases is modified based upon assessment information regarding the student. Differentiation based upon student characteristics that include assets is absent. In contrast, the current Framework provides extensive information on how to plan for different English learner populations.

Revising this approach to the education of English learners, the current generations of Standards and Framework seek to create a holistic network of educators that includes families, the larger community, but also highlight the need for districts and schools to create plans in order to receive and welcome newcomer English learners who have just arrived to the United States. This readiness includes understanding the trauma that some of these families may have undergone, schooling gaps, and extreme life circumstances. Importantly, the 2015 ELA/ELD Framework discusses “newcomers” 94 times in the text. At a time that we are facing a Republican president-elect who proposes building a wall on the nation’s Southern border in order to keep newcomers out, promoting empathy and readiness to support immigrants is crucial: “The current school should be a place where all English learners can learn and thrive academically, linguistically, socio-emotionally” (ELA/ELD Framework, 2015, p. 554). Unlike the above-quoted passage, this language places more responsibility in the hands of the district and school rather than on the individual student.

### **Low-stakes Formative Assessment**

This dissertation analyzes an underlying theme in both generations of Standards and Framework—the question of assessment. More often than not, the earlier generation of Standards stresses the need for students to quickly acquire English skills—and as noted earlier, the preferred method was prescriptivist grammaticality.<sup>1</sup> The little information provided

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<sup>1</sup> Proximal to the term “English learner” in the 1998 ELD Standards text include, English learners, “towards achieving fluency in English (ELD Standards, 1998, iv),” “progress through beginning, intermediate, and advanced

regarding English learners in the 1998 ELD Standards includes information about how quickly teachers can expect English learners to acquire English, and the factors for doing so include the age English learners begin to learn English, the richness of the English environment, and the literacy or lack of literacy in the primary language” (ELD Standards, 1998, p. 12). Very few recommendations or guidance are provided to teachers regarding how to develop those proficiencies with different types of learners, but much energy is placed on high-stakes assessments for English learners.

One of the fundamental questions in this dissertation is how English-only high-stakes summative assessments can co-exist with culturally relevant and transformative literacy practices, and multilingual language ideology. Summative assessment includes testing that is intended to evaluate and measure students’ academic performance compared to a standard that is based on a normed population. The outcomes of these assessments are used to inform state and federal agencies about students, but also the efficacy of a school, district, or even a teacher. Absent official language policy in the United States, summative assessments take on a de facto language policy function and thereby inform decisions about English learners and the environments where they learn (Bailey & Wolf 2012; Menken, 2008). For these reasons, these tests are frequently referred to as “high-stakes” and potentially punitive. Many scholars see an inherent contradiction, a tension, between educational language policies that advocate for a diverse constructivist educational approach and that at the same time perpetuate high-stakes summative assessment (Menken, 2008), which by most indications seems to have not helped English learners and have even decreased their opportunities to learn and increased teaching to the test (Amrein & Berliner, 2002; McNeil & Valenzuela, 2000; Valenzuela, 2005; Wright, 2002).

In the past, tests have been used to determine English learners’ high school graduation, grade promotion, and placement in tracked or remedial education programs . The linguistic complexity of standardized tests and lack of accommodations explains why English learners do not perform as well on these tests. The validity of these tests being administered to English learners is questionable and the validity and reliability of tests is inadequate due to challenges and mismatch with language of instruction or language variety (Abedi, 2011).

Formative assessment, on the other hand, contrasts summative assessment in that it is an ongoing process that is intricately interwoven with instruction, leading some to argue that formative assessment is simply inseparable from good instruction (Gardner & Gardner, 2012). Formative assessments include a range of daily formal or informal assessments conducted by teachers during the learning process to improve instruction, modify activities, and improve student learning. For English learners, formative assessment of both language and content knowledge is crucial, and low-stakes formative assessment with language supports in the

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(ELD Standards, 1998, p. 1),” “limited-English proficient (ELD Standards, 1998, p. 11),” “to fluency in English (ELD Standards, 1998, p.11),” “with limited knowledge or no knowledge (ELD Standards, 1998, p.11),” “need to catch up (ELD Standards, 1998, p. 11),” “must acquire English (ELD Standards, 1998, p. 12),” “what all students need to know (ELD Standards, 1998, p. 12),” “move through levels of English (ELD Standards, 1998, p. 12),” “has attained academic proficiency in English (ELD Standards, 1998, p. 12),” “are to learn to read in English (ELD Standards, 1998, p. 12),” “must acquire prerequisite skills (ELD Standards, 1998, p. 13),” “identify a student’s competency to understand the English language (ELD Standards, 1998, p. 16),” “achieving at the advanced levels (ELD Standards, 1998, p. 16),” and so on.

primary language helps gauge English learners' understanding. Low-stakes formative assessment for inclusion includes frequent, ongoing, linguistically and culturally appropriate assessment, systematic attention to language development in conjunction with content attainment, progress monitoring, reviewing work samples, benchmarking, and daily observations (Echevarria, Vogt et al., 2004). Thoughtful planning, systemic implementation, and ongoing formative assessment and monitoring of progress are required to ensure that all students are adequately supported to meet the intellectual challenges inherent in these Standards.

The 2015 ELD/ELA Framework makes 812 mentions of “assessment,” which represents 0.14 percent coverage. This indicates that assessment is deemed important to address in various ways within this document. Assessment was also important in the 1998 R/LA Framework with 0.16 percent coverage and 245 mentions of “assessment.” Compared to 1,084 pages in the 2015 ELD/ELA Framework, the 1998 R/LA Framework is much shorter at 386 pages. Two chapters in the current Framework, however, focus almost exclusively on assessment, in addition to issues of assessment being raised across various chapters. Following this, “summative assessment” appears 20 with .0005 percent coverage times in the 1998 R/LA Framework as compared to “formative assessment,” which appears 175 times with .0016 percent, suggesting that the authors value formative assessment more than summative assessment in the 2015 ELD/ELA Framework and more than in the 1998 R/LA Framework.

In short, the 2015 ELD/ELA Framework mentions “formative assessment” three times more than the 1998 R/LA Framework. The 2015 ELA/ELD Framework states:

While there are several purposes for assessment, the most important purpose is to inform instruction. Using the results of assessment to make decisions to modify instruction in the moment, within a specific lesson or unit of instruction, or across a longer time frame, is a dynamic part of the teaching and learning process promoted in this ELA/ELD Framework (ELA/ELD Framework, 2015, p. 96).

The Framework goes on to describe the process of gathering, interpreting, and using information as feedback to change instruction and improve learning—in other words, “to refine, reinforce, extend, deepen, or accelerate teaching of skills and concepts” (ELA/ELD Framework, 2015, p. 97). The Framework cites Frey and Fisher (2011) as they describe the steps of formative assessment: “. . . Feed Up (clarify the goal), Feed Back (respond to student work), and Feed Forward (modify instruction) (Frey & Fisher, 2011),” believing that feedback and formative assessment strategies “activate students as instructional resources for one another and as owners of their own learning (Black & William 2009, p. 8)” (ELA/ELD Framework, 2015, p. 97). Put together, the ideas within the Framework promote a nuanced understanding of assessment that places the learner at the center and places the instructor in direct dialogue with the learner.

The 2015 ELA/ELD Framework clarifies the timely nature of rethinking assessment. The Framework discusses closely observing students with “in-the-moment formative assessment” and then providing “just-in-time” scaffolding. This involves prompting students for responses including generating language, modeling language and at the same time accepting non-standard varieties of English (ELA/ELD Framework, 2015, p. 101). Doing so provides the ability to understand what English learners are thinking—particularly via another strategy they

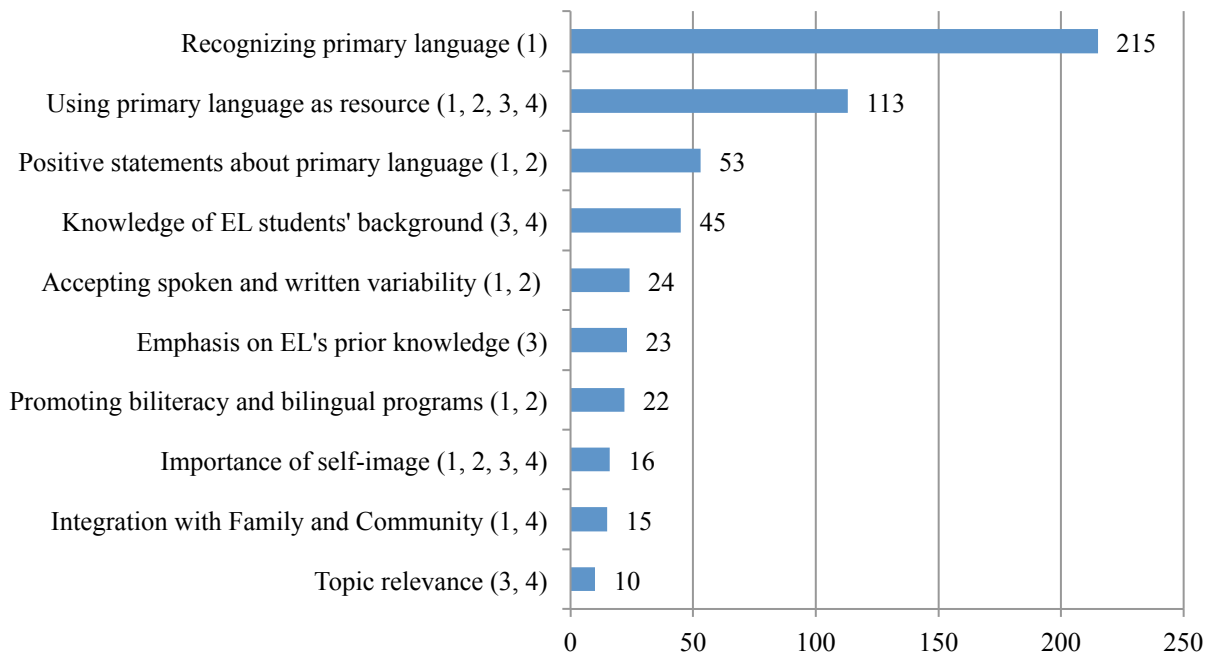


provide, which is paraphrasing students' responses and linking what they are saying to prior knowledge and previewing new ideas to come (ELA/ELD Framework, 2015, p. 101). This type of assessment is ultimately important in determining appropriate pacing (ELA/ELD Framework, 2015, p. 251) in case, for example, a student does not have the necessary language or knowledge of key concepts these concepts which should then be introduced before moving forward (ELA/ELD Framework, 2015, p. 253).

### **Conclusion**

In this chapter, I conducted text and content analysis in order to see if educational Standards had shifted significantly between 1997–1999 and 2013–2015. These include the 1997 ELA Standards, the 1999 ELD Standards, and the 1999 Reading & Language Arts Framework as compared to the 2013 ELA Standards, the 2014 ELD Standards, and the 2015 ELA/ELD Framework. As shown above, my results demonstrated the educational language policy texts from 1997–1999 were more antiquated and limited on the issue of language ideology. Among the current documents, the 2014 ELD Standards and the 2015 ELA/ELD Framework were the most embracing of culturally relevant and transformative literacy practices, with the later document providing the most detail, examples, and guidance for educators regarding language diversity and variability; communicative effectiveness; English learners' family, community, and background; and improving assessments of English learners. I provided the rationale for each of these constructs as a measure of holding culturally relevant and transformative language ideology and together with my evidence I indicate that there has been an ideological shift in educational policy texts towards progressivism. I explore these ideas among teacher developers in the next chapter, simultaneously outlining the significance of this policy shift.

*Figure 5: 2015 ELD/ELA Framework, number of references by themes.*



#### Chapter 4: Educational Approach in California Education Language Policy Texts

This chapter provides textual evidence that the 2015 ELD/ELA Framework, the 2014 ELD Standards, and the 2013 ELA Standards are more culturally relevant and transformative literacy practices on questions of educational approach than the 1998 R/LA Framework, the 1999 ELD Standards, and the 1997 ELA Standards. Through cyclical coding, in addition to a sociocritical literacy (Gutiérrez, 2008) diverse social constructivist theory (Au 1998) was selected to further discern ideas present primarily in the 2015 ELD/ELA Framework and the 2014 ELD Standards because these documents are most relevant to the present context of the instruction of English learners.

In the previous chapter, I demonstrated that the current Standards and Framework have more alignment with language ideology as defined by sociolinguists. Central to this language ideology is acceptance of language variability (i.e., different languages and different forms of the same language), emphasis on communicative effectiveness, knowledge of English learners and their family and communities, and low-stakes formative assessment. In this chapter, I return to some of these themes but from an instructional viewpoint that contributes to and elaborates upon a diverse social constructivist approach.

In this chapter, I argue that educators begin their instructional design cognizant of students' prior knowledge and backgrounds, including students' primary language, in order to best facilitate the process of mapping new knowledge onto students' pre-existing schema. The current 2014 ELD Standards and 2015 ELD/ELA Framework contribute to this vision through a social constructive approach that teaches content and language in tandem and attending to the specific language needs of English learners—which includes building on their primary language and taking into consideration their background and prior educational experiences. One of the main ways this occurs is during collaborative conversations (2015 ELD/ELA Framework, p. 102) where, for example, reading may take place in the primary language while summarizing concepts can be done in English. A major theme in social constructivist approaches is metacognitive awareness, understanding what language is and how it is used and applied in different contexts (ELD/ELA Framework, 2015, p. 47). This chapter subsequently discusses how the 2015 ELD/ELA Framework highlights the metalinguistic and metacognitive benefits of bilingualism, self-monitored learning, thinking aloud for meaning-making, and how to repair breakdowns in understanding,

This chapter also analyzes ideas regarding teachers' roles as observers and facilitators, rather than the providers of all knowledge. I explore teachers' role as facilitators and find this role crucial in helping students develop language through social processes. In turn, I argue that students should be engaged by complex, relevant, and authentic texts and discussions that are well-orchestrated by the teacher in various activities within heterogeneous groups. Assessment thereby re-emerges as a problematic, dichotomous “sink or swim” paradigm of success or failure bestowed upon the student; rather, the chapter argues for a more expansive idea of students' opportunities to learn and grow, which is then orchestrated by educators and thus places the onus of appropriate teaching on educators instead of on students. At the end of the chapter, I critique the concept of “foundational skills” and compare this idea to the idea of “basic skills” that are left over from the earlier generation of Standards.

All told, in California ongoing battles have centered language learning and development. These battles have been termed “English for the Children,” “The Reading Wars,” and “Literature-based Reform,” to name a few. In all cases, they have been ideological battles regarding how to best teach students to be literate; in most cases English learners have been a growing concern in reform. As the struggle becomes one between left-wing pluralist ideas in contrast to right-wing isolationist ideologies, professional developers have had a significant role in shaping these policies, as I discussed in the preceding chapter. Here I demonstrate that the 2015 ELD/ELA Framework 2015, 2014 ELD Standards, and the 2013 ELA Standards are more embrace culturally relevant and transformative literacy practices than the previous generation of policies, providing examples of the social constructivist type of educational approach that is advocated in them.

### **Strategies for Metacognitive Awareness and Meaning Making**

Well-established, empirical educational research documents that there is a qualitative difference between what teachers teach and what students learn (Confrey, 1990; Hiebert & Carpenter, 1992) Social constructivist theory—which is based on the premise that learning is in the hands of the student, not something that is done to the student (Glaserfeld, 1989; Von Glaserfeld, 1984)—highlights how students learn by building on existing experiences and encountering new ones; assimilating them into pre-existing schema and then applying and revising those concepts. This sharply contrasts the memorization of information or practicing disconnected or decontextual skills. Following this, this chapter is undergirded by the belief the instructional emphasis should be on meaning making.

To be sure, the 2015 ELD/ELA Framework mentions “meaning making” 176 times (0.19 percent coverage), suggesting that meaning making, the construction of knowledge, and students’ understanding is of major importance within the document. Concurrently, language learning is depicted as “intellectually challenging, interactive, and dialogue-rich” and “focused on content knowledge and linguistic development” simultaneously” (2014 ELD Standards, p. 15).

Similarly, the 2014 ELD Standards explicitly place students’ construction of knowledge as the primary focus: “Students use their knowledge of the English language in the context of intellectually engaging instruction in which the primary focus is on comprehending and making meaning” (2014 ELD Standards, p. 15). This chapter compares these documents to the previous 1999 ELD Standards that perceived English as a set of rules rather than emphasizing “English as a meaning-making resource (for English learners) with different language choices based on discipline, topic, audience, task, and purpose” (2014 ELD Standards, p. 164).

The 2015 ELD/ELA Framework qualitatively features many comments that demonstrate valuing students’ “funds of knowledge” as the starting point for educators to build students’ understanding. Authors of the 2015 ELD/ELA Framework argue that when teachers are aware of their students’ “funds of knowledge,” they can create “zones of possibilities” in which academic learning is enhanced by bridging familial and community ways of knowing with the school curriculum (Moll & Gonzalez, 1994). The term “zones of possibilities” directly draws from Vygotsky (1978), one of the chief theorists of social constructivism who believed in the

essentially socially constructed nature of learning and the key role of language in that process (Vygotsky, 1978).

Within social constructivism, the starting point for learning is the prior knowledge and experience of the student. In the previous chapter I discussed how this knowledge was systematically invalidated in the previous generation of Standards that described English learners as devoid of language and inferior to monolinguals. In the current 2014 ELD Standards and 2015 ELD/ELA Framework, teachers are asked to begin with the previous knowledge that English learners are bringing with them. The theoretical foundations and research base of the 2014 ELD Standards, in particular, are explicitly generated from a social constructivist approach:

The development of the CA ELD Standards was informed by multiple theories and a large body of research pertaining to the linguistic and academic education of ELs. Sociolinguistic, sociocultural, and sociocognitive theories emphasize how learning is a social activity and how language is both a form of social action and a resource for accomplishing things in the world. Among other things, these theories highlight the importance of recognizing and leveraging students' prior knowledge in order to make connections to and foster new learning, helping them to build conceptual networks, and supporting them to think about their thinking (metacognitive knowledge) and language use (metalinguistic knowledge). Teachers making use of the theories and research studies can help students to consciously apply particular cognitive strategies (e.g., inferring what the text means by examining textual evidence) and linguistic practices (e.g., intentionally selecting specific words or phrases to persuade others). These metacognitive and metalinguistic abilities support self-regulation, self-monitoring, intentional learning, and strategic use of language (Christie, Hamill et al., 2012; Halliday, 1994; Hess, 2009; Mada, Griffo et al., 2011; Palinscar & Brown, 1984; Schleppegrell, Achugar et al., 2004). From this perspective, language and interaction play a central role in mediating both linguistic and cognitive development, and learning occurs through social interaction that is carefully structured to intellectually and linguistically challenge learners while also providing appropriate levels of support (Bruner, 1983; Michaels & Cazden, 1986; Torlakson, 2012).

Within this social constructivist approach, the 2014 ELD Standards state that a benefit of bilingualism is that English learners provide added metalinguistic and metacognitive benefits (2014 ELD Standards, p. 151). As scholars have described:

The enhanced metalinguistic and metacognitive benefits of bilingualism have been demonstrated in multiple studies and include better working memory, abstract reasoning skills, attentional control, and problem solving skills (Adesope, Lavin et al., 2010). An additional benefit of bilingualism is the delay of age-related cognitive decline (Bialystok, Craik et al., 2007).

Further building upon the needs of English learners and of bilingual education more broadly, the 2015 ELD/ELA Framework explains the needs of teachers:

. . . to analyze the cognitive and linguistic demands of texts, including the sophistication of the ideas or content, students' prior knowledge of the content, and the complexity of the vocabulary, sentences, and organization. In addition, teachers carefully plan instruction to help students interpret implicit and explicit meanings. (ELD/ELA Framework, 2015, p. 76)

Simply put, the 2015 ELD/ELA Framework recommends that educators define learning activities with students' prior knowledge as the starting point and that they think about students' interpretations of content and vocabulary through their previous knowledge and experiences. Teachers might do this by “prompting a student to elaborate on a response in order to clarify thinking or to extend his or her language use . . . linking what a student is saying to prior knowledge or to learning to come (previewing) (ELD/ELA Framework, 2015, p. 121).”

Under a social constructivist approach, educators are encouraged to promote questioning, examination, discovery, and creation so that the learner determines the meaning making process, as opposed to the meaning residing externally from them. This requires grappling with content and internalizing it or rejecting it, and a major theme in the 2015 ELD/ELA Framework is meta-cognitive awareness: that “students develop an understanding of how language is a complex, dynamic, and social resource for making meaning” (2015 ELD/ELA Framework, p. 7). In doing so they also gain awareness of how content is organized and the differences across disciplines; based on that understanding, they form their use of text organization and structure, language features, and vocabulary depending on purpose and audience” (ELD/ELA Framework, 2015, p. 7).

The 2015 ELD/ELA Framework extends upon social constructivist ideas of motivation by explaining how teachers' ability to activate prior knowledge, relating it to new content through students' own predictions motivate them to engage with instructional material. Teachers “learn to activate prior knowledge related to the content of the texts and confirm predictions about what will happen next” (ELD/ELA Framework, 2015, p. 309) and, consequently, students “think about what they already know and use that knowledge in conjunction with other clues to construct meaning from what they read or to hypothesize what will happen next in the text” (ELD/ELA Framework, 2015, p. 312), thereby feeling motivated to actively engage in critical analysis.

In this, educators are also called upon to select texts that ensure that students come to understand other perspectives and cultures with the belief that “representative texts help students learn to value and respect the cultures of their fellow students, as well as cultures of students outside the classroom” (ELD/ELA Framework, 2015, p. 470). Present in the 2015 ELD/ELA Framework text is the idea that students need to also understand and accept their own culture and identity and see themselves reflected in instructional materials: “Teachers learn about their students' lives and make connections between their students' experiences, backgrounds, and interests and school content learning” (2015 ELD/ELA Framework, p. 918).

In the 2015 ELD/ELA Framework, students ultimately have a clearer understanding of what to expect and what is expected of them (p. 16). There is a different balance of power between the previous Standards and Framework in that students are not only supposed to

measure up, but rather they have rights, responsibilities, and greater agency. Once students gain a greater understanding of how language works in different contexts, they have greater ability to describe, explain, and recount events and to build claims and counter-claims both verbally and in writing (ELD/ELA Framework, 2015, p. 685). In essence, this is the process of preparing students to attend to discourse practices and patterns.

In order to bring these pedagogical ideas structured by social constructivism to light, the 2015 ELD/ELA Framework provides specific snapshots of exemplary classroom practice. Metacognitive strategies are featured in a snapshot of Mrs. Noguchi modeling her word problem think-aloud through the use of her document camera, using figures and tables to illustrate her thoughts and providing ample opportunities for students—sometimes working collaboratively—to try out what she is modeling. During the designated English Language Development instruction, Mrs. Noguchi explains to English learners the language that is needed to discuss frequent word problems. To do so, she uses puppets, manipulatives, and small whiteboards. In small groups, students in turn emulate Mrs. Noguchi.

One of the features of the snapshot is the use of sentence frames, a way of scaffolding writing by providing a sample sentence with blanks that the students fill in. On one hand these meta-cognitive strategies can empower students who are unfamiliar with the work and discourse of school environments. On the other hand finding your own voice within that discourse may be in tension with mouthing words that are unfamiliar and awkward to your own ways of thinking and talking.

This is particularly the case in places where classroom management is privileged over messy and loud meaning-making activities, and in such places sentence frames can look like busy work or worksheets. I prefer a metaphor that is used in the 2015 ELD/ELA Framework in one vignette equating a packed suitcase to a complex sentence: “If you break down the sentence, it’s easier to” (ELD/ELA Framework, 2015, p. 272).

There is an increasing amount of research on metacognition and how engaging in a self-reflective practice on learning can enhance learning through the process of neuroplasticity (Wilson & Conyers, 2013). Classrooms organized for collaboration and discussion (Crouse & Davey, 1989) emphasize where students are and how they can be further challenged. This requires allowing students, and English learners in particular, an opportunity to explore half-formed ideas and expand their understandings based on their own writing, stories, and speech:

Moreover, for English learners, conversations take a prominent place in meaning making: As they progress through the grades and use language in different ways, English learners need to consider their audience, which could be a peer in a one-to-one conversation about a social topic, a group of peers engaged in an academic conversation (one-to-group), or an academic oral presentation . . . ” (ELD/ELA Framework, 2015, p. 42)

English learners may also engage in metacognitive conversations about how they are making meaning about a topic they are learning (ELD/ELA Framework, 2015, p. 525). Think aloud conversations provide a way for English learners to build meaning collectively (Schoenbach, Greenleaf et al., 2012).

Another metacognitive strategy is planning for a task and self-monitoring in the process of schoolwork (ELD/ELA Framework, 2015, p. 717). Teachers can identify breakdown in understanding and repair misunderstandings through the process of making students' thinking transparent (ELD/ELA Framework, 2015, p. 921). In all, the emphasis within a social constructivist approach is on communication and comprehension rather than on fluency and accuracy.

### **Scaffolding as a Method of Producing the Teacher as Observer and Facilitator**

A key shift from the previous generation of Standards and Framework to the current set exists in their stance towards teachers. Within the current 2014 ELD Standards and 2015 ELD/ELA Framework, all teachers were declared responsible for English learners because "in such complex settings, the notion of shared responsibility is particularly crucial. Teachers need the support of one another, administrators, specialists, and the community in order to best serve all students" (ELD/ELA Framework, 2015, p. 881). In this, the instructor's role as observer and facilitator is to implement scaffolding and sheltering techniques for students to comprehend complex texts and dialogue, to orchestrate constructive conversations, and to mediate access to complex texts.

Central to taking responsibility for English learners is gaining knowledge regarding their background in order to best assess the purpose of instruction and to provide proper scaffolding for English learners. In other words, in order for teachers to scaffold they need to know both what English learners know and do not know in terms of content and language. Then they need to build from the language and content knowledge, while taking into consideration issues such as world knowledge. For example, if a student grew up in a rural area, they will need to be able to relate to examples from that context and build from there. Conversely, if a student grew up in an urban area, they will need to relate their prior experiences to new ideas. Through scaffolding, teachers need to sequence activities and texts carefully focusing on the language demands (ELD/ELA Framework, 2015, p. 432).

Scaffolding includes introducing students to various sentence structures such as simple, compound, complex, and compound-complex (i.e., "Although I'd love to go to the soccer game, I haven't finished my homework yet, and I also need to wash the dishes.") (ELD Standards, 2014, p. 193). This gradual exposure is intended to provide students with a wide variety of "shades of meaning" using varied vocabulary, figurative language, phrasing, and using independent clauses to being sentences in order to emphasize something. Vocabulary can be used to evaluate, express degree or intensity, and phrases and clauses can be used to create nuances or precision in increasingly sophisticated and subtle ways to cause certain interpretations and reactions from readers. As mentioned in the previous chapters, this will also include domain-specific terms and active and passive voice are appropriate in different contexts (ELD Standards, 2014, p. 194).

"Planned scaffolding" is defined as "what teachers prepare and do in advance of teaching in order to promote access to academic and linguistic development." Examples of planned scaffolding include: (a) taking into account what students already know, including primary language and culture, and relating that to what they are about to learn; (b) providing adequate



levels of modeling and explaining and opportunities for students to apply learning (guided practice); (c) checking for understanding and appropriately selecting and sequencing tasks during the day and across the year; (d) choosing engaging texts for different purposes such as motivation, content knowledge, exposure to types of language usage; (e) providing opportunities for collaborative group work and equitable chances to participate; (f) constructing and eliciting questions for discussion and critical thinking; (g) using and displaying information in different formats, such as diagrams, photographs, videos, multimedia; and (h) providing models for written language such as writing samples (ELD/ELA Framework, 2015, p. 101).

Sheltering for English learners is similarly intended to make content more comprehensible. Lesson preparation in sheltering includes planning for language and content objectives. This may include regalia such as charts, graphs, pictures, illustrations, multimedia, manipulatives, and demonstrations. Teachers select age-appropriate content along with content that speaks to English learners' backgrounds without simplifying or "dumbing down" the content. Graphic organizers such as Venn diagrams, timelines, concept maps, comparison charts, and discussion webs assist students as they grasp the parts and the whole of concepts. Similarly, outlines and T-charts organize information in predictable ways and are displayed in the room for reinforcement and reference.

Although learning is in the hands of the student, in social constructivist theory teachers are responsible for ensuring students receive the appropriate support. Through scaffolding and sheltering, teachers play an essential role as observers and facilitators in guiding students in productive directions, fostering collaborative projects, and making new knowledge meaningful. English learners are becoming integrated into a wide variety of literacies and therefore they require scaffolding to be within their zone of proximal development. This type of instruction attends to students' particular language needs in order to have them read, analyze, interpret and create a variety of literary and information text types; develop a deep understanding of how language works within different contexts as a meaning making resource; understand how content is organized in different genres and disciplines; and gain greater understanding of different variations of English (ELD/ELA Framework, 2015, p. 7). The ultimate goal is student autonomy (ELD/ELA Framework, 2015, p. 11).

The main way teachers are able to scaffold is through differentiation. With differentiation, teachers appreciate the distinctions of their students and consider them when designing learning environments that provide multiple means of representation, expression, and engagement. This means valuing students and starting from their strengths and abilities, rather than from their deficits (ELD/ELA Framework, 2015, p. 66). Again, here teachers leverage students' prior knowledge or background knowledge, draw on primary language and culture to make meaningful content connections, and create metacognitive awareness regarding background knowledge that may live in their home language (ELD/ELA Framework, 2015, p.75).

The teachers' roles as observers and facilitators push students to become critical thinkers and to ask inquiring questions regarding the content they are engaged with. Among the values articulated in the 2015 ELD/ELA Framework is ensuring that there is equity in intellectual richness and rigor. Teachers employ active listening by asking clarifying questions within whole-class, small-group, and pair-share activities. Writing periods end with students sharing

what they wrote while students confirm and affirm what they hear through a process of asking more questions. These responses are intended to help students become writers who listen to their own words, their own ideas, and produce their own texts (Graves, 1983).

Importantly, teachers need to possess thorough knowledge of their students in order to guide them. As discussed elsewhere in this dissertation, California has the largest number of English learners in the country, with more than 20 percent of the state's K–12 students designated as English learners (California Department of Education, Dataquest, 2014b as cited by ELD/ELA Framework, 2015, p. 3). Further, “More than 45 percent of California's students, not all of them English learners, come from homes where a language other than, or in addition to, English is spoken. California's rich student diversity also includes many students who speak home/community dialects of English such as African American English or Chicana/Chicano English that may be different from the “standard” English typically used in classrooms” (ELD/ELA Framework, 2015, p. 3). These communities are seen as an asset in the 2015 ELD/ELA Framework. The 2015 ELD/ELA Framework urges, “While teachers inform themselves about particular aspects of their students' backgrounds, each population is a heterogeneous group. Therefore, teachers should know their students as individuals” (ELD/ELA Framework, 2015, p. 4).

One way teachers guide students is through providing content within their grasp through scaffolding and sheltering. Vygotsky (1978) emphasizes the importance of social interaction with more knowledgeable others in the zone of proximal development; later this concept was elaborated upon through the ideas of cognitive apprenticeship (Brown, Collins et al., 1989; Rogoff, 1990; Vygotsky, 1978), legitimate peripheral participation (Lave & Wenger, 1991), and negotiated meaning in the construction zone (Newman, Griffin et al., 1989). As terms are introduced within the context of the content, the teacher highlights the term, particularly if it will be used repeatedly. Organized in cooperative teams, students then define terms for themselves in their own words, selecting vocabulary that is essential for them within personal dictionaries or glossaries. As students contribute to collective word walls, teachers provide comprehensible input appropriate to the their language proficiency level—providing ample wait time for English learners to actively participate. Throughout, teachers use primary language as a resource to support learning and engage in authentic formative assessment including in writing, interviews, models, drawings, through observations, projects, and group responses (Echevarria, Vogt et al., 2004).

Student choice is a hallmark of an effective independent reading program (ELD/ELA Framework, 2015, p. 538). It is inconsistent with social constructivist ideas to simplify text. To the contrary, studies have confirmed that free voluntary reading improves reading comprehension, vocabulary, writing style, spelling, and grammatical competence. One of the most powerful ways to increase English competence for English learners is free voluntary reading time where students select reading materials for themselves. When planning an independent reading program, teachers can design structures for students to record what they read and to chart their progress toward meeting their reading goals. Students should be taught how to select books that interest them and to evaluate the complexity of the text so that they know how challenging it will be.

The quality of the texts used for read alouds matters. Informational texts should be rich in content, contain both domain-specific and general academic vocabulary, and should be interesting to young children. Narrative texts should contain an abundance of general academic vocabulary, should be entertaining, and provide multiple opportunities for students to make inferences (ELD/ELA Framework, 2015, p. 144). English learners who read for pleasure in their primary language tend to read for pleasure in their second language. Plentiful access to comprehensible and interesting reading materials and well-stocked libraries are crucial for English learners with little access to age appropriate books at home, though this can be difficult as English learners tend to live in high-poverty neighborhoods with few bookstore or libraries (Cummins 2009).

The following scaffolding example provides greater detail about how to implement these strategies, in this case within the context of designated ELD kindergarten. The vignette describes Mr. Nguyen's lesson and his interactive read aloud of the story *Wolf* by Becky Bloom and Pascal Biet. Mr. Nguyen paused when he came to academic vocabulary words of interest and pointed to the illustrations that show the meanings of the words or acted out their meaning. This lesson teaches some general academic words explicitly, though many teacher professional developers differ on how to teach vocabulary. A contested issue that arises in this example is the notion that teaching general academic words will speed up the language learning process, particularly as there is extensive research that shows that English learners take a minimum of seven years to acquire English. The notion of hastening the pace of language learning contributes to the idea of high-stakes success and failure that I discuss at the end of this chapter as opposed to finding joy in reading and learning in general (Cook, 2013). The following general academic vocabulary instruction lesson template from the 2015 ELD/ELA Framework provides an example that uses scaffolding appropriate for both large and small groups:

Routine: 1. Tell the students the word, and briefly show them the place in the story where they first heard it. Tell students any cognates in the students' primary language (e.g., furious in English is *furioso* in Spanish). 2. Explain what the word means in child-friendly terms (1–2 sentences). Use the word in complete sentences, so you do not sound like a dictionary. 3. Explain what the word means in the context of the story. 4. Provide a few examples of how the word can be used in other grade-appropriate ways. 5. Guide students to use the word meaningfully in one or two think-pair-shares (three, if needed), with appropriate scaffolding (e.g., using a picture for a prompt, open sentence frames, etc.). 6. Ask short-answer questions to check for understanding (not a test – they are still learning the word). 7. Find ways to use the word a lot from now on, and encourage the children to use the word as much as they can. Tell them to teach the word to their parents when they go home. (ELD/ELA Framework, 2015, p. 234)

Mr. Nguyen teaches this in designated English Language Development literacy centers, while other students are engaged in independent tasks that include dramatic play, library corner, listening station, and writing station.

In upper elementary grades, the vocabulary and complex grammatical structures will intensify and English learners along with other students require substantial scaffolding and continuous practice within intellectually rich and discipline-specific contexts (ELD/ELA

Framework, 2015, p. 404). Students are expected to write summaries starting at grade four, and by grade six they are asked to write summaries that involve identifying the topic sentence, minimizing redundancy and trivial information, and foregrounding the main idea of the passage. Graphic organizers scaffold this work effectively (Roberts, Torgesen et al., 2008). Teachers might model how to summarize a passage from a history textbook:

. . . by using a piece of paper folded into thirds—recording on each third the main idea, key details, and important supporting evidence. In partners, students would each write a summary sentence based on the information in the top third of the paper and read their sentences to their partners to compare. Students then answer the following questions: If you had not read the text yourself, would you be able to understand this sentence’s main idea? Why or why not? Is there anything important that should be added? (ELD/ELA Framework, 2015, p. 549)

In the previous example, students become aware of language resources in narratives and learn to distinguish important information from less important details.

Ultimately, the idea of scaffolding and sheltering are to maintain teaching and learning in the zone of high challenge with the necessary high supports, as opposed to having students not challenged, bored, and thus receiving little attention or support, or being challenged but not receiving the appropriate support to meet those challenges and feeling frustrated and anxious (Gibbons 2009).

### **The Lasting Effects of Success/Failure Assessment in Social Constructivist Approaches to English Learning**

While methods of scaffolding and sheltering are intended to help English learners acquire the language faster and more comprehensively, problematic modes of assessment present in the earlier generation of Standards persist in the 2014 and 2015 Standards and Frameworks. The notion of the dichotomy of success and failure—and framing the acquisition of skills through a neutral, decontextualized lens of technicality—is revealed in the Standards and Framework’s focus on foundational skills and on careers, generating particular concerns for English learners. In this, linking a student’s success or failure to their assessed performance rather than staying consistent with a rhetoric of learning and growth negatively impacts English learners versus monolinguals.

The differential expectations for English learners and their monolingual counterparts is revealed in the 2015 ELD/ELA Framework’s focus on “foundational skills,” which is mentioned 208 times in the document. Examples of foundational skills for grades K–5 are print concepts, phonological awareness, phonics and word recognition, fluency (ELD/ELA Framework, 2015, p. 24). These foundational skills are linked to five “key themes”: Meaning Making, Language Development, Effective Expression, and Content Knowledge (ELD/ELA Framework, 2015, p. 11). These themes first presuppose a sequential nature of basic skills, and subsequently the immersion into content, which largely contradicts the social nature of learning that was previously discussed in the preceding chapter, particularly the need for students to be within a literature- and content-rich environment early on.

To be sure, it is somewhat unclear how the 2015 ELD/ELA Framework depictions of “foundational skills” differ from scaffolding. The following excerpt notes:

English learners can and should develop foundational reading skills at the same pace as their non-EL peers, provided that additional considerations for their particular learning needs are taken into account. Issues related to transfer, fluency, and meaning making are especially important. (ELD/ELA Framework, 2015, p. 22)

It is unclear how “foundational skills” is different from the rest of instruction. In the subsequent chapters, I will discuss how this is further complicated by the fact that most educators received training under basic skills and scripted curriculum; in turn, their previous understanding informs how they read the current Standards.

Part and parcel with the rhetoric of foundational skills in the new generation of Standards and Frameworks is the binary construction of success and failure. In these documents, students steeped in foundational skills are expected to either succeed or fail, raising questions about how modes of self-regulation, progression, growth, and completion are differently mapped onto English learners. Teachers’ expectations of students are central, but in a social constructivist perspective there are no clear-cut points between success and failure, but rather there is a continuum of teaching support that lead to learning gains. In the following passage from the 1998 R/LA Framework, the binary construction of success and failure comes into relief:

Holding students to high Standards conveys respect for them as learners. Feedback to students about failure on a task that could have been accomplished with more effort communicates to students that they have the abilities necessary to succeed and need to exert them. Conversely, a teacher’s acceptance of less than standard work from students while knowing that they are capable of more serves only to convince students that they do not have to try or that the teacher does not believe that the students can succeed. An additional step in this process is ensuring that students have the necessary skills to successfully complete the task or, if they do not, providing the additional instruction that students need to increase their effort in the future (Bos & Vaughn, 2002).

In this passage, the language of failure is posed as an encouragement for students, one that encourages them to understand the breadth of their skills. This passage can be compared to the 2015 ELD/ELA Framework, where the concepts of success and failure persist, but it introduces the potential stress embedded in the language of failure:

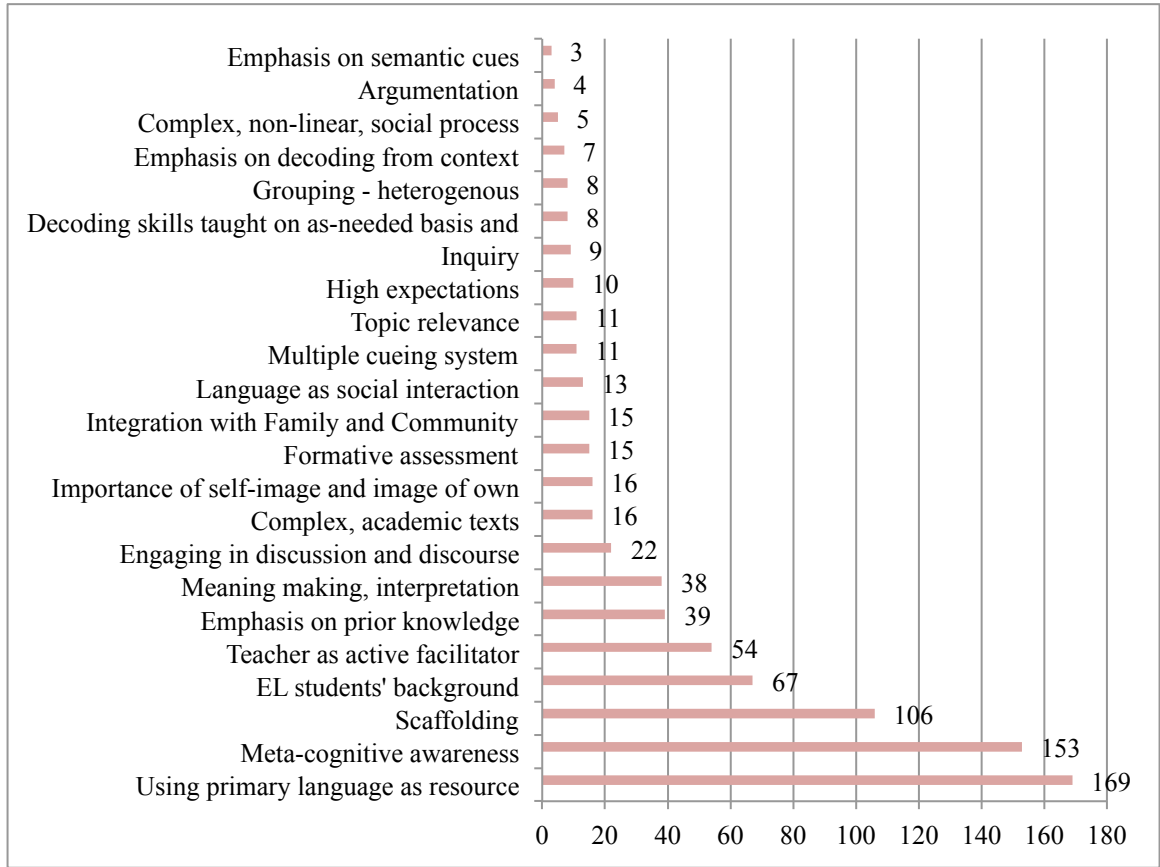
Utilizing the strategies described throughout this Framework will assist teachers in designing and providing lessons that will guide most students to successfully achieve the CA CCSS for ELA/Literacy and, as appropriate, the CA ELD Standards. However, some students will need additional supports and even interventions. Intervening early, before students experience years of stress and failure, has been shown to dramatically decrease future reading difficulties. Research has revealed that reading difficulties become increasingly more resistant to intervention and treatment after the third grade. Ensuring the success of all students requires a school-level system for early identification of

students who are experiencing difficulty with literacy skills and a school-level system for providing those students with supports and interventions they need to become proficient readers by the third grade (ELD/ELA Framework, 2015, p. 387).

The language of foundational skills and failure comes into particular play in the Standards' and Frameworks' approaches to students' potential careers. In the 1999 ELD Standards, there are five references to "career," and it suggests that by grade six students should be able to "complete simple information documents related to career development (e.g., bank forms and job applications)" (ELD Standards, 1999, p. 72). In the 1998 ELA Standards, a proximal word is "college," whereby "college and career ready" is a frequently found phrase. In the 2013 ELA Standards, "career" appears 82 times, but in the 2014 ELD Standards it appears just 10 times.

And in contrast to high expectations of all students in the engagement with complex content and deep meaning-making activities are remedial and occupational pathways that have a different set of Standards and expectations of lower-income students of color and English learners. A problem that arises from differential remedial education is barriers to degree completion (Rose 2012). If English learners are to be in programs for "career and technical education" and are to receive "foundational skills" or basic skills, these offerings need to have the same rigor that mainstream students are receiving. Together, these frequencies indicate a differential expectation from English learners as compared to their monolingual counterparts.

Figure 6. Content analysis of 2014 ELD/ELA Framework.



## Chapter 5: Bilingual Education and Primary Language Advocacy Teacher Professional Development Organizations

In the previous chapter I demonstrated that the current 2014 ELD Standards and 2015 ELD/ELA Framework are more positive and pluralist on the issue of language ideology as compared to the previous 1999 ELD Standards, 1997 ELA Standards, and the 1998 R/LA Framework. In this chapter, I investigate the resonance these policies and ideas have for teacher professional development organizations in California, specifically beliefs and knowledge regarding primary language. These ideologies and roles were not static and shifted depending on the district or school context, as well as financial and policy conditions. I explore organizational perspectives of language by characterizing different organizational responses to the imperative of educating English learners.

In this dissertation, I take the position that primary language instruction and support is essential in validating the language that English learners bring into the classroom. Therefore, I care most about organizations that take an advocacy stance in pushing this agenda forward. Advocacy is an activity by a group of individuals that aims to influence decisions within political, economic, and social systems and institutions. Advocacy might include behaviors such as influencing the way policies are written and questioning the way policies are being implemented. Advocate organizations also open up spaces for community needs to be voiced and heard by decision makers and attempt to influence funding decisions to benefit the community on whose behalf they are advocating.

Organizations that are concerned primarily by customer demand and customer satisfaction are not advocacy organizations. They do not have the freedom or choose not to act on behalf of students' primary language. That does not mean that these organizations are not doing work that is highly valuable; it simply means that they are not taking an advocacy position regarding primary language. These teacher professional development organizations monitor their services based upon customer needs or may be motivated to act not as advocates by foundations or other funders. In either case, they position themselves for competitive advantage based on demand. They may also select to develop services that will be purchased by an entire district, for example. In the context of restrictive language policies, where primary language use is limited by the state, schools, and districts, market-oriented organizations will not offer services that reinforce the primary language. These organizations may not take an overt stance against using primary language, but their de facto practices align somewhat with a more narrow view of language. They may inhabit a middle ground by espousing a sociolinguistic approach to English language learning, but they do not go as far as developing and deploying the full spectrum of possible pedagogical solutions with the primary language.

In this chapter, I start to examine how teacher professional development organizations within this study had to manage complex market pressures while negotiating their own views of language and how to best impart language and content. Through a qualitative exploration that accounts for the nuances facing the organizations in question, the chapter aims to acknowledge and recognize the excellent work going on in the field while still maintaining that we have to recognize that we are overall continuing to fail these students—and I assert that we are doing so because we are not employing the full possibility of instructional solutions regarding English



language learners. We are also failing English learners because we are not recognizing and embracing their full identity or their entire community. Therefore, I engage in a critical analysis of services, ideas, and beliefs espoused by teacher developer organizations.

Of particular concern to me is the fact that respondents stated that they felt a tension between taking an advocacy role and best positioning themselves within the field—which I define as a non-advocacy position. Indeed, some professional developers had a philosophic or ethical problem with having a profit orientation. A California History-Social Science professional developer stated:

We don't have the discretionary funds, so everything that we do has to be tied to now someone paying for it, which just becomes difficult because now you're becoming more and more of a business so you have to think about market share and all those kinds of things as opposed to more of a traditional education idea where we have money and we sort of do the things that we feel are best and whoever can come, can come and it's not always tied to who has the pocketbooks. (Sarah, personal communication, April 29, 2015)

While I return to these field-level pressures in the subsequent chapters, here I want to point out that it is difficult to sort out ideologies surrounding language learning when there are material pressures organizations continually face. To be sure, organizations reported taking different positions on language instruction within different contexts. Some districts were more open to using primary language for instruction, while others had strict policies that reinforced Proposition 227 restrictions upon primary language for instruction. As a result, professional development organizations were presented with different challenges within diverse contexts.

In some ways, this narrative mirrors the neoliberal moment, when the push to sell services for a fee or programs to a foundation create a strong tension between what educators think they should do and what educators can do in the field and larger environment. As discussed in the introduction and further elaborated upon in the conclusion, with the Local Control and Accountability Plan (LCAP), Beginning Teacher Support and Assessment (BTSA) induction, and other state-sponsored teacher professional development programs have been almost completely defunded and those funds have been provided to districts directly in the form of unrestricted block grants. On paper, the LCAP goals are perfectly aligned with providing high quality professional development to teachers of English learners. In fact, there were even one-time funds to reinforce the Common Core through professional development. In reality, the per-pupil spending in California remains among the lowest in all 50 states and therefore there are not enough funds to cover all the necessary expenses at the district level. Furthermore, counties have limited capacity and now they have to oversee the LCAP system of accountability. As one California Reading and Literature Project professional developer put it, “. . . our budgets got cut 85 percent. All [teacher] stipends disappeared. All the money to support that just disappeared” (Araceli, personal communication, May 12, 2015).

Although a few respondents felt that the state level infrastructure was a good balance of local control with statewide supports, the overwhelming majority felt that they were struggling to keep their work viable. Site directors and professional developers close to the ground felt

discouraged and perceived that their resources were being exhausted. Some professional developers felt that much was being sacrificed for the sake of the bottom line. Again, in the last chapter, I provide more detail regarding organizational reactions to field level conditions such as the financial conditions they are facing. Here I simply aim to mention this as it is a confounding factor to language ideology and ideas regarding how to teach teachers of English learners. As the executive director of the California World Language Project assessed:

I am very concerned about the investment that we are not making in Spanish, particularly in California. The reason Mandarin and Chinese is being pushed, and there's funding behind it, is because of security issues and economic issues. You know, the United States has become very aware, if they want to have more speakers of Chinese to help us with our negotiations in China, and our business as well . . . Spanish has become a low-status language in our state, while Mandarin, Japanese, French, and German are much more prestigious languages. (Afonso, personal communication, May 5, 2015)

As a consequence of the tension between being an advocate and having to sell a professional development product—and because of the low-status of the most common primary language in California: Spanish—professional development organizations in this study rarely saw their role primarily as advocates of English learners' rights. In a few cases, professional developers and the organizations that they work within were shaping the types of programs they offered and then sought support for the programs they felt were the best for students. Common advocacy positions included general support of English learner students and their communities. Other types of advocacy included advocacy for bilingual education and multiculturalism and advocacy for acceptance of language variability. In some rare instances, professional development organizations were involved in more formal advocacy work in developing and sustaining the California Seal for Biliteracy, mobilizing English learner parents in English learner advisory committees at the district or school level, or organizing against English-only policies.

Most professional developers did not feel they were in a position to function as advocates, but instead were operating within market conditions that forced them to react to the changing demands from districts and schools. Although professional developers verbalized almost unanimous support for the use of primary language as a resource and communicating with parents in their home language, most professional developers found themselves in a position where there was limited support for developing programs in the primary language. There was slightly more support and ability to use the primary language in order to assess English learners' knowledge and skills. There were vast disagreements regarding the degree of primary language use during instruction and the importance of primary language in contrast to English, particularly academic English, how to teach vocabulary, and the degree of explicit in contrast to implicit instruction of language.

Each organization that is discussed within this chapter has a unique story in the way the organization was created and those origin stories provide another layer of nuance and insights into the institutional context. Californians Together, which was birthed in 1999 out of the struggle against Proposition 227, started as a grassroots organization and stayed together to continue to organize in light of the passing of Proposition 227. CAFE was created in 1976 to

promote and protect bilingual education, after the Bilingual Education Act was passed (1968) and during a time that spending on bilingual education went from \$7.5 million in 1968 to \$150 million by 1979 (Kloss, 1968). Sobrato Early Academic Language (SEAL) was established in 2007 with the support of the Sobrato Foundation, but was also the continuation of similar work by the director. Understanding Language was created by funds from the Gates Foundation and the Carnegie Corporation of New York in 2011 with the specific purpose of building capacity and creating support for English learner teachers, but not for the purpose of advocacy. The California Writing Project first started as a grassroots organization in 1973 and later developed into a state-sponsored and state-legislated organization under the umbrella of the California Subject Matter Project. Finally, in 2005, a professional developer from the California Reading and Literature Project and another colleague established E.L. Achieve. The E.L. Achieve team has grown and now works in partnership with more than a hundred partner school districts nationally.

Table 2

*Primary Language and Bilingual Education Advocacy Organizations*

<b>Californians Together</b>	Established in 1999 out of the struggle against Proposition 227, Californians Together started as a grassroots coalition.
<b>CABE</b>	Established in 1976 to promote bilingual education and quality educational experiences for all students in California.
<b>Sobrato Early Academic Language (SEAL)</b>	After a history of donating funds for projects such as a \$5M grant to National Hispanic University, the Sobrato Foundation funds the SEAL: Sobrato Early Academic Language PreK–3 <sup>rd</sup> grade pilot program launched in Redwood City and San Jose Unified School Districts in 2007. SEAL is committed to transitional bilingual education.
<b>Understanding Language</b>	Created by funds from the Gates Foundation and the Carnegie Corporation of New York in 2011.
<b>CSMP</b>	First started as a grassroots organization in 1973 and later developed into a state-sponsored and state legislated organization.
<b>E.L. Achieve</b>	In 2005, a professional developer from the California Reading and Literature Project and another colleague established an organization dedicated to that mission. Over the years, the E.L. Achieve team has grown and now works in partnership with over a hundred partner school districts nationally.

At the same time, many of these professional developers felt that there were barriers to advocating the use of the primary language. Although, the current ELD/ELA Standards and Framework are in support of extensive use of the primary language as a resource and outline the ways that this can happen as discussed in the previous chapters, professional developers reported

that the Standards and Framework were too lengthy and complex for teachers to know and understand them. This was particularly the case because most teachers received their credentials and preparation at a time when teaching was a highly scripted activity and these new Standards and Framework require new knowledge and skills that they were not well-equipped to handle.

Professional developers' roles as advocates were further complicated by how they and the teachers they work with were not as familiar with most students' primary language to the degree that they felt confident using that primary language as a real resource. In other words, some English learners had vastly stronger primary language knowledge than other students who came from tumultuous backgrounds or perhaps immigrated to the U.S. unaccompanied and did not receive extensive formal schooling in their primary language. Sometimes, the rhetoric among some professional developers regarding these diverse students contained problematic and negative language, where the term "English learner" was frequently used interchangeably with "low performing." Often in these cases, some professional developers stressed that English is the language of power whereas they framed Spanish, for example, as the language of the parents, grandparents, and the home. This hierarchical assertion of English over Spanish is both problematic because of the subordination of one language to another, but also because there are many practical applications to maintain a primary language as commonly spoken as Spanish. As I have discussed throughout this dissertation, studies have found cognitive (Bialystok, 2009; Bialystok & Majumder, 1998; Peal & Lambert, 1962), social (Cho, 2000; Church & King, 1993), psychosocial (Colzato, Bajo et al., 2008; Portes & Hao, 2002), sociocultural (Zhou & Bankston 1998), academic (Mouw & Xie, 1999; Umansky & Reardon, 2014) and also financial (Callahan & Gándara, 2014) benefits of bilingualism.

Another barrier to advocating for the use of the primary language as a resource was developing expensive programs in the primary language and then not being able to recover the cost because bilingual education and dual language, although on the rise, are still rare compared to English-only contexts. And professional developers reported that foundations were more focused on English acquisition than on strengthening the primary language of students.

In the next section I discuss Californians Together, the California Bilingual Education Association (CABE), Sobrato Early Academic Language (SEAL), and The California World Language Project as three examples of advocacy organizations. I also describe the demonstrated commitment of the San Francisco Unified School District to support the development of primary language and bilingual education.

### **Primary Language and Bilingual Education Advocacy Organizations**

Californians Together, the California Bilingual Education Association (CABE), and Sobrato Early Academic Language (SEAL) were three examples of organizations that have actively advocated for the use and the preservation of students' primary language as a right, and that have taken an advocacy position with English learners in general. The California World Language Project supported biliteracy and multilingualism, but historically had focused on foreign language acquisition rather than heritage languages, though these programs were expanding during the period of this study. The California Reading and Literature Project at one point hosted a sister project called the Spanish Reading and Literature Project. Though this

project is a historical example, it provides a model for what could be implemented again in the future. In addition, school districts such as San Francisco Unified School District have consistently taken a strong stance regarding primary language, framing the issue as a human rights issue and developing a master plan to try to ensure that each student graduates as bilingual or multilingual.

Other districts have fluctuated in their stance depending on district leadership, at times taking an advocacy role regarding primary language and other times taking a diametrical opposite position. Oakland Unified, Los Angeles Unified, and San Diego Unified are three complex districts that have gone through ebbs and flows in the leaderships' desire and ability to support the language rights of students. There is also a division between professional development departments in districts and bilingual education or English learner departments and this division many times results in disjointed professional development for teachers of English learners. Counties also varied widely regarding the kinds of supports they provided for English learners, professional development, primary language and bilingual support. Santa Clara clearly delineated a vision for bilingual development and provided teacher professional development with this objective. I am careful to separate each of these since in all of the counties for which I reviewed documents, these services were siloed from one another. Together these factors combined to create a perfect storm of challenges and impediments. Next, I provide examples of professional development organizations that fall into various roles. I am certain that there are other excellent teacher professional development organizations that consider themselves advocacy organizations. My aim is to argue for the role of advocacy organizations, rather than to provide an exhaustive list of organizations.

Californians Together is a statewide coalition of organizations from different segments of the education community including teachers, administrators, board members, parents, and civil rights non-profit groups. The members of Californians Together aim to improve the education of English learners and to ensure that English learners have full access to a high quality curriculum that will enable them to possess cross-cultural skills and knowledge, connections to their families and communities, informational and technological literacy, and communication and literacy skills in more than one language. One of the ways Californians Together work towards this goal is through providing teacher professional development. According to the Executive Director of the organization:

We were birthed out of the struggle over Proposition 227. We were the “‘No’ on 227 Committee” before we were “Californians Together.” There were about six or eight organizations that constituted the executive committee for the “‘No’ on 227.” After we lost that proposition, we actually had to retreat to discuss what do we do next. Had we won, we probably would have said, “Great job. See you at the next conference.” The fact that we lost, we were very worried about protection of students’ rights and parents’ rights. We formalized Californians Together. We were about six or eight organizations, now we are 25. We are parent, professional, and civil rights organizations. We meet quarterly face-to-face. We meet by conference call and subcommittee electronically to do our work. We have been in existence since 1999. (Kelly, personal communication, June 1, 2015)

The executive director went on to explain:

We're an advocacy organization and we do work where our sole focus is the improvement of policy and practice for English learners. We have a variety of voices who come to our table. They are teacher organizations, school board organizations. They are community organizations. They are legal service organizations. They are parent organizations. When we come together, we have these multiple voices of people from every different aspect of the education community. (Kelly, personal communication, June 26, 2015)

For Kelly, a fundamental goal is to convince educators that English learners have assets and knowledge that is of value, and that this knowledge is many times within the primary language of students. One of the ways that California Tomorrow does this is through a medallion that recognizes biliteracy among school-age students. She explains:

Always on our agenda since we've been an organization, we've had this whole issue about how can we change the hearts and minds of people to be able to see that the children have gifts and talents, not only in English but in their own language, that our society, our communities need. How do we change the hearts and minds of people? We were birthed out of this English-only movement that came about building up to Proposition 227. For us it's the core of our work. We think we have to be able to try and do that, and hence our workarounds the seal of biliteracy. (Kelly, personal communication, June 26, 2015)

Kelly supports bilingual teachers as they provide clear advantages such as “supports [in the classroom], but also for direct communication with families and parents” (Kelly, personal communication, June 26, 2015). Kelly also spoke about the Spanish Common Core Standards as a potential resource within bilingual education settings:

If they're in a bilingual setting, then they need to work with the Spanish common core Standards. They do exist. Our teachers need to be very proficient in all 3 sets of the Standards. Not only proficient in them, but they need to know what the most effective pedagogy is for delivering high quality instruction in those 3 ways. Language development, academic language development, focused on student-centered approaches and pre-K through 12th grade. (Kelly, personal communication, June 26, 2015)

Kelly also discussed the importance of recognizing the work that it takes to be biliterate and the value that biliteracy has. She explained that parent of English learners truly appreciate this recognition and told me a story about the degree to which this is important to English learner families:

The parents of English learners who are getting that seal of biliteracy would never be at a senior awards night if it wasn't for this recognition. They are proud of their kids for getting recognized for being bilingual and biliterate. I had a mom call me a month ago from the school district up north and spoke to me in Spanish. She told me that her son is eligible for the seal, but because he was out for a month with pneumonia, his count didn't

get submitted to the state to have the sticker on his diploma. She goes, “I want to know how I can get that.” She said, “The district told me it’s too late.” I go, “It’s not too late. Just tell the district to hand him another number. They can get another one.” (Kelly, personal communication, June 26, 2015)

I found this story to be heart-wrenching as it pointed to the idea that being seen and recognized for the knowledge that one possess and the talents that one has is an incredibly powerful and motivating act. And it also points to how rarely English learners are seen as resilient, versatile, and competent communicators in various languages and within various communities and contexts. Deficit discourses negatively affect social identity formation for English learners and educators play an important role in transforming inequities in policy and practice (Gutiérrez & Orellana, 2006). English learners may imagine their own membership in various communities such as ethnic, lingual, gendered, racial, or post-colonial (Pavlenko & Norton, 2007). If we do not acknowledge the imagined communities of English learners, we may exacerbate their non-participation in Standard English communities (Kanno & Norton, 2003).

Similarly, CAFE is a non-profit organization incorporated in 1976 to promote bilingual education and quality educational experiences for all students in California. CAFE sees itself as an advocacy organization that mobilizes primarily educators, but also parents, and the broader multilingual community. It has 5,000 members with more than 60 chapters and affiliates working to promote biliteracy and equity for students with diverse cultural, racial, and linguistic backgrounds. CAFE holds a yearly conference that is known for high-quality professional development on English learner and biliteracy programs, and also has yearlong regional events. Similar to the Executive Director of Californians Together, the current president of CAFE describes how the organization’s focus on cultivating multilingual educational atmospheres developed out of a need to combat Proposition 227:

After 18 years under the limitations of Proposition 227, we will have the opportunity in November at the ballot box to open the pathway to multilingualism in our schools through the Lara EdGE Initiative (Education in a Global Economy). The EdGE Initiative will provide all students with the opportunity to learn more than one language, it will change some of the limiting language of Proposition 227, and create pathways for our students towards success in the global economy. CAFE supports this vision. (CAFE, 2014)

CAFE has an annual conference that is one of the major ways that, as an organization, they provide professional development to professional developers and advocate for cutting-edge research on bilingual education. According to the Executive Director of the California World Language Project, the annual CAFE conference immediately became a phenomena that has grown each year and is an invaluable resource for professional development organizations:

The CAFE Conference became a phenomena. It grew from year to year. Professional development started to be in the process. The Department of Education, at that time, bilingual education was big, so it was sort of extending its resources. So the theoretical Framework for teaching English learner students, it has a different name (now). It was a seminal work in California, I think . . . (they) started building understanding in the

community of those who were engaging in teaching English learners and making schools viable. (Rui, personal communication, May 10, 2015)

CABE also provides direct services to individual counties, such as Santa Clara County, school districts, schools, companies, and groups of teachers, students, and parents of English learners. Their services include support for dual language immersion, heritage language programs, and curriculum for long-term English learners. They also support developing long-term English learner master plans. Their model includes ongoing classroom coaching to refine teaching practice. More recently, they have developed programs to meet the literacy requirements for secondary English learners in math and science, providing support with understanding and integrating the ELD Standards, developing leadership within parent and community liaisons, and eradicating learner passivity in long-term English learners. They also provide services in developing libraries as a gateway towards biliteracy and in distinguishing between difference and disability.

Although, SEAL is a direct-service professional development organization, they also play a leadership role statewide and beyond and take a strong position on the use of primary language and bilingual education. Staff associated with this organization are certainly involved in advocacy work. Julia, a center coordinator, stated, “I’ve always been a huge advocate of English learners and bilingual education” (Julia, personal communication, June 19, 2015). She continues to explain how this view is reflected in the choices that she has made in her own life: “My own children have gone through dual immersion programs as well. I’m a huge advocate for bilingual education, especially seeing how much it has helped my own children, myself, and seen other children and how they’ve flourished in their transition into English and how successful they’ve been” (Julia, personal communication, June 19, 2015). In addition, when referring to the Director of the SEAL, named Lisa, Julia states:

I have to tell you, the director is an amazing woman. Every time I’ve been working with her, I’ve been honored to work with her. When I first learned who she was, I was like, “Oh, wow” especially in the field of English learners. She’s very humble and always so knowledgeable and respected . . . Her knowledge of everything that happens with English learners, it just blows me away. Honestly, she is very special, she really understands and is a true advocate for English learners and what needs to happen in education. I’m always in awe when listening to her speak, learning from her. It’s been an incredible journey for me. I think it’s because she always values us as trainers and as educators. She says, “This is my vision. What does it look like in the classroom? This is what I see . . .”

. . . When we were developing SEAL, we worked with her. She always said, “I’m not in the classroom. I’m not on the ground running but you are. What does this need to look like in the classroom?” She’s always been so open to trying out, just actually having teachers giving feedback as to what we were doing and valuing your opinion in education. I think having someone of her knowledge and stature, it’s amazing. She is really a very supportive advocate of education and especially for English learners. I think for me, I’ve learned a tremendous amount about it, things that I didn’t know about English learners and the policies and the



politics of it. She's really involved in that. (Julia, personal communication, June 19, 2015)

In an interview with me, Lisa, the director of SEAL, points out that the shift in the Common Core language policy in California and nationally is important in several ways. She believes that the movement is from treating language learning as a separate curricular area to having both a dedicated time to conduct English Language Development and at the same time to integrate language development across all academic subjects. Lisa believes that this is an important shift because it moves responsibility for developing language from only language specialists to every educator in a school. Lisa also believes that this is most effective because academic language develops within the context of the academic subjects.

Another important shift that Lisa points to is the shift to more informational, rigorous, and complex texts. To Lisa, the academic rigor in academic texts needs to be sustained and she believes that the rigor has decreased in the last 50 years. Lisa also appreciates the increased focus on oral language, citing the National Literacy Panel as having found that oral language and opportunities to engage in speaking and listening were being overlooked in traditional literacy-based programs that focus on reading and writing. Following this, Lisa values collaboration, joint inquiry, and teamwork. She believes that the glaring lack of opportunities to work collaboratively on projects and assignments is a disservice to all students, but particularly to English learners who are frequently marginalized and silenced (Lisa, personal communication, June 19, 2015).

The work that educators and teacher professional development organizations do with English learners must always be contextualized by the school districts they work within. To be sure, comparing school districts and their advocacy regarding English learners is very challenging, and this study only analyzed school districts that were referred to in the process of investigating teacher professional development organizations. A comprehensive study of English learner professional development in school districts was well outside the scope of this research project. However, in the following pages I provide an example of the type of language and role that school districts can play when they choose to propose and implement bold policies. The San Francisco Unified School District (SFUSD) is widely known for the civil rights case, *Lau v. Nichols*. A group of Chinese American English learners claimed that there had restricted access to the curriculum and that they were entitled to special support under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 because of the ban on educational discrimination on the basis of national origin. In other words, lack of appropriate services for English learners constituted discrimination and lack of access. Ultimately, the United States Supreme Court ruled in favor of the students in 1974 and the ruling expanded student rights nationwide. In its website, SFUSD provides a rationale as to why there are a variety of programs for English learners in the district along with a Lau Action Plan.

It follows that the district developed a policy on bilingual education that was initially adopted in 1974 and subsequently reaffirmed in 1998, after Proposition 227 was passed:

The District bilingual programs and their services to English Learners were established according to SFUSD Board of Education Policy, which is based on the Lau requirements

and statutes included in the California State Education Code Section 62002. These requirements are mandated for all districts that enroll English Learners. The SFUSD Board Policy on Bilingual Education, which was adopted in 1974 and revised in 1998, mandates specific services and goals for English Learners. Among these are the following: All English Learners will: attain English proficiency and meet the same challenging academic content and achievement Standards that all students are expected to meet continue cognitive and academic development through native language instruction for which a waiver is granted for an alternative program (pursuant to the Lau Consent Decree) develop and deepen their positive self-concept while respecting their own and other cultures have access and participate fully in the variety of educational programs offered throughout the school district maintain and/or develop proficiency and literacy skills in English, and, pursuant to the Lau Consent Decree, in their native language when needed by the student and/or desired by the parents/guardians in order to maximize learning potential and develop linguistic and cultural resources. The Board of Education also established policy on engaging and empowering the parents of linguistically and culturally diverse and lower socioeconomic status students. (SFUSD, 2016)

Elizabeth from the California World Language Project shared her excitement for the work in San Francisco Unified School District that she was transitioning into:

Francisca Sanchez recognized the work of this resolution and this committee and the direction that we were going in. And she put forth this vision of a new multilingual plan. I mean, just it's an amazing visionary piece of having every single student in the district graduate bilingual, bi-literate, at least. If not in two languages, then three or more. And she had Lisa working as a consultant with us, writing this multilingual master plan. So this piece has been ongoing. And I'm working with Lisa also on writing the multilingual master plan. (Elizabeth, personal communication, May 5, 2015)

To note, I do not mean to insinuate that San Francisco Unified School District is without huge challenges, as the city that has been systematically losing its diverse population. I simply desire to demonstrate a model for how bilingualism can be fomented and developed district-wide.

One of the best examples of using primary language as a resource statewide within professional development is actually historical. The California Reading and Literature Project at one point had a sister organization the Spanish Reading and Literature Project. According to Araceli, the previous Executive Director of the California Reading and Literature Project, the project started as a statewide institute in San Diego then grew into regional centers in Central California and Northern California. Subsequently, the English and primary language institutes were combined:

We started off together looking at community building and common look at literature from a multi-level and ethnic perspective, a multilingual perspective. Then we would separate for parts of our day into our respective language and grade level cohorts. Then we'd come back together during parts of the institute. (Araceli, personal communication, May 12, 2015)

According to Araceli, the program became a model for the rest of the state because there were no other teacher professional development programs—and in fact, I have not found any similar programs in the current period of this research project. At the time, administrators of the program tried to recruit diverse leadership into the projects, both the Spanish Reading and Literature Project and the parent California Reading and Literature Project. In fact, this organization continues to have a Latina Executive Director. Latino leaders more frequently resisted English-only policies and were advocates of English learners (Marschall, Rigby et al., 2011). Araceli laments that the Spanish Reading and Literature Project did not continue. It is lamentable because it would be a great model that could be replicated at this time as we witness an unprecedented growth in the use of Spanish for instruction.

Advocacy organizations that have a strong interest in ensuring the access rights of English learners ultimately have a very difficult time surviving in the current context. Either they demand to be working within a bilingual education context (such as the SEAL program), which restrains their operations, or they build coalitions of multiple stakeholders, but remain small and nimble in terms of staff and budget. Ultimately, this means that they are not operating at scale and that it is difficult for these organizations to thrive. In order to have a broader reach organizations must indicate that they are serving “all students.” Organizations that have broader reach used language that indicates that they are serving “all students.”

### **Other Organizations**

Most organizations in this study agreed that primary language should be used as a resource and they felt that there were various methods that primary language would improve the education of English learners, however they did not specialize in bilingual education or in primary language support. The most notable among these organizations is a newcomer by the name of Understanding Language. Based at Stanford University and led by some of the nation’s top researchers in language learning and education, Understanding Language is a particularly important organization that has taken a leadership role in the education of English learners in California and beyond. They are vital because they also are a university-K–12 partnership, much like the California Subject Matter Project.

Interestingly, Understanding Language does not take a position on the use of primary language as a language for instruction and this can be traced back to their foundation funding. In some ways, there is no doubt that Understanding Language are clear about the value of the primary language, but at the same time they are careful not to advocate for a specific approach to language learning. Anna, a senior staff member, states that they have many guiding principles in their work:

One of those principles speaks to the importance of valuing, honoring and using the linguistic and cultural resources that a student comes to school with. We're not ignoring their previous background in any language, rather we're saying whatever the situation, build on their home language to the extent that you can.

The question that remains is how can teachers build on students' primary language if they are not within contexts that support that and if they are not receiving specific professional development to inform that practice? Anna continued:

Right, so we don't promote any one kind of program over another. We don't promote bilingual programs or dual immersion programs over Sheltered English Instruction programs for example. We feel very strongly that our role is to work with schools where they are. If they're in a school district that has the resources and has the support to start a dual language school for example that's great. If a school comes to us and they are in a district that has limited human resources in terms of people who could staff a dual immersion program or even a transitional bilingual program for that matter and they have just strict Sheltered English Instruction, we'll work with where they are. We don't have a preference per say in terms of a program model. (Anna, personal communication, April 10, 2015)

The reality is that in the cases where there is capacity for providing bilingual education, there is still a lack of professional development. Furthermore, in this study I was not able to find organizations that were willing or able to develop that professional development at scale. Extensive research stating that using the primary language is crucial—as well as the fact that current California policies are based upon that very research—suggests it is not policies that are driving the lack of primary language teacher professional development, but rather the conditions in counties, districts, and schools.

To elaborate on issues of institutional inequality, the senior staff member of Understanding Language stated:

I just want to say I think every teacher's different, I think every teacher is in a different context. Some are in schools, where they're very supported, some are in schools where there's very little support for them, especially around English learner issues. I don't know that there's an ideal kind of professional development in terms of content. I would say that it would really depend on the individual needs of the teacher and the kind of situation that they're in their school setting. (Anna, personal communication, April 10, 2015)

Anna does not feel like there are some fundamental issues regarding language learning that teachers need to address across the board, but believes teachers need a different set of knowledge and skills depending on their person and context of their teaching. Although there is extensive research on teacher professional development that states otherwise, as discussed in the introduction, Anna's comments are reflective of a broader hesitance to commit to a teacher professional development agenda. The resistance to teacher professional development often goes hand-in-hand with an increased emphasis on assessment. Indeed, Understanding Language merged with the Stanford Center for Assessment Learning and Equity (SCALE). The merger and name reinforce the idea of assessment before equity and signals that major investments are concentrated on assessment.

Ultimately, Anna states that Understanding Language would like to reach as wide of an audience as possible. “We would love it if every teacher who works with English language learners in the United States knew about Understanding Language and SCALE because of resources that we try to offer educators” (Anna, personal communication, April 10, 2015). Understanding Language defined their true constituents as teachers, school/district leaders, and state policymakers. Anna explains:

Understanding Language, before we merged with SCALE, we existed to provide resources and support to teachers, to school and district leaders, to state policymakers, so that they could deliver the kind of rigorous instruction that will help to ensure that English language learners do well in this new era of new Standards. (Anna, personal communication, April 10, 2015)

This seems like a disparate set of users of their services, each with a different focus and with different needs.

According to Debbie, a staff member of Understanding Language, in 2011 Understanding Language was funded by both the Gates Foundation and Carnegie Corporation of New York. One of the program officers at that time was deeply engaged in English language learners. In a pre-meeting the main focus was on the Common Core, the Next Generation Science Standards, and the National Research Council Framework and ultimately the most important ideas that emerged was the increased language demands for English learners. Then, Gates and Carnegie gathered big names in English learner research in a large meeting in New York. During this meeting the Gates Foundation and Carnegie Corporation made it clear that they wanted to fund an English learner project, “. . . *not advocacy*, but awareness and knowledge generation and keeping the conversations going and getting interdisciplinary cooperation between English Language Arts folks and English language learner folks, math folks and English language learner folks, science folks and English language learner folks because typically those people work in their own silos . . . Gates chipped in a million and then Carnegie chipped in a million” (Debbie, personal communication, May 7, 2015). Then the PI was able to bring together his “friends and colleagues and formed Understanding Language” (Debbie, personal communication, May 7, 2015).

The first two years of work I think we promised the foundations in our proposal that we would call a meeting, which is pretty typical, with researchers and some practitioners and just what's important; what should we do, and then write some papers. We wrote a set of papers that weren't really peer reviewed but just commissioned papers

We produced instructional materials, like examples/exemplars in ELA math and science. Well, mostly ELA and math. We really didn't do anything in science. Just co-developed some materials. We piloted them in classrooms. We did some videotaping. We did some webinars. That was it. There was a lot of policy conversations that people I think used us as a way to justify more collaboration across disciplines, focus on language. It was really to get the conversation going about what language practices do we need to consider for all students, but especially English language learners.

The head of government announced two sets of grants, assessment grants for English Language Proficiency Assessments. English Language Assessment Proficiency. There were 21 states that joined initially a couple years ago. I can send you some of this information on-line too. Now there's only 12 states. California used to be one of them but they pulled out and they decided to develop their own proficiency Standards.

Recently, he's been focusing on the MOOCS, the Massive Open Online Course, as a mechanism to get knowledge out to whoever wants it . . . Because they just didn't have the capacity. We're so small. I'm sorry. That was a really long history.

I include this summary because I am particularly interested in how different organizations serving teachers of English learners formed. This narrative provides a tremendous amount of insight regarding the values being promoted first and foremost by the foundations, then researchers, lastly practitioners.

This is a diametrically opposite model to that of the California Subject Matter Projects. Since the California Subject Matter Project began as a grassroots umbrella organization that contained multiple semi-independent organizations, it is difficult to respond uniformly to foundation demands. Ultimately, this presents a challenge for the California Subject Matter Projects to thrive within a changed economic landscape where the statewide infrastructure that was hard-won has been systematically dismantled and all professional development organizations have had to turn to a fee-for-service model, and which California Subject Matter Projects are less equipped to do uniformly across each Project. The statewide infrastructure that was developed within the California Subject Matter Projects included a higher baseline funding from the state, some additional funding from the federal government, direct linkages to the California Department of Education, and funding for comprehensive evaluations by SRI International.

Another interesting example of an organization primarily focused on English Language Development is a private organization called E.L. Achieve. E.L. Achieve was also born out of the California Reading and Literature Project; since the latter is a public university-based organization, there has been resentment regarding the notion that E.L. Achieve monetized some ideas that may have derived from the public sector. One of the directors of a public university-based professional development organization stated that they felt that there was an ethical issue at stake with profiting from the English learner students without providing the necessary supports that include primary language support. She indicated that making a profit was in conflict with serving English learners' teachers. From my own interview with E.L. Achieve it appeared that this sentiment was not an isolated perception. For example, Monica, an E.L. Achieve professional developer, discussed that they did not feel that their focus on English Language Development contradicted bilingual education or primary language support.

All of us, and undoubtedly advocate for bilingual students. Bilingual education, being taught new primary language is really, I think, what all of us, I know, what all of us feel is best for our students. The work that we do is focused on English Language Development. It used to be thought, when I would go to, as a county office person, I'd go to Sacramento meetings every . . . If it's 4 times a year, you get all the state info. All those people that were from the different county offices, they often think that our

organization was not pro bilingual. We're so opposite in that we definitely believe that primary language instruction done right, not done right but done in a way it promotes true bilingual literacy is most important and helpful for students. Our services don't cross that bridge except we do provide some products that are in Spanish. (Monica, personal communication, April 30, 2016)

Similarly, Alicia, another E.L. Achieve professional developer, stated that the context for providing services in the primary language were not sufficient. E.L. Achieve recommends using the primary language at home, but that there are not enough dual and bilingual programs in the schools for them to serve those needs. This strategy was not unique to E.L. Achieve and occurred in several responses among teacher professional development organizations.

It's tricky because in our school district, I think now in every school district in every state we work in there's always 1 or 2 dual language schools or 1 or 2 bilingual programs, but it's still not necessarily the norm. Most schools don't have a bilingual or a dual language program. We do encourage teachers to build off the primary language when possible and how to rethink. We do have conversations about homework and with the common core because so much is focused around thinking work. You could easily send home a question and it doesn't matter what language students have those conversations in. The fact that they have those conversations in their primary language, it would probably support their academic achievement even more than trying to have a stilted conversation like that in English with the people at home. (Alicia, personal communication, May 6, 2015)

Alicia further explained that without sufficient resources to run a high-quality program, the program is doomed to fail and sentiment towards using the primary language for instruction become more negative as a consequence.

If you don't have the resources to run a quality program, we felt like that was one of the ways that Prop 227 passed in the first place, because we didn't have a strong program model. I, for example, was hired as a bilingual teacher. I would have to study for hours and hours to deliver the lesson in Spanish to make sure I had been thinking through all of my verb tenses and what kind of vocabulary was I going to use and how do I make sure it was technical. Forget trying to get them to write in Spanish. Even thinking about how I was going to lead the conversation in a way took so much work. I think in some ways, that was a doom to our programs in San Diego. I know San Diego has been really careful in building back some of their programs. (Alicia, personal communication, May 6, 2015)

Many professional developers with E.L. Achieve were previously bilingual teachers, including the founding director, Cristina. And yet, according to E.L. Achieve professional developers, there was a genuine tension between primary language maintenance and development and English development. "I realized I am not going to be able to be that bilingual teacher for all my students. I need to support students in learning English as quickly and efficiently as possible. (Monica, personal communication, April 30, 2016)

Cristina's vision for supporting teachers of English learners is inclusive of district level infrastructure. Her vision was to create an organization that was working district-wide and that maintained the same model across the entire district. She also felt that administrator support was crucial in helping teachers in their development.

I used to work for the California Reading and Literature Project. I used to work at Monterey County Office of Education, and . . . in school districts as well, and it was like, ah, I don't want to have to be compromising what I really believe I need to be doing. It's not just about training teachers. You've got to have the whole system in place. There's a huge body of research that if the organization is not functioning, you're not going to have this little pocket of excellence, these teachers just doing it on their own. They need the support of administrators and the vision of the organization has to be one of efficacy, collective efficacy, that we believe that our work is going to move us forward, we believe in our kids, we believe in our community, we believe in each other, and we can do this. Without having everything focused in a way that . . . Of course, you can have variation in creativity and your own innovation within it, but you have to have a common vision.

Cristina's vision provides a clear explanation as to why she would not want to develop a model that could not be adopted district-wide. Her and her team's dedication was evidenced by their forthcoming anecdotes and sharing their personal experiences with great transparency.

### **Conclusion**

This chapter delves into professional development organizational ideas and beliefs regarding primary language and bilingual education. There were very few organizations that felt strongly enough about primary language or bilingual education in order to take an advocacy stance. At times it was difficult to discern if this was completely an issue of language ideology or if these ideas were confounded by market pressures within an English-dominant language context that systematically devalued Spanish, the most common primary language spoken in California. In fact, there was evidence that Spanish, spoken by Latinos in California, was especially devalued in comparison to other languages, namely Chinese. California Together, CAFE, SEAL, and the California World Language Project all took strong positions in advocating for the language rights of immigrant students primarily from Spanish-speaking Latin American countries, as did some districts such as San Francisco Unified School District.

Analysis of districts was not exhaustive but rather only provided a glimpse into different educational contexts. The reach of the advocacy organizations in this study was limited by their size or services. Other organizations were specifically created not as advocacy organizations, but rather as capacity-building organizations. These included but were not limited to Understanding Language, the other California Subject Matter Projects, and E.L. Achieve. In this chapter, I argue that professional development organizations that take an advocacy stance are essential in providing leadership and support to and primary language and bilingual programs and in promoting the same. I also criticize other organizations for their weak position on primary language in particular, though I acknowledge that these organizations are still conducting important work that is simply not aligned with advocacy work.



## Chapter 6: Language and Pedagogy among Authors and Capacity Builders

Within this chapter, I synthesize teacher professional developers' ideas about language and pedagogy, mindful of language ideology, culturally relevant constructivist processes of building, generating, interpreting, and composing content-rich language. My analysis of professional developers' reflections on their practice forces me to think deeply about the best ways to develop meaning-making among English learners, cognizant of how highly contextual teaching is. This chapter necessarily deals with a great degree of complexity in order to expose the various valuable contributions of professional development organizations that are focused on authoring policy and building capacity to support the implementation of the ELD/ELA Standards and Framework. While I highlight the ways these professional development organizations played a role in authoring and building capacity statewide, I also bring certain tensions to the foreground because I feel that these are issues that should be addressed as potential challenges. In part, these tensions arise from the interaction of sociolinguistic theory and second-language acquisition research. As I tried to reconcile professional developers' language ideology, views of language, and approaches to second-language acquisition, I observed that these three elements were interacting within professional development practice in sophisticated ways.

In order to unpack professional developers' ideas regarding their practice, I lean again on Vygotsky (1978) and his colleagues as they describe how human mental functioning is fundamentally mediated by symbolic artifacts (such as language, literacy, numeracy, categorization, rationality, logic), activities, and concepts (Ratner, Foley et al., 2002; Vygotsky, 1978). Developmental processes take place through participation in cultural, linguistic, and historically formed settings such as family life, peer-group interaction, and institutional contexts like schools, organized social activity, and workplaces, among many others. This theory has led to praxis-based research, which entails intervening and creating conditions for development (Lantolf & Poehner, 2014).

In "object-regulation," artifacts in the environment support cognitive activity, such as graphic organizers. "Other-regulation" is mediation by people that can include implicit or explicit feedback on grammatical form, corrective comments on writing assignments, or guidance from an expert or teacher. "Self-regulation" refers to individuals who have internalized external forms of mediation in order to complete a series of tasks (Thorne & Tasker, 2011). In this Framework, to be a proficient user of language is to be self-regulated, yet that is not a stable condition because even native speakers access earlier stages of development. These concepts are also linked to the Zone of Proximal Development (Vygotsky, 1978): the distance between the actual developmental level as determined by independent problem solving, and the level of potential development under the support of an adult guide or among capable peers.

In this realm of the Zone of Proximal Development I found the most tension among professional developers focused on authorship and capacity-building, specifically regarding procedural and declarative memory systems. Procedural relies on knowledge acquired within the primary language through the process of immersion. Declarative relies on lexical knowledge and other kinds of explicit information learned through intentional or conscious construction (Paradis, 2009; Ullman & Pierpont, 2005). In Figure 7, there is a juxtaposition of this implicit and explicit knowledge and instruction that resonates across professional developers' approach towards

language and towards pedagogy, and ultimately is exhibited within the teacher professional development models they elaborate upon.

*Figure 7.* Implicit and explicit knowledge and instruction.

<b>Criterion</b>	<b>Implicit Knowledge</b>	<b>Explicit Knowledge</b>
Degree of awareness	Response according to feel	Response using rules
Time available	Time pressure	No time pressure
Focus of attention	Primary focus on meaning	Primary focus on form
Systematicity	Consistent responses	Variable responses
Certainty	High degree of certainty in response	Low degree of certainty in responses
Metalinguistic knowledge	Metalinguistic knowledge not required	Metalinguistic knowledge encourage
Learnability	Early learning favored	Late, form-focused instruction favored

Professional development organizations held different views on the importance of degree of awareness of the learner. For example, some professional developers opposed a type of Systemic Functional Linguistics that made the entire discourse process explicit, stating that this was mostly in contradiction to a more constructivist approach to knowledge generation. Additionally, professional developers differed on the degree of explicit grammar instruction and emphasis on grammaticality. Some professional developers felt that the main focus should be on meaning-making rather than on form. In other instances, professional developers contradicted their own stated views; for example, using a rhetoric of “increased speed of language learning,” which necessarily relies on measures of consistent responses rather than variable responses, and high degree of certainty in contrast to low degree of certainty.

Various professional development organizations fell into different organizational types. Within the previous chapter I focused on organizations that see themselves primarily as advocates of English learners’ language rights and bilingual education. In the current chapter I discuss organizations that are primarily authors of policy and play a key role in building the State’s capacity for implementation. Across this chapter, I present evidence that these professional developers, in fact, did author language policy and describe the ways that they were involved. I also contrast the different views these organizations bring as it relates to their stance towards primary language and bilingual education, their approach towards language and pedagogy, and ultimately the way these ideas manifest within their stated teacher professional development models. In Figure 8, I provide a summary of my findings.

*Figure 8.* Summary of findings.

<b>Name</b>	<b>Stance towards primary language/ bilingual education</b>	<b>Approach towards language</b>	<b>Approach towards pedagogy</b>	<b>Teacher professional development model</b>

<b>Name</b>	<b>Stance towards primary language/ bilingual education</b>	<b>Approach towards language</b>	<b>Approach towards pedagogy</b>	<b>Teacher professional development model</b>
WestEd Comprehensive Center	Symbolic support (as organization), few material resources dedicated to substantive support	Language learning as a social process, not bound to rules or discrete skills	Focus on meaning-making, interaction, metacognitive awareness	Supporting statewide infrastructure, working directly with counties, working with some districts, in national conversations
Understanding Language	Few resources dedicated to primary language or bilingual education	Highly dynamic, social process, not bound to rules or discrete skills	Focus on meaning-making, interaction, metacognitive awareness	Supporting nationally and statewide, MOOC infrastructure, K–12/private university partnership
California History-Social Science Project	Few resources dedicated to primary language or bilingual education	Systemic Functional Linguistics	Breaking down history textbooks into micro level, sentence level deconstruction, and macro level passage deconstruction	Discipline-specific literacy development, emphasis on content knowledge, long term institutes, coaching, K–12/public university partnership  (ongoing, in-depth, subject specific etc.)
California Reading and Literature Project	Few resources dedicated to primary language or bilingual education	Systemic Functional Linguistics, Frontloading vocabulary	“Pre-teaching” based upon student assessment	Discipline-specific literacy development, emphasis on content knowledge, long term institutes, coaching, K-12/public university partnership  Plus review of student work  (ongoing, in-depth, subject specific etc.)
California Mathematics Project	Few resources dedicated to primary language or bilingual education	Emphasis on social dimension of language learning	Small group, highly interactive and hands-on	Discipline-specific literacy development, emphasis on content knowledge, long term institutes, coaching, K–12/public university partnership  Plus, lesson study  (ongoing, in-depth, subject specific etc.)
California Science Project	Few resources dedicated to primary language or bilingual	Emphasis on interaction and eliciting language	Hands-on, inquiry-based, using language to communicate results	Discipline-specific literacy development, emphasis on content

Name	Stance towards primary language/ bilingual education	Approach towards language	Approach towards pedagogy	Teacher professional development model
	education	from scientific activity		knowledge, long term institutes, coaching, K–12/public university partnership  Plus, FOSS  (ongoing, in-depth, subject specific etc.)
California World Language Project	Significant resources for primary language, heritage language, and bilingual education	Emphasis on cultural identity and communication style	Highly interactive	Discipline-specific literacy development, emphasis on content knowledge, long term institutes, coaching, K–12/public university partnership  Plus, World Language Standards  (ongoing, in-depth, subject specific etc.)
California Writing Project	Significant resources for primary language, heritage language, and bilingual education	Emphasis on whole language, meaning making, participation	Focus on expertise gained through full participation	Discipline-specific literacy development, emphasis on content knowledge, long term institutes, coaching, K–12/public university partnership  Plus, teacher as writer  (ongoing, in-depth, subject specific etc.)

### **WestEd Comprehensive Center**

#### **Authorship & Teacher Professional Development Model**

The California Comprehensive sector is a federal program to support the California Department of Education and as such they played a key role in writing the Standards and Framework; however, the WestEd Comprehensive Center provides a limited amount of training and is more focused on capacity-building, especially in terms of the training of trainers. A prominent professional developer at WestEd’s Comprehensive Center, Karen, played a crucial role and worked closely with the Department of Education and other policymaking entities statewide. As Karen explained, she was one of the lead writers of the California ELD Standards and ELD/ELA Framework:

I was one of the lead writers of the California ELD Standards and the ELA/ELD Framework and all of the professional learning and dissemination work around that with county offices and districts and other organizations and agencies, as well as participating in a national dialogue about what California is doing. That's what my work has been and right now, my main focus is actually on another federal grant, an investing in education grant, that we won and it's a three and a half million dollar grant that's three years old, halfway through its fourth-year extension and I'm the lead on that grant and the whole focus is to develop and implement and study a scalable and replicable model of professional learning and district systems work, focused on the needs of English learners. (Karen, personal communication, May 7, 2015)

Karen is developing five strands within this work. One strand is developing a two-year course for teachers to learn the California ELD Standards and the ELA/ELD Framework, including their conception of language and the pedagogical practices that they espouse. The second strand is working with school districts at the elementary level. The third strand is guiding district leadership in revising, refining, and developing policies to promote best practices in teacher English learners. The fourth strand is developing instructional coaches to ensure that those coaches are well-equipped to promote the Standards and Framework as they are being implemented. And the fifth strand is to work with county offices of education and to provide professional development for them directly. If this model could be funded at the necessary level, it would hold much promise for affecting change in California for English learners, due to its alignment with best practice and research on teacher professional development. This nascent stage was still in formulation.

### **Language and Pedagogical Approach**

Karen believed that the current Standards are “written to be a tool and resource for teachers, to really think critically and deeply about pedagogy being implemented for particular English learners at particular language proficiency levels” (Karen, personal communication, May 7, 2015). Karen stated that WestEd truly believes that English learners are capable of intellectually rich work and that educators need to re-conceptualize their ideas regarding language, language learning, and to think of language within a social process. The integration of these Standards with the rest of the content Standards such as science and mathematics is greater than the previous Standards, which had none of that integration, Karen explained. For the most part, Karen articulated a view of language learning that should empower teachers and students alike.

Karen saw language as a social process that was reflected in the policy that I analyzed earlier in this dissertation. Karen saw a clear shift from language being discussed as a set of rules with discrete skills that was a linear process to an expanded notion of “language learning that prioritizes language as a meaning making resource embedded in a social process” (Karen, personal communication, May 7, 2015). This resource “affords different language choices that are available depending on who we’re communicating with, what we’re trying to get done with language, and the mode of our communication” (Karen, personal communication, May 7, 2015).

Language development was historically seen as a non-linear, dynamic and spiraling process. Karen stressed that “traditional grammatical terms such as syntax, verb, noun, clause, etc. are not being thrown out. These are important metalinguistic tools for learning about how language works, analyzing about how language is structured and talking about language” (Karen, personal communication, May 7, 2015). Karen clarified what and why the ELD Standards foreground communicative effectiveness:

The 2012 ELD Standards do address accuracy, but the primary focus is on meaningful interaction using language to work collaboratively and communicate effectively, and comprehend oral and written text. All with appropriate and strategic scaffolding to guide English learner students’ ability to make informed and appropriate linguistic choices. (Karen, personal communication, May 7, 2015)

Karen went on to explain that the focus should be on meaning and interaction, which requires the use of complex text and intellectually challenging tasks and activities, and views content knowledge as inextricable from language. Karen stated this is a huge departure from the previous focus on simplified text that lack content.

### **Primary Language and Bilingual Education**

Ultimately, Karen felt that there was a “renewed sense of purpose on the part of teachers and teacher leaders who really understand the ELD/ELA Framework” (Karen, personal communication, May 7, 2015). She perceived that for so many years the educational landscape was so oppressive and that these oppressive times had stifled innovation and professional judgment but that now there was a shift in mentality away from scripted curricula and towards English learners, towards language, and towards constructivist pedagogical practices. Unfortunately, according to other professional developers, the number of teachers who really understood the ELD/ELA Framework were very low due to the length and complexity of this document itself:

I know the new ELD Standards really proposed (using primary language as a resource) and are proponents of that. First off, I don't think that most the teachers, the new ELD Standards are so complex most teachers are not familiar with them. Then, in order to use the L1, like if you're a sheltered history or science teacher, you need to be conversant enough in that student's primary language to use them. I can't say I've seen any shift in that at all. (Barbara, personal communication, May 5, 2016)

Even among bilingual teacher professional developers, the use of primary language as a resource was not frequently seen as viable, as Barbara from the California History-Social Science Project described above.

As a bilingual teacher for more than five years who held many different leadership roles, Karen believed in using the primary language as a resource and felt the ELD/ELA Standards took a strong position regarding this, despite the complexity of the document. She discussed the importance of the primary language during a professional development session I attended in Kern County. She articulated clear and strong support of multilingualism and biliteracy and

pointed to the specific places in the ELD/ELA Framework where these affordances were described and guidance was provided for teachers of English learners:

Multilingualism and biliteracy and multiliteracy is actually very strongly presented [in the ELD/ELA Framework] as an asset to our state and to individual children and youth, to classrooms, to communities . . . It's very much positioned as an asset and so it's actually promoted. The development of primary language resources and cultural resources are promoted throughout the Framework, especially in I would say, chapter 9, but also sprinkled throughout, I think, the Framework. California has a vision and things need to change. District policies need to change, whether they're explicit or implicit policies. Professional learning has to weave this in. And, today we're going to have 2 hours to talk about primary language and cultural resources. So now our job as advocates for English learners is to change the discussion and be really firm and strong about the fact that limiting the use of primary language and bilingual education is wrong. It's actually our state board of education's adoptive policy saying that. The Framework is our state policy for how we do business in schools and districts and I always tell people, "Go to the Framework. Quote the Framework, because who's going to argue with the Framework?" That is the policy. That is our state board of education saying, "This is how we do things in school." (Karen, personal communication, May 7, 2015)

While we did spend two hours discussing primary language and cultural resources, according to professional development research, what is needed is more than 40 hours of engagement with materials in a sustained and contextual format (Borko, 2004; Gándara, Maxwell-Jolly et al., 2005). The knowledge to impart this type of professional development was evident in WestEd's aims, but the resources to do so at scale and in-depth were severely limited. Unfortunately, the professional development that WestEd provides to counties is of short duration, is not ongoing, is arguably not embedded in a community of practice, and it is not necessarily subject-specific (Desimone, 2009).

## **Understanding Language**

### **Authorship & Teacher Professional Development Model**

As discussed previously, Understanding Language is also a capacity-building organization and staff from Understanding Language have also been consulted regarding the writing of the ELD/ELA Standards and Framework. One of the senior researchers at Understanding Language, Yuji, described Understanding Language as “a group of academics, policy people, practitioners who thought of the Common Core as creating an environment in which you could pay special attention to the role of language” (Yuji, personal communication, May 6, 2015). Yuji went on to say that together this group of people developed curriculum materials, model materials, as well as academic papers about the idea of the increased language demands within the Common Core. Of the ELD Standards, Yuji explained:

I was on . . . an expert panel for that [ELD Standards]. A lot of discussions, Understanding Language itself was pretty involved in the review of it. We also brought

in, there's a set of kind of meta Standards that the Council of Chief State School Officers developed called the English Language Proficiency Development Framework [ELPD]. Which was really around how to think about the relationship between the content and the language Standards. And so we kind of brought that into the discussion. And we expressed our unhappiness with the fact that math was excluded from it. It's really about all content otherwise you send the wrong message that ELD is sort of ELA lite. (Yuji, personal communication, May 6, 2015)

Yuji felt that English learners did not need another watered down set of Standards, but instead he was able to influence the way that the ELD/ELA Framework was developed. Yuji stated, “That document [ELPD] ended up getting used quite heavily for the [California] ELD/ELA Framework, which the state adopted” (Yuji, personal communication, May 6, 2015). Yuji felt that the audience for the California ELD/ELA Framework was intended for publishers and also provided a general signal for curriculum and instructional practices.

One of the subsequent outcomes from this work was the development of Massive Open Online Courses (MOOCs). Although several people at Understanding Language were consulted as the California ELD/ELA Standards and Framework were being developed, Yuji expressed some reservations with the idea of Standards. He felt somewhat supportive of Standards for instruction, with an emphasis on instructional quality, but he was less interested in Standards purely as they relate to assessment:

I think Standards are important in that they signal a shift, but some of that would depend on how you feel about the role of Standards as they play out in reform. I think most people tend to equate Standards too much with the Standards for assessment, rather than Standards for instruction. I think if it's just around assessment then that's not a very good way to go. But if it's around the thinking about the system and how the system orients itself towards supporting student learning, then it is, I could be behind that. And then states have played it out in different ways. (Yuji, personal communication, May 6, 2015)

Yuji went on to explain that although there is some vision for implementation of the Common Core in California, capacity for implementation was severely limited. Yuji was particularly concerned about the ability of the State to appropriately apply these recommendations for teachers of English learners. And Yuji emphasized that Understanding Language “has some direct capacity for development . . . working with districts to create learning communities” (Yuji, personal communication, May 6, 2015)

Within MOOCs, Yuji drew attention to collaborative language, student-to-student discourse, student argumentation, presenting evidence as language practice, and engaging in text. Yuji and the rest of Understanding Language researchers make the MOOCs adaptable to the self-identified needs of districts. He explained:

For example, [in] our most successful model . . . the coaches took our free MOOCs and they really liked it, but they said we don't think the teachers would be able to finish the MOOCs on their own. So we really need to create learning communities or basically groups that convene face-to-face, in conjunction with the MOOCs and can spend time on



the MOOC for an extended period of the MOOCs so that it gives them time to meet in between the sessions. And also gives them the materials in advance of the course, which was not hard at all since the coaches would have it. And so we did that. They've taken their teachers through a successive series of the MOOCs. The content is more or less the same, it's just the delivery method. And then the other thing the district did was they put the [incentives] into the game, which was our MOOCs were free, but they paid their teachers to take the course. So thirty hours a week, they paid them. And then they also supported them with their coach's time also. So they really put resources into it and we ended up with over 90 percent completion of the teachers who went through that. Our average is somewhere between 15 to 25 percent completion. (Yuji, personal communication, May 6, 2015)

Although Understanding Language teacher professional development does not follow research or best practice of ongoing and long-term offerings per se, we do not yet know enough about this innovative model to understand if it is less effective. However, by Yuji's own analysis without the additional supports provided within this district example, the completion rate is lower and certainly that would also be a quality indicator. Yuji points out that larger districts such as Oakland and Los Angeles are very difficult to navigate. They have many communication problems and it is hard to discern who is ultimately making the decisions. Understanding Language places the onus of organizing professional development upon the districts. Yuji says, "... the MOOCs are free ... we can tell you about best practices, if you want more ... then we have to figure out a fee ... such as a daily rate" (Yuji, personal communication, May 6, 2015). Yuji provided the Los Angeles Unified School District as an example:

They're trying to create an English learner leadership core among their coaches. Because it's Los Angeles, it's a big scale. So they say "we want a hundred leaders" and they convene them on the weekend and they have a full day workshop and we go out and help them with that and we charge for that. And that's basically—I mean every district has its own approach. We also ask them: "we're really interested in the impact of this." We sort of say, "Well if you can—we'd really be happy if you can help us with getting just any evidence of whether it's affecting their teachers practice in anyway." But we haven't really been that successful in doing that yet. (Yuji, personal communication, May 6, 2015)

Although currently the Understanding Language MOOCs are free, they are exploring a platform called Pepper PD run by PCG, WestEd, and EDU2000 that is based on Harvard/MIT's edX learning management system and online learning community. The system charges districts for a number of courses and offers some for free. Understanding Language decided to try out the platform because districts are asking for English learner materials.

Another professional development member of the Understanding Language staff at Stanford was also working on her dissertation on the Understanding Language MOOCs and I had an opportunity to interview her. She specifically discussed the Constructive Classroom Conversation course. Molly was concerned that the MOOCs were only reaching an elite group of teachers so she delved deeper into the data extracting the people who were receiving a high intensity model such as the Los Angeles Unified School District teachers. Molly found with

statistical significance that people who specialized in bilingual or language development education were more likely to finish the first assignment and participants that finished the first assignment were also more likely to finish the entire course. These participants were almost four times as likely to complete the course. This was among 2,000 participants, two-thirds of whom were active K–12 teachers. This preliminary analysis suggested that this type of course can be a successful way to reach English learner teachers and that they can complete the courses. In addition, post-course evaluations do show that teachers learned the material. While there is not data on how students were impacted by this professional development, qualitative data did confirm that being in a larger team that interacts more with each other predicts positive course outcomes and that there can be a larger potential gain from well-functioning teams (Molly, personal communication, May 7, 2016).

### **Language and Pedagogical Approach**

Yuji explained that within the expert panel there were people who felt passionately about adopting a Systemic Functional Linguistic (SFL) approach. Yuji stated that this was a contentious issue because there was some dissent from staying within a SFL structure. Yuji himself did not feel that it was necessary to use SFL and instead felt like students could have a non-traditional grammar and greater emphasis on comprehension and meaning-making:

You could have non-grammar, non-traditional grammar without adopting a systemic functional linguistic. And that is a particular form. That was a bit contentious in the actual development process [of the ELD/ELA Framework] because one of the writers for the Standards happens to be very much a systemic functional linguist. So the writing team had a bias and that's what got adopted. And a lot of people felt like that version of linguistics is really hard for most people to understand. You can understand what it's not, but it's hard to know what exactly it is. It's really hard to specify and I think that's how—I would agree with that. But it is what it is. That's kind of how it ended up. (Yuji, personal communication, May 6, 2015)

Within this study, I found many interpretations of SFL and some versions were in contradiction with a sociolinguistic approach to language. Uses such as sentence starters and sentence frames seem more related to traditional grammars than non-traditional grammars. Also, I have observed that students are not highly motivated by these supports that force them to fit into a predetermined box. Yuji agreed with this analysis.

To this end, Understanding Language commissioned a series of papers in the areas of Practice in the Content Areas, Language and Literacy, and Policy and Building System Capacity. The papers that were commissioned by Understanding Language include discussions of the affordances of bilingual programs, including better social skills and students' well-being in schools (Chang, Crawford et al., 2007); recognizing “students’ linguistic and cultural resources as assets” (Michael, Andrade et al., 2007); cultural adaptation (Phelan, Davidson et al., 1998); and academically successful bilingual adults as models (García, Bartlett et al., 2007; Michael, Andrade et al., 2007). One also provides an equally lengthy list of challenges including assessment (Lee, Luykx et al., 2007; Martiniello, 2008; Penfield & Lee, 2010; Solano-Flores &

Nelson-Barber, 2001), teacher training (Lucas & Villegas, 2011), and curricular materials (Coleman & Pimentel, 2011).

These papers represent a robust and consistent orientation towards language as a meaning making resource, emphasizing a sociolinguistic approach in many cases. Prominent authors such as Helen Quinn, Okhee Lee, and Guadalupe Valdés (2012) discuss various topics including a concern with students' ability to use language to function in the context of their lives both in and out school, in this case specifically within the context of a science classroom, engaging in inquiry. Their focus is on supporting the meaning-making about phenomenon or systems. They argue that this requires rich student discourse and they highlight the difference between the discourse within the science classroom and science textbooks from everyday discourse of students and from their language arts or math classrooms. They also support primary language support and connections with home culture (Lee, Quinn et al., 2013). Moschkovich (2012) makes similar recommendations to balance conceptual understanding with procedural fluency, maintaining high cognitive demands within a variety of social structures (teacher-led, small group, pairs, student presentations) (Moschkovich, 2012). Van Lier and Walqui (2012) argue for redefining language from formal (sentence patterns, grammatical rules, part of speech, word formation) to functional focused on the use of these forms (van Lier & Walqui, 2012). Fillmore and Fillmore (2012) explore the subject of text complexity and the central role of teacher professional development in order to support teachers' work with the structures in powerfully complex texts (Fillmore & Fillmore, 2012). Taken together, these texts represent an alignment with the ELD/ELA Standards and Framework.

### **Primary Language and Bilingual Education**

Although Yuji is a prominent proponent of bilingual education, Understanding Language does not take a position regarding language of instruction. As stated in the previous chapter, Understanding Language does not see its role as an advocate of primary language or bilingual education. Understanding Language professional developers stated that they do not promote one kind of program over another, nor do they promote bilingual program or dual immersion programs over sheltered English instruction. They stated that they felt strongly that their role was to meet districts where they are at and within the resources that are available to them. They described that many districts have limited resources. However, they did state that they worked in bilingual and dual language contexts and that they espouse using the primary language:

We just told them what we saw. There was no attempt to convince them to abandon bilingual programs and try and establish more dual-language programs for example. It doesn't really play into the work that we do, although what does play into the work that we do is we believe very strongly that whatever model is prevalent in a school, teachers should be valuing and using student's own cultural and linguistic resources to the extent that they can in the classroom. (Anna, personal communication, April 10, 2015)

However, consistent with other authors and capacity builders, I was not able to identify a large number of primary language or bilingual education resources within Understanding Language and therefore it is unclear how that is specifically supported.

### **The Network of California Subject Matter Projects**

Another prominent network of capacity-building organizations that have also been consulted in the development of the ELD/ELA Standards and Framework are the California Subject Matter Projects. As discussed earlier, the California Writing Project was born out of a grassroots teacher-professor movement in the 1970s. Other Projects replicated aspects of this teacher professional development organization. Most of them were created and soon recognized by the California legislature, including: California History-Social Science Project, California Reading and Literature Project, California Mathematics Project, California Science Project, and the California World Language Project. Each of these organizations has their own governance structure and represents a K–12 and higher education partnership. During the implementation of NCLB (2001), these organizations were mandated to work with low-performing schools and with teachers of English learners and because of this centralized policy lever all of these organizations developed the capacity to work with teachers of English learners sooner than most organizations in this study. Once the Common Core State Standards were released, moreover, the rhetoric among these organizations shifted from language and content proficiency “for ALL” to “particularly for English learner.” This shift was important because it signaled a specific pedagogical agenda that was evolving to meet the needs of English learners. The approaches ranged to the same extent that the disciplines did and their differences reflected unique disciplinary discourses.

Each Project developed programs for English learner populations and within each program you can see the subject area influence on the main objectives for teacher professional development (see Figure 9).

Figure 9. Professional developer objectives.

Subject Area	Subject Area Focus	Main Objectives of Teacher Professional Development
History	Systemic Functional Linguistics, using language for textual understanding	Having teachers break down texts into parts for analysis
Science	Active learning, hands-on exploration, scientific inquiry, lab journals	Helping teachers to create experimental lessons and probing questions
World Language	Acculturation, considering students' own lingual and cultural integration	Starting with teachers own culture and how teachers relate to their students
Writing	Students' integration into writing practice and classroom discourse	Getting teachers to write and provide their students meaningful writing experiences. Teachers as writers

California Subject Matter Project professional developers had a particular focus related to their subject area. This in turn influenced how each viewed the best approach to supporting teachers of English learners. Some elements they all had in common included discipline-specific literacy, thinking, and emphasis on content knowledge. They all provided these services through institutes, workshops, seminars, and site-based coaching. Their approach was designed through collaboration among university faculty, teacher practitioners, and literacy specialists. Most of them believed in using the primary language as a resource, but as discussed in the previous chapter, they faced many barriers to implementing that vision including professional developers' and teachers' lack of familiarity with the primary language of students, the wide spectrum of background knowledge of the students, as well as the perception that the primary language was

subordinate to the English language. In an independent evaluation of the Projects, teachers reported that their participation significantly contributed to their understanding of how to address the needs of English learners. Nearly 90 percent of teacher participants agreed that they learned to teach subject matter to a wide variety of students including English learners (Treiman, Gallagher et al., 2005).

### **California History-Social Science Project**

**Authorship & Teacher Professional Development Model.** Suzie, a prominent leader within the California History-Social Science Project, discussed her work authoring policy. Suzie was a history and government teacher for 11 years and started with the California History-Social Science Project as a participant. Suzie has been involved in advising on the Standards and has dedicated her knowledge, expertise, and time to that end. She explained to me:

I'm on a commission that advises the state board and works on Standards, and assessments, all of that stuff. This is my fourth year, I'm done in December. Right now, we're writing the history Framework once again, for no money, because I'm just a glutton for punishment. (Suzie, personal communication, May 15, 2016)

Although Suzie joked about the in-kind service she provides to the state in developing policy specifically focused on academic literacy within History-Social Science, the reality is that professional developers consistently complained to me about the amount of work they had and their inability to do everything they wanted in order to meet the tremendous need from teachers of English learners.

Suzie believes that there are several layers to professional development for teachers of English learners:

There's content, disciplinary understanding, and basic pedagogical skills. Next layer is motivation and awareness. Third layer is understanding challenges presented by majority of texts that you are going to confront in a history classroom. The final level is not only understanding what challenges are presented by the text or the writing skills, it is having some tools to be able to help students grapple with that, for them to become independent readers, writers, speakers, and listeners. That's kind of the penultimate goal . . . to have teachers who have basic skills to understand what they're teaching, have an awareness of the challenges that this presents to some of their students, and then have the skills and motivation to be able to do something about it. (Suzie, personal communication, May 15, 2015)

Suzie went on to describe a professional development session that she conducted on English Language Development. She brought Mary Schleppegrell from the University of Michigan, Deborah Costa-Hernandez from the California Reading and Literature Project, and Karen Cadiero-Kaplan from the California Department of Education. Suzie went on to explain, “We did a whole day of: What does this look like in a history classroom? What are your responsibilities? Are you familiar with the English Language Development Standards? And how are you incorporating that not only in your existing programs, but what are you looking to

do in the future in order to make sure that your teachers are focused on that?” (Suzie, personal communication, May 15, 2015). Suzie felt that it was her role to ensure that professional developers are providing programs specifically for teachers of English learners and at the same time that they are incorporating these topics into every program that they do. “If they want to do a program on western expansion,” she explained, “or they want to do something on the medieval world, or they want to do something on ancient China, not only are you going to include a focus on the content, you're going to include a focus on student literacy within that program as well” (Suzie, personal communication, May 15, 2015).

**Language and Pedagogical Approach.** The History-Social Science professional developers had a Systemic Functional Linguistic approach primarily targeted at English learners who were stalled at the intermediate and early advanced language fluency at the secondary grades. Oral communication was more highly developed, but not their academic language. Academic language can be defined as cognitive academic language proficiency (CALP), a language-related term which refers to formal academic learning. In contrast, basic interpersonal communicative skills (BICS) is everyday language (Cummins, 2009). Some students may have strong everyday oral communication skills, but stall when it comes to engaging with historical texts or writing that is attempting to make an argument. Sarah strived to make language explicit through work based upon Mary Schleppegrell (2004). Within this Systemic Functional Linguistic (SFL) approach teachers are attempting to help students break down texts at a micro level, which is sentence-level deconstruction, and a macro level, which is passage-level deconstruction (Schleppegrell, Achugar et al., 2004). Professional developers work on these explicit strategies with teachers in order to then incorporate them into their classroom curriculum. Sarah stated that the tasks that students need to perform in order to understand historical texts include synthesizing, analyzing information, writing summaries, and short answers. In addition, Sarah emphasized that there are many metaphors in historical texts, as well as similes, compare and contrast, and cause and effect.

Schleppegrell, Achugar, and Oteiza (2004) argue that in order to achieve advanced literacy and disciplinary knowledge, students need to be able to understand how language construes meanings in the content-area texts. The researchers studied the California History-Social Science Project work using SFL with a group of 79 teachers who attended in-service over the course of a three-year period. They specifically applied these pedagogical methods with teachers of English learners and other “low literacy” students. Through a case study approach, students identified their reading and understanding difficulties with history textbooks. After linguistic analysis, Schleppegrell et al. were able to define linguistic features that were important to deciphering the text. Questions were defined to guide a linguistic analysis of history texts including identifying events, participants, discussants, historian commentary, opinions, views, agreements, disagreements, background information, and organization of the text. Each of these areas had specific grammatical features such as action verbs, thinking-feeling verbs, relationships between people using different types of verbs, passive voice, connectors, conjunctions, temporal phrases, cause and movement over time (Schleppegrell, Achugar et al., 2004).

Regarding this type of practice, Francis reflected on the SFL practices. Francis felt that English learners needed more guided practice with sentence starters, which provides syntactic

support for the production of English. She likened these traditional grammar structures as “thinking structures,” which I found to be in contradiction. Suzie stressed that English learners:

. . . need more guided practice. That in addition to using sentence starters so that kids get syntactic support for their actual production of English, which is really, really important, not just for our second-language kids, even for our first language kids, don’t have those thinking structures or language structures to put forward really sophisticated learning, which is what we are asking them to do with the content—whatever the content is, whether it is history, science, or even literary devices in language.

Although the metalinguistic dimension was evident, I felt that more explanation needed to be provided regarding how understanding meaning comes about for English learners. Again, for me there was a tension between meaning-making and conforming to standard English grammars.

Responding to my follow-up question regarding the thinking and analysis, Francis explained how the sentence frames connect to cause-and-effect thinking through a series of back-and-forth exercises similar to the ones described in the Constructive Conversations within Understanding Language:

Then would be to take it the sentence frames and have them orally explain what they just read and what the cause-and-effect evidence and details are in that particular passage. I would want them to go the next step would be to write some kind of explanation, summary, some kind of interpretive paragraph in which they are then they're taking one step further going from reading and the deconstructing of the text to the oral language discussion where they can get feedback from one of their peers, or from the whole class, of the class discussion. Then doing some kind of writing in which I could see how well they were able to interpret it and how well they could internalize the structures and the language.

While I can definitely see how these series of exercises prepare students with practice and structures for discussion, the Constructive Conversations provide very helpful guidance on how to specifically prompt students’ thinking. Also, it was still not clear to me how the sentence frames support understanding.

**Primary Language and Bilingual Education.** As a bilingual teacher, Barbara would love to see more primary language support and an increase of bilingual education programs. But, as discussed earlier, she sees a number of major barriers to that happening. She still does not see enough bilingual education programs where they could develop these materials and espouse practice specific to primary language. Also, within sheltered history classrooms she does not see enough teachers who are conversant enough in students’ primary language and she does not foresee a shift in that direction. Due to these barriers, the California History-Social Science Project does not provide any services in the primary language or bilingual education contexts.



## California Reading and Literature Project

**Authorship & Teacher Professional Development Model.** Similar to other projects, professional developers from the California Reading and Literature Project were both consulted for the development of the ELD/ELA Framework and they also provided direct training for the Framework through the California Department of Education at the San Mateo County Office of Education. The California Reading and Literature Project has developed a series of programs that they call signature programs. These included professional development such as: Professional Learning Communities addressing the ELD/ELA Framework (for teachers and administrators); Designing Literacy Workshops for Families; Results Focused on Foundational Skills, Word Recognition, and Fluency; Sentence Deconstruction; Collaborative Conversations; and Engaging English learners.

The Results professional development is focused on the foundational skills aspect of the ELD/ELA Framework. Specifically, they teach about administering and interpreting assessments of letter-name knowledge, phonological awareness, phonics, and high-frequency irregular sight words. They also summarize and integrate assessments data in order to identify students' reading needs and implement differential instructional sequences, and support teachers in planning for differentiated word recognition and spelling strategy instruction.

**Language and Pedagogical Approach.** The California Reading and Literature Project also developed a SFL approach intended to improve the cognitive skills of predicting and summarizing, comparing and contrasting, and comprehension skills. As Julie explained, “doing a text and task analysis—we basically have a way of planning considering the language needs of the students” (Julie, personal communication, June 29, 2015).

One major difference between the California Reading and Literature Project and all other projects reviewed was that they advocated “frontloading vocabulary” or teaching vocabulary before the content lessons. All other professional developers felt that vocabulary should be taught within the context of content instruction in order to develop contextual meaning. Julie described frontloading in the following way:

So frontloading would be like pre-teaching, and pre-teaching is basically giving students background on what I'm about to teach. Okay, so the way frontloading is different is that I'm not only considering the background that I need to give students in order for them to connect to what I'm teaching or to have some—you know for what I'm teaching to even stick, and frontloading looks at the language that students would need to both comprehend and express their understanding of what I've taught them. So what I have to do as teacher is first of all know who are my students, who are my second language learners, but also beyond just my second language learners, just know where all of my students are with language because this whole notion of academic language we know is something that all students need. But then I look specifically first who are my students, what kind of support do I need to give them in order for them to access what I'm teaching, in order for them to interact with others around what I'm teaching them.

My concern with SFL is that as it is implemented in classrooms, it potentially presents language as a static grammar and is less concerned with the dynamic nature of language and of communication. This is not surprising because SFL is being used to unpack textbooks, for example. However, as textbooks change based upon the recent ELD/ELA Standards turn, then perhaps these techniques will be less useful. As students try to conform to these discourse structures, I have observed that they tend to not speak unless they feel that they are employing the correct grammar, which makes it difficult for them to express their ideas. The less the students talk, the less they are able to elaborate upon their ideas and develop them more fully.

**Primary Language and Bilingual Education.** Although historically the California Reading and Literature Project had been linked to the Spanish Reading and Literature Project, which developed significant resources to primary language and bilingual education, the current project had very few examples of this type of work that I could locate. There were some publications out of UCLA Center X, but no specific professional development offerings that I identified.

### **California Science Project**

**Authorship & Teacher Professional Development Model.** Tina, a professional developer with the California Science Project, is frequently involved at the state and national level on issues related to science education. She served on the curriculum review panels for the California Department of Education, the California Postsecondary Education Commission, and was consulted on the development of the ELD Standards. She saw her role as needing to set an example and a standard across the state of high quality professional development programs specifically for English learners. One of her close collaborators was Antonio, who spent time providing support with the Next Generation Science Standards and comparing them to the ELD/ELA Framework.

Antonio told me about the influx of funding and motivation they received to develop professional development programs for teachers of English learners. He recalls that they began to develop their English Language Development work in collaboration with Tomás Galguera, a professor from Mills College. They specifically developed eight approaches to scaffolding learning, which was done in conjunction with WestEd's Quality Teaching for English Learners. These strategies were adapted by Tomás Galguera and originated from Walqui (2007) modeling, bridging, contextualization, schema building, text representation, and metacognitive development (Walqui, 2007). These strategies were combined with scientific subject matter by the science professional developers. The program was called Science Education for English Development. Later they collaborated with a group called Guided Language Acquisition Design that provided guidance on second language acquisition best practices. These strategies were later combined with the Full Option Science System (FOSS) modules. FOSS is a curriculum developed at the Lawrence Hall of Science at the University of California, Berkeley and is based upon active-learning in order to develop deeper understanding of the natural and designed worlds. FOSS has an entire toolkit with investigation materials, teacher resources, including science notebooks and science-centered language development, equipment, and other resources. Antonio explained that they would do demonstration lessons where they would team teach and spend two days with background information on co-teaching the lessons and mutual teacher

observation (i.e., teachers teaching teachers), and two days teaching and observing and providing feedback. After the four days, they would do coaching for 12 days and then follow students' progress.

**Language and Pedagogical Approach.** Antonio felt strongly that language should be conveyed through scientific activities, and that those activities should be well-planned in order to bring the language and content out simultaneously. He believed that those activities would provide authentic experiences that would motivate and stimulate students to use language within the context—triggering the natural use of relevant vocabulary that then could be translated into scientific language. Antonio advocated understanding students' thinking through multiple means, including science journal writing, discussion in small groups, and presentation to the whole class on the part of the students.

Again, an area of disagreement had to do with SFL. Antonio told me that they worked with the History-Social Science project on SFL, focusing on language form that the Science Project never fully adopted these strategies. He explained:

We never really focused all our energy into the Systemic Functional Linguistics, the structure of language. I always felt, and still do, that that follows naturally from the use of language. The driving force has to be the use of language. However imperfect it might be, in the pursuit of making meaning of using it to make meaning. The structure needs to be explicitly taught for everybody. I have no problems with that. That can't be the center of our work in the science field. The ELD Standards right now have two components. They have the making meaning or making sense component where you interpret, you collaborate and you produce in those areas. If you're familiar with the Standards they're what they call the warm pieces. Then they have the structures of language, how a language works. One is submissive to the other. I think it's really important to keep pointing that out to teachers in schools that kids learn language by using it.

Antonio's view of language is highly dynamic and interactive. Meaning-making is central to language production even if it is imperfect, which it necessarily will be.

Again, it's the process of learning language that initially it's not perfect. Current thinking right now is that it will never be perfect when you're learning another language. That's fine. You don't have to obtain perfection in order to communicate, as long as you communicate. The point is to stress to teachers, to educators, that it's more important for kids to be able to express what they're thinking and making that thinking very transparent through their words, even though the words might not be totally correct. The use of incorrect language or growing language or however you want to say it so it doesn't feel like a negative. It's okay.

**Primary Language and Bilingual Education.** Tina and Antonio's beliefs regarding primary language were similar to their beliefs of language. They are both fully bilingual and have made efforts to develop materials in Spanish, their primary languages. However, similar patterns hold here, where there has been limited demand for those materials. They both felt that

there may be a shift and that there may be increased demand in the near future for materials in the primary language, likely in Spanish.

### **California World Language Project**

**Authorship & Teacher Professional Development Model.** The World Language Project supports the principles espoused in the World Language Content Standards, which they help write, and the ELD/ELA Standards, for which they functioned as consultants. The World Language Project places a special focus on English learners. Rui was in the classroom for 12 years and has been a professional developer for more than 20 years. He explained to me that when he was a commissioner with the curriculum commission he argued strongly for placing ELD in the ELA department at the California Department of Education because he felt that ELD and ELA were part of a continuum. At the same time, he stated that there should be an ELD specialist within each disciplinary department as well. He expressed a concern that every single school in California has a high percentage of English learners and inadequate resources to serve them: “You need an ELD specialist that is a historian and an ELD language specialist. You need a mathematician who has an ELD specialist. I think it’s the only way we are going to address this issue” (Rui, personal communication, May 10, 2015).

Another professional developer of the California World Language Project, Afonso, described their professional development as being participant-driven. He explained that they strive to create a program that promotes linguistic and cultural competence, builds professional community respectful of diverse ideas, provides opportunities for leadership, and advocates for the retention and expansion of languages. The California World Language Project provides professional development for teachers that work with heritage-language students, including a larger proportion of Spanish-speaking students.

**Language and Pedagogical Approach.** The California World Language Project provides professional development that is content-rich and that supports teachers in developing various forms of communication—listening, reading, viewing, speaking, signing, and writing—including interpersonal, interpretive, and presentational. For students to engage in culturally cogent ways, they need to make meaningful connections and comparisons across languages and cultures.

Justin explained that they work with teachers in order for the teachers to see themselves as teachers of content, language, and culture. Justin argues that when you are learning a language, you are engaging with various types of subject matter and discipline-specific discourse. Justin stated that the learning experience becomes richer when teachers provide “a rich linguistic environment and sharing knowledge about language only when it’s useful for students to be able to have that knowledge, rather than teaching functional aspects of language. We need to be able to put content and culture front and center” (Justin, personal communication, May 4, 2015). In fact, Justin felt that SFL was not the right approach for learning content, language, and culture because it was too focused on form.

Afonso wanted to convey to teachers “that as students acquire a new language, they acquire a new cultural identity.” Teachers were asked to “look at who you are and at your

identity and how your identity relates to the students.” The belief of the World Language Project professional developers was that “exploring issues related to students’ cultural identity and communication styles enable teachers to function in linguistically and culturally appropriate ways.” Elizabeth, another World Language Project professional developer, completely agreed with this premise and stated that it was ideal if teachers could speak to students in their primary language and then help them transfer those concepts to English.

**Primary Language and Bilingual Education.** Justin continued to explain that the California World Language Project has been able to create a huge number of programs for students in their primary language, stating that they had been able to open up access to 17 new languages in total. The California World Language Project has expanded their Spanish language offerings and has opened programs in Filipino, Vietnamese, Farsi, Arabic, Mandarin, Korean, Japanese, and Hebrew, among many others throughout California, including new programs in Hindi and Punjabi. Justin went on to convey that different language communities are realizing that they have a right to access curriculum in their primary language: “these may not be bilingual programs, but they provide support and opportunities to continue to earn content in their languages as they acquire English” (Justin, personal communication, May 4, 2015). Justin explained that more and more communities are asking for this access.

Justin also believed that there has been a large increase in dual language programs and afterschool programs that provide dual language credit. “There are all sorts of programs that are emerging, that are filling these gaps. There still is a little bit of schools that push back” (Justin, personal communication, May 4, 2015). Justin explained that many parents would like to have programs beginning in the elementary grades and schools are pushing back because they really want to dedicate their curriculum space to instruction in English. Justin told me that this is a grassroots effort because there are not many credentialed teachers. The greatest expansion is taking place in Mandarin in the schools, noting that there is dual language Mandarin statewide in Utah, which he found a compelling model: “throughout the country . . . they're finding ways of being able to do it, getting around the program restrictions” (Justin, personal communication, May 4, 2015).

## **California Writing Project**

**Authorship & Teacher Professional Development Model.** The California Writing Project plays a central role in consulting and authoring language policy locally and nationally as the original Subject Matter Project and with a national presence through the National Writing Project. There is a strong relationship between the California Writing Project, the Bay Area Writing Project, and the National Writing Project that dates back to the 1970s, particularly on the University of California, Berkeley campus. According to Pernille, the Writing Project develops leadership among teachers and deepens expertise through coaching, classroom assistance, mentoring, and by providing opportunities to write and critique writing and teaching. Pernille stated that the Writing Project has had a commitment to English learners because they have expertise in the area of language development. The Writing Project has also been committed to migrant students and their unique needs. However, when President Obama defunded the National Writing Project, this weakened an already stretched infrastructure.

**Language and Pedagogical Approach.** The Writing Project has a cohesive pluralist language ideology and constructivist approach towards teaching. Janet, another professional developer, explained to me, “We believe that teachers are the best teachers of other teachers” (Janet, personal communication, June 19, 2016). She went on to explain that the university has knowledge to offer and that teachers have expertise in diverse classrooms and that their mutual collaboration is invaluable. The best time to bring those experts together, Janet stated, is during summer intensive institutes:

Another belief about supporting teachers, we believe teachers of writing need to write, not become professional, but in the same way that you wouldn't want to have someone working on your house who's a carpenter who hasn't himself worked on a house before. That's something we do but not everybody writes and yet people teach writing. And it's different, various kinds of writings. (Janet, personal communication, June 19, 2016)

Janet went on to explain that their practices are also research-based on writing across the curriculum, describing different types of writing, including writing to consolidate and review students' or teachers' understanding and writing to extend and enrich. That type of writing can be mapped onto many kinds of classroom practice and extend the realm of pedagogical possibilities in teachers' repertoire.

**Primary Language and Bilingual Education.** Janet explained that 15 years ago she was brought to work within the California Writing Project to move it from being seen primarily as a suburban, white organization to an urban project focused on English learners and other outreach populations. “And we succeeded in doing that. We did targeted outreach to English learner teachers for the summer institute because that's where your leadership comes from” (Janet, personal communication, June 19, 2016). Indeed, the leadership within the California Writing Project has been diverse and has had great bilingual and English learner teachers within their cadre.

Although the California Writing Project has a deep commitment to culturally relevant, transformative literacy ideals, and to serving high-need immigrant and English learner communities, which is exhibited by the many family literacy events that they host, they are not specifically advocating for bilingual education or primary language on the whole as an organization. Many of their members do believe in validating the primary language and culture nonetheless.

### **Conclusion**

Across these teacher professional development programs I demonstrate that there is an intricate relationship filtered up to educational language policy creation. Each of these organizations played a role in writing, consulting, and providing guidance to policy creation and the role of these organizations is clear from these narratives. Furthermore, these organizations have unique ways that they are building capacity for the state and county offices of education, without their support the state and county capacity would be greatly diminished. At the same time, some of these organizations are providing best practice and research-aligned professional development that is ongoing, in-depth, subject-specific, and embedded within a community of

practice while others are experimenting with new ways to implement in part by necessity due to severely restricted resources, which I discuss in the next chapter. The material resources that are available are mostly available in English and to a much lesser extent in the primary language or for bilingual, dual language programs. Organizations such as Understanding Language take a firm position in terms of not favoring programs that employ the primary language as a resource. I have expressed that I find that troubling and confusing and I believe that it has much to do with the way these organizations came into existence and the funding sources. In fact, most organizations within this study had limited resources to support the primary language.

Furthermore, there was a consistent preference for seeing language as a social process intricately bound to pedagogy that is participatory and interactive. Much of the interaction described as being unearthed within the professional development is focused on finding ways to lead students to making meaning of dense and complex content. The degree to which metacognitive awareness was necessary varied among professional developers. Some were firmly planted in SFL that provided explicit information about traditional academic grammar structures focusing on form, while others resisted traditional grammars. Much of the professional developers' inclinations had to do with their ability to unpack dense textbooks that will be changing in the near future. The California Subject Matter Projects had the most evidence of being aligned with what is thought of as best practice to have an effect on teacher practice—discipline-specific literacy development, emphasis on content knowledge, long-term institutes, coaching, K–12/public university partnership, ongoing, in-depth communities of practice. In the next chapter, I discuss the perilous position of these organizations within the larger field-level context.

## Chapter 7: Loss of Common Good Professional Development in California

In this chapter, I provide a field-level analysis of professional development organizations operating in California, who target teachers of English learners based upon their own self-reported accounts. Current field level conditions are very difficult for these professional development organizations and create several problems that need to be addressed if there is to be a system of support for teachers of English learners that is comprehensive and impactful. First, there has been a loss of evaluation that was previously in place for state-sponsored organizations, such as the California Subject Matter Project. Second, there has been a loss of efficiency as previously existing programs have been defunded and each organization needs to build their own infrastructure. Third, there has been a change of mentality from potentially an advocate orientation to a profit orientation, as professional development organizations necessarily create fee-for-service programs and seek foundation funding. Fourth, there has been a loss of a common good as the largest network of teacher professional development organizations focused on English learners has been systematically defunded. Fifth, there has been a weakening of policy levers that were more tightly coupled in the past with the state playing a larger role.

In Chapters 3 and 4, I demonstrate that the current ELD/ELA Standards and Framework are more progressive on issues of language ideology and educational approach, but in Chapters 5 and 6 it is evident that implementation of the practices espoused by the language policy is being disrupted by market and financial pressures. The state of California started to make serious investments into the infrastructure for ongoing teacher professional development in 1988. At its height, state-sponsored teacher professional development organizations received \$35 million dollars a year and were serving more than 90,000 teachers statewide, roughly half the teacher population at that time. According to evaluations, conducted primarily by SRI International and previously the American Institute for Research (AIR), services were high-quality, discipline-specific, ongoing and based on peer-reviewed research. In 2001, the state legislation placed greater emphasis on English learners and low-performing schools. At the same time, teachers met “highly qualified” Standards through the completion of 40 hours or more of research-aligned teacher professional development.

Since 2002, professional development and teacher induction state funding has consistently decreased. State funding for ongoing professional development dropped to \$5 million dollars a year, which was matched by \$5 million dollars in federal funding. Currently, the state of California funnels \$3,791,000 of federal funding to the state-sponsored professional development. Similarly, the Beginning Teacher Support and Assessment Induction (BTSA) program suffered major cutbacks through the years, and then state funding was completely eliminated in 2013 due to the institution of the Local Control and Accountability Plan (LCAP). The majority of professional development funding, \$240,206,000, is provided to school districts with very few guidelines, Standards, and limited accountability for ensuring that professional development is occurring or that it is of high quality.

In interviews, I received unsolicited comments about how some districts are not spending their professional development funds on professional development and that some districts are not spending English learner funds on English learners. In one interview, the respondent spoke about how teachers received raises with funds that were supposed to support English learners.



Again, there is very little oversight or accountability on how these funds are spent. The California County Offices of Education have not reviewed program quality in the past and therefore are stretched even further from their already limited infrastructure.

Respondents for my study acknowledged the efforts of the California Department of Education (CDE) and for their contributions in the implementation process of the Common Core State Standards, and for their increased focus on English learners. However, in most accounts respondents observed that there was very little capacity at the CDE to manage professional development activities. The CDE professional development unit has a meager budget of \$500,000. California has radically changed its funding and accountability systems. The local control funding formula is the most significant budget change in 40 years and it is the most aggressive in the nation. At the same time California has embarked on a speedy implementation of the Common Core and Smarter Balance Assessment.

The LCAP's stated goals are perfectly aligned with the goal of providing high quality professional development for teachers of English learners. There is no doubt that there has been an increase in district-level funding to improve the education of English learners. Unfortunately, per pupil funding in the public school system remains the lowest in the country. Therefore, the overall bottom line for schools and districts has not changed. The result is that the teaching of English learners in California continues to be in an urgent crisis. Devolving decisions to local entities will not solve this crisis. I argue that it has exacerbated the situation.

While eighty percent of teachers in California have English learners in their classrooms, English learners comprise 24 percent of the student population. Yet teachers of English learners neither receive appropriate induction nor ongoing professional development to be effective with this student population. The state lacks the infrastructure to track teacher qualifications and teacher assignment due to the abandonment of the statewide teacher data system. This means that the state lacks the capacity to assess the quality of the teaching force and cannot ensure that professional development is provided to areas where there is little expertise in working with English learners. Professional development is left to the discretion of Local Educational Agencies at a time when the Common Core and Smarter Balance are being implemented and teachers are searching for professional development regarding the ELD/ELA Framework.

There is uneven capacity at the county level, even as counties now have greater responsibility. County offices previously reviewed and approved school budgets and provided oversight for the fiscal solvency among districts (Allen, 2005; California Department of Education/County budget Standards, 2014; California Department of Education/Fiscal Solvency, 2014). Now county offices need to provide qualitative program review in the approval of an LEA's LCAP. County offices will need to expand their expertise regarding English learner teacher knowledge and practice and professional development models (Darling-Hammond, 2015). The California Collaborative may be a model for sharing best practices on an institutional basis. As well, the CCEE could serve as a developer and certifier of effective improvement teams or of high-quality service providers for LEAs (Fullan, 2015).

There are several features of the state-sponsored professional development that are worth acknowledging. The professional development is regional—there is a statewide network that

attempts to meet the needs of the region by collaborating with counties and partnering with districts, thereby boosting local capacity. The state-sponsored professional development is organized by content area and therefore is discipline-specific and connected to disciplinary professional organizations, which is a further connector among systems. This network of professional developers has been attempting to build communities of practice through the development of teacher leaders. The model, based on the well-recognized Writing Project model, is one where local teachers rise into leadership roles and become professional developers within regional sites that serve the schools and districts the teachers originated from. These networks started to be developed in 1988 statewide and therefore represent a long-term investment in human resources and human connection. Another connection is to the university faculty primarily on public university and community college campuses, but also at private colleges. Unfortunately, according to SRI International, the depth and breadth of services has been decreasing due to having to move to a fee-for-service model.

Despite the strengths of the professional development model, it is aligned to an old funding structure, a structure that depends upon federal and state funding for its infrastructure. As evidenced by the systematic cut of public funding earmarked for professional development specifically, this model is a tenuous and fragile one. Many new and emerging professional development organizations that serve teachers of English learners attain foundation funding, are structured on a fee-for-service model from the beginning, and are scalable. Furthermore, several organizations have also invested on technology-enabled delivery systems that expand their reach with some positive initial outcomes.

### **Loss of Comprehensive and Independent Evaluation**

Due to legislative mandate under AB 2950 (Strom-Martin, 2002) and SB 611 (Ducheny, 2003) the nine California Subject Matter Projects were to be evaluated based upon their response to the current policy context, the scope and scale of their activities, the type of professional development they provided, the impact that they had on teachers' pedagogical content knowledge, and their reach to teachers of English learners. To the extent possible, the Projects were evaluated on the impact they had on students. Under this mandate, SRI International most recently conducted a comprehensive two-year evaluation (2005), a meta-study of evaluation on the Projects, and case studies on each Project. They reviewed, evaluated, and synthesized previous research on the Projects, reviewed internal data, observed professional development, interviewed Project executive directors, and surveyed site leaders. In 2012, SRI International completed a series of case studies on the Projects.

Although other teacher professional development organizations conduct different types of research and evaluations, there is insufficient funding for comprehensive external evaluations. A couple of examples of the evaluations that are being conducted include Dr. Kathryn Lindholm-Leary's evaluation of the SEAL program. Her evaluation demonstrated that SEAL students entered preschool with low levels of Spanish and English oral language and literacy development, cognitive, learning, and social skills. After one year in the SEAL preschool, these children made developmental gains comparable to their peers, and they strengthened their Spanish proficiency by kindergarten. These students, moreover, also showed stronger pre-literacy skills in English than non-SEAL children in the comparison group. The results were

consistent with the research literature showing that children in Bilingual programs make gains that are as strong or stronger than their peers in English programs.

### **Loss of Efficiency**

Professional developers within this study overwhelmingly felt that they spent too much time on negotiating contracts with districts and schools, and writing grant proposals. Many estimated that revenue generation took more than 30 percent of their time. Also, they felt that they had developed a high level of expertise as subject matter experts and educators and that their time was not best spent on business transactions, which most felt they had to learn once they were in their professional development roles. Many professional developers would have preferred to conduct more direct professional development services and engage in research.

### **Change of Mentality**

Most professional developers remember a time when they were able to concern themselves more with the quality of their programs rather than spend much of their time running a business. These professional developers felt that the commodification of education was reaching an extreme point beginning with the No Child Left Behind Act and culminating with the LCAP. One professional developer from QTEL felt passionately about this point and was excited to be leaving the professional development profession and entering teacher preparation as a professor in order to focus her energy on the work of helping prepare teachers and to conducting research. Amy stated that exploiting children and teachers was the last frontier of capitalism and she expressed strong negative sentiments regarding this:

It's almost like there's not a lot to say about it, that the commodification of education in general is extreme at this point in time. I think that a few years ago, No Child Left Behind has been leading up to this can be open the doors for the assessments as a huge money-making enterprise. But then, with the 2000s, as our economy has gone south, people and investors have seen education as the last frontier of capitalism . . . like your gallon of milk, every single child in the United States has to have an education. This is something where they can always make money. For students who are vulnerable populations like English learners, I think it's a huge social justice issue. I see a huge connection because you have schools that are looking at the bottom line.

We're doing a huge, huge, huge disservice to our kids. It's really unfortunate because the work that QTEL is doing is high quality but districts also have to look at their bottom line. In the same era where it's systematically starving goals and many school districts spend like 1 percent of their budget on professional development. I guess my short answer is that I see it as a huge social justice issue, not just in terms of professional development for English language learners but this entire era of corporate education reform is a travesty. (Amy, personal communication, May 8, 2015)

Amy felt that the current field-level structure was prohibitively difficult to work within. She felt that there was a tension between selling high-quality professional development and districts needing to balance their budgets. At the same time, she felt that there were many demands on

districts in terms of goals and mandates. She equated the current structure with the corporatization of education. Corporatization refers to a restructuring of a public good a business and necessarily includes the incorporation of business management techniques to their administration.

Another professional developer from QTEL clarified that although Governor Brown allocated more than a billion dollars to education in California these funds are by and large not going to professional development for teachers of English learners because schools need instructional materials and need to make infrastructural investments.

(Governor Brown) allocated several billion dollars and schools could decide if they wanted to buy instructional materials or if they wanted to have professional development or they wanted specific technology. Schools, some chose professional development, a lot chose curriculum and/or technology. (Suzette, personal communication, May 8, 2015)

QTEL has an increasing number of contracts in New York State, where the per-pupil funding was \$20,610 in 2014, more than twice the per-pupil spending in California for the same period, \$9,595. I discuss this further in a subsequent section that discusses the loss of overall capacity.

Sarah from the California History-Social Science Project felt concerned that they were not able to partner with districts or schools that were doing innovative work, where there was buy-in from teachers, that was aligned with their own professional development.

We do have a fee for service so we don't have . . . Unlike in previous years where we had federal grant programs coming in, the state gave more money just to the California Subject Matter Project in general that we had discretionary use over, we're unable now to go out and work with those schools that we say, "This is really a place where amazing things are happening and teachers are wanting to push that work." We don't have the funding. Or that we could say, "Gosh, we're going to put together a summer institute" or "We're going to do a multi-Saturday series on a topic that we find really powerful that's a need around teaching history that doesn't have a fee tied to it." We don't have the discretionary funds so everything that we do has to be tied to now someone paying for it, which just becomes difficult because now you're becoming more and more of a business so you have to think about market share and all those kinds of things as opposed to more of a traditional education idea where we have money and we sort of do the things that we feel are best and whoever can come can come and it's not always tied to who has the pocketbooks. (Sarah, personal communication, May 12, 2015)

Sarah stated that they were more focused on revenue generation than she would have liked. Also, she was concerned that they had very limited ability for development of new programs. Sarah was concerned that there had been a change in mentality away from professional discretion.

Another WestEd professional developer from QTEL added that WestEd adds a "tax" that is about 60 percent beyond the real cost of professional development. Amy, the professional

developer, was concerned that this makes the services prohibitively expensive for districts with the greatest need.

West Ed tax on almost 60 percent above and beyond what we would actually charge. It makes it absolutely impossible for the school districts that really need it to be able to afford because you're talking about millions of dollars. Normally, as well, when QTEL contracts with the district, they will want to do a long term relationship. This really comes out of what we know about professional development which is that it should be sustained. They should be really well-connected to the work of teachers. Teachers should have buy-in. They should see it as valuable to their work. The principals need to support it as well. It needs to be a multiple systems change for any real change to happen. They tend to be long-term and by that I mean three years or more. They tend to be multi-level, so that means we're working with administrators, we're working with teachers and then working with subsets of teachers to become pure coaches, then occasionally to become actual apprentices with QTEL. They become certified over a 3–5 year process to actually become professional developers in the district and being developed with the QTEL model. That, I'm a big fan of that work. It's just impossibly expensive because of WestEd in conjunction with a few other things, but in theory, is a very good model. Like I said, informed by what we know about good professional development and what we know about change, processes of change in school. There's no one-size-fits-all. Another good thing I think is that, it's tailored to the needs of the school district as much as possible while trying not to compromise the value. For example, they don't do train the trainer. They don't do one-time workshops. We may be working as part of a larger leadership initiative which is what we did in Chicago public schools. (Amy, personal communication, May 8, 2015)

Amy supports the QTEL model and explains that it is very expensive because it follows research-based practices that take time and cost money. These research-based programs cannot compete with short and expensive programs.

Another professional developer from the California World Language Project, Antonio, expressed a similar sentiment that programs need to be long-term and that with an 80 percent or more cut in funding, they were no longer able to do teacher coaching and follow-ups, which created lack of cohesion and lack of connection to the classroom.

The other thing is it needs to be long term. It can't be a one-shot deal that's away from the classroom and from the school. And we've gone back and forth and a lot of it depends on the funding that we have unfortunately . . . We got an 80 percent cut, and then it meant we could not follow the teachers during the year. So we did a summer institute and then maybe some follow-ups here and there, but for the most part, there was a disconnect between what we were doing with teachers and what they were doing in the classroom. And we were unable to follow them to a classroom and see what we had taught teachers was actually being applied and implemented in the classroom. So I think it's critical for that to happen, and we're doing that now. (Antonio, personal communication, May 6, 2015)

Antonio felt that the quality of services suffered severely after cuts in funding.

Furthermore, Lisa from Sobrato SEAL expressed similar ideas about challenges to implementation. Several districts where they work had budget crises and this created difficult implementation conditions. The model required collaboration, planning, coaching, and facilitation.

Yet significant challenges to implementation remain. Budget crises in pilot districts have created difficult conditions for piloting the SEAL model. The curriculum and instructional alignment process needed to infuse rich language strategies requires significant teacher collaboration and planning time, coupled with the support of expert coaches and facilitators. Competing priorities and the shortening of the school year have made it challenging to schedule this necessary professional development time. Pilot schools may not be able to count on the allocation of such time in the years ahead. Also, increased class sizes challenge the kind of small group interactions critical to SEAL's rich oral language strategies, and few classrooms have the literature, dramatic play props, and resources for the field trips and hands-on projects that SEAL's high leverage strategies require. (Lisa, personal communication, June 19, 2015)

Additionally, Lisa discussed that increased class sizes made interaction difficult for practicing SEAL's oral language strategies.

A professional developer at Understanding Language, which is housed on the Stanford University campus, raised concerns regarding the cost of raising funds through foundations because these funds are heavily taxed by the university. Sometimes those indirect costs can be waived, but that is rare. Anna spoke about the challenges that this raised for her fundraising work:

They have to pay the fully loaded rates here at Stanford, so the indirect cost rate at Stanford for federal projects is something outrageous like 56 percent almost 60 percent. Who can afford that? I mean it's really an incredible amount of money. You take the cost that it would take and you increase it by 60-something percent. If . . . say a school or school district is coming to us, wanting us to do some work and we say to them, "Okay we'll do the work, but we have an overhead rate of 59-point something percent." There's no way they'd be able to afford our services.

(A district) wanted us to help them devise a new master plan for English learners in their district and we provided them with a quote. They came back and they said, "Well that is just way too much money, we would be unable to do it for that amount." We said, "Well this is this is what it is." They went elsewhere.

I would say that because we're affiliated with the university and the university has restrictions on how little they can go in terms of the indirect cost rate, I would say that that makes us rather undesirable to work with because well people probably find, I'm guessing, find that other consultants are cheaper to work with than we are. (Anna, personal communication, April 10, 2016)

Professional developers raised the issue that they would like to partner with schools and districts for various reasons. For example, there might be a high number of English learners in a district or school, or the district or school may be trying out an innovative reform and the professional developers may have expertise in that area. However, repeatedly professional developers expressed that ultimately funding was driving partnership decisions and moving partnerships into customer relationships that were qualitatively less rich.

Maureen from Kern County expressed that the mechanism for accountability were not there because there was a contradiction in the LCAP policy. On one hand, funds were supposed to be used for English learners and professional development, but on the other hand, other students and teachers could not be excluded and therefore frequently those funds were used for general support.

. . . so in some districts in the higher socioeconomic levels, it's harder to say that we're going to implement this program for that 40 percent of our kids and you can't exclude other kids, so how do you massage that so that the unduplicated kids, the kids who earned those extra funds, are getting the most bang for their buck? I think that's a real challenge.

In answer to your question about where do I see it working well, the schools that are really getting a lot of money because they have a high percentage of these kiddos are able to restore things that maybe they've lost over the last years, and they're able to, I'm seeing some schools hiring PE teachers for elementary kids where the classroom teachers always had to do it before, really increasing library services, totally increasing access to technology and technology instruction, lots of things that wouldn't be possible otherwise. (Maureen, personal communication, June 9, 2015)

Professional developers expressed that teachers have not had adequate pay and overall compensation for years and therefore the infusion of funding is filling a teacher pay deficit. Professional developers felt very frustrated that although teacher pay is important, they did not believe that teacher pay would improve the educational conditions for English learners. Julia from SEAL felt concerned that districts were missing opportunities for rich professional development partnerships:

Teacher have not had raises in years so they all are looking for raises. That's taking part of the money that is allocated, especially the money for LCAP, for English learners, it's not being allocated for English learners. It's not that these programs . . . there's not many out there. I don't think they're being used the way it is because LCAP is a whole different system. Even though it says we're going to do X, Y, and Z, there's no checks and balances as to whether X, Y, and Z are happening.

I think in that aspect, the districts are losing opportunities to really work on their English learners because they're on this, backed off of . . . We need to get the teachers up to where they will be happy and then we need to work on this. I think there's just a lot of lost opportunity for it. What I tell teachers and what we tell them is this is a long-term

investment. This isn't a program about we're here today and we're gone tomorrow. This is a sustainability model that whatever comes our way, they're going to be able to use these strategies that help English learners. We always tell teachers that. These are strategies that you can use regardless of what curriculum comes down the corridors. It's about integrating that curriculum into what they're doing and using the strategies that we provide for all English learners. The funding is not going to be enough in education. (Julia, personal communication, June 19, 2015)

Julia believed that their professional development work produced change among their English learners and in fact their evaluations show that, but she was concerned that it was very difficult for them to scale up and replicate. SEAL requires a deep commitment and long-term relationship with schools. SEAL is one of the few professional development organizations that had specific guidelines and requirements for partnership. E.L. Achieve was another organization that required district-wide and long term commitment.

Monica from E.L. Achieve also echoed the same sentiment that funding was going to teacher pay in some districts that in guidelines was supposed to go to professional development and English learners. She also felt that teacher pay was not going to improve the teaching conditions for English learners. She felt that LCAP needed to have better accountability structures:

I do think that it depends on the district because those moneys were never earmarked to be used for English learners in a specific way. For example, the district that my husband works in, that money was used to give raises to all teachers with the justification being that all teachers have English learners. Did that make one bit of difference in supporting their English learners? Crazy. Whereas other districts have said wow, we're getting more money. We are putting it towards supporting our teachers in getting the resources and learning what they need to better meet our English learners. It didn't finish what it meant to start. It would have been nice for there to be some stronger allocation or some stronger . . . Because you would think with all the LCAP, with the LCSF funding formula changing and all that, that we would have a ton of professional development . . . We'd have a lot more here. It just depends on how the districts are choosing to spend that extra money they have. (Monica, personal communication, April 30, 2015)

E.L. Achieve is another organization that has contracts nationally. Their reach is not limited to California. In the next section, I discuss how this is a major drain on professional development resources that are desperately needed in California.

### **Adapting to the New Market Structure**

E.L. Achieve professional developers travel all over the nation and Monica spoke about how California is actually not a desirable place to conduct professional development. Monica spoke about the fact that California is very difficult to work with and that they do not need to restrict themselves to California, so they easily move their services to other states, which is a major brain drain and loss of regional capacity and resources.



We are so busy. A lot of it is out of state I must tell you, which is interesting. It's been frustrating because it's all new (in California). Sometimes we'll be making corrections and adjustment in what felt like real time because we'd think the message was A and then we'd suddenly find out no it was B. So we'd have to backtrack. (Monica, personal communication, April 30, 2015)

Monica felt that the California policies—as they are interpreted by districts and schools—created a complex implementation picture that required them to reassess their professional development work and that made the work in California particularly challenging.

Afonso from the California World Language Project provided an oral account of how the process of becoming a fee-for-service organization occurred for the California Subject Matter Project. He told me of how he recalls the conversations very vividly as they were highly contentious and sensitive. These conversations began at the UC Office of the President back in 2001. Afonso felt that the main driver for the change had to do with ensuring that the California Subject Matter Projects remained relevant and responsive to the local context:

I think when that came to be and that conversation was very vivid, around UCOP and the Department of Education, was all about self-sustaining organizations that would continue to work. The main criteria that was being talked about was if they are relevant enough, and they are meeting a unique need in the regions or in the school districts, districts will purchase the services. At that same time was when the state was saying, "We need to send the money to the local regions, to the school districts. Let the schools and the districts decide what do they want to purchase." Now, there was a lot of debate. It was a sensitive issue, as you can imagine. (Afonso, personal communication, May 5, 2015)

Although this perspective was contradicted by Aracely from the California Reading and Literature Project, who recollected that the main driver was “getting rid” of the expense of running the California Subject Matter Projects and to move them out of the UC Office of the President. Aracely commented that she was concerned that there was major loss from the original model of the California Subject Matter Project teachers teaching teachers and working with researchers to the current model of fee-for-service. She also felt that the cut of funding was dramatic and she wished that there was more core funding:

Or if they are working at a site and they see participants who have leadership, they might invite them to an invitational and then encourage them to attend one of the signature project institutes. In our case, we created those signature projects to actually provide the funds so that we could continue to do state leadership because before you came on board our budgets got cut 85 percent. All of stipends disappeared. All the money to support that just disappeared and then all that professional development money went from the project to the districts. That district money was then used to make decisions about professional development. Some cases they used it to contract with us or with other people. In some cases they did it in-house, but it was probably the thing that impacted us the most is that shift. I wish it could been more of a 60/40. I'm not opposed to districts making decisions, but to keep the model that all the Subject Matters Projects share which is teachers working with teachers and researchers. The bridge between academia and

classroom practice. That model is powerful and I think if you go anywhere across the street, state to any people who've attended projects, same thing I had. Hearing researchers and teachers work together . . . Listening to what they have to say, testing their ideas, and then coming out and sharing with us, it was profound. It was life altering. It was better than graduate school because it was teachers working with teachers. They had tested these ideas and wanted feedback and help.

Aracely discussed how powerful the California Subject Matter Project model was and that it was better than graduate school because it was grounded in practice and reflection.

Aracely explained that developing high quality professional development is expensive and requires a robust infrastructure.

That's really the model for our signature programs. Researchers working with us, academicians experts testing ideas, then taking it to the field, then revising it. All of that costs money and when they . . . Really the only thing has been funded is the basic infrastructure. The money that comes from the state barely covers the salary of state office and regional offices and it's barely. In our case, the reason the signature projects are so important we felt there had to be at least a 50 percent director. That threshold couldn't be crossed if you really wanted someone to be able to go out and not only provide the professional development, learn the professional development, but also be the marketer. That's the one thing that all the (professional developer) directors say. They never thought they were having to go into education to market a product. Networks that they needed to do, you can't do as a 20 percent director. It is impossible.

Aracely explained that professional developers do not want to be marketers.

Aracely went on to discuss how the legislature played a key role in protecting the California Subject Matter Projects. She also explained that the Projects need a boost in funding and she proposed an alternative funding model that recognizes the need for more infrastructure.

Then the recession hit. I feel that it was really the work of Denise Ducheny (former California State Senator) and (Darrell) Steinberg (former California State Assembly member) who at least kept us alive. Now we're in a new bubble. There's schools definitely right now are sitting on a wonderful Prop 98 purse coming down the pipeline and this is where the balancing act. I think that there's always a kernel of truth you have to reflect on to what she was saying about how schools were using their money, how they weren't very systematic. I think some of that was fixed, but instead of building the leadership among teachers to get that message out, it came down like a hammer. She didn't have support of teachers and now we're in a situation where I wish we, the Subject Matter Projects could benefit a little from the increased funding, but with some lessons learned. Some accountability. I think if all the regions, all the projects had enough to pay for at least a 50 percent director in say at least 15 regions and hold a state office and include stipends for leadership development for a cohort of 20 teachers at every site, then I think it behooves the regions to use that and leverage it with fee-for-service.

Many professional developers believed that strengthening their partnership with districts was central, but that infrastructure for professional development was equally important.

The only reason (they) didn't (cut the Projects) is because legislators . . . Where we had done good work, legislators had our back and they were key legislators.

Aracely had very little respect for efforts to dismantle the Projects.

Afonso acknowledged that there were many people who did not think that districts had the capacity to make the necessary investments in teacher professional development, or the knowledge and expertise to make the right selections.

You know, a lot of the folks believed that districts do not always make the best choices. There's a lot of folks that come in and overpromise. They have nice, tightly, and well-packaged kinds of packets that they share with them and say, "This will do X, Y, and Z." We all know that no book, no nicely tied package will do it. It's teachers connecting with each other, discussing issues, bringing the practice into another forum to discuss with other teachers. The network is actually the value of the organization. (Afonso, personal communication, May 5, 2015)

He also acknowledged that the current infrastructure for the California Subject Matter Projects, but he felt that there was a balance between core funding and fee-for-service.

Right now the state or the federal is paying for a minimum infrastructure, and that's how we're operating. The tenants, or the principals, of the CSMP are connected. I think the yearly proposals, or the every 3 years cycle, as well as the yearly updates and the advisory board reviews . . . Which, I think the advisory boards play a key role in ensuring that the vision and the practice of the CSMP still permeates everything that a (professional development) site does. There is a unifying body, and yet there is the freedom to go out and have real conversation with districts. Market yourself to the districts, and meet those needs and negotiate those needs. Sometimes, the district wants something that is so totally out of our philosophy that we cannot honor that. We could not live with ourselves. We know from the beginning, that's not sound practice that will transform instruction in a classroom. (Afonso, personal communication, May 5, 2015)

Afonso was one of the few professional developers that felt that the current structure was balanced. Almost all of the other professional developers, if not all of them, felt overworked and under resourced.

Regarding foundation funding, Afonso was concerned that the foundations were principally focused on rapid English acquisition. He felt that this was highly problematic and he did not appreciate that situation.

The foundation funding, if you really study that, that's not the purpose. The purpose is to get those kids to communicate in English as quickly as possible. You go back to each one of those foundations that is funding the work, and it has that perspective. That is the

sad part. Those foundations could be supporting multilingualism. They don't want to invest any money on multilingualism, on the primary language side of the house. It's all for English development. (Afonso, personal communication, May 5, 2015)

Afonso embraced multilingualism and emphasized the importance of the primary language. He felt that foundations should support multilingualism.

Another professional developer from the California World Language Project, Justin, had a different perspective. He did not mind some competition as he believed that it kept him reflective on his services, but he worried that the professional development program suffered as a consequence.

There's a lot of different sources of professional development where there's competition and I think competition to a certain extent is healthy because it does provide some opportunities for people to reflect and to improve based on what the market wants, that is, if the market ultimately wants something that is going to be beneficial but is not a unified sort of approach. With the budget cuts that occurred in the past, it's been a little bit more difficult because it's a 20–25 percent of our budget. There are moneys that have come in from education for Economic Security, the NSA grant and lots and lots from the federal government and was able to leverage funds but they're very specific about working with Chinese or Farsi or Dari. We're able to leverage funds in a variety of different ways. The question whether it's going to grow, I don't know. I think it's a mix. I think part of the independence of the Subject Matter Projects, it's healthy, but on the other hand, there should be some central kind of branding it that makes it visible. (Justin, personal communication, May 4, 2015)

Justin also felt that he needed more support with branding and advertising. He also was concerned that non-national security languages were less easy to fund. For example, Spanish was a much more difficult language to fund.

Barbara from the California History-Social Science Project compared their readiness to move to fee for service to other California Subject Matter Projects. She felt that the California History-Social Science Project was better prepared to make this shift. She articulated that the California History-Social Science Project does not believe in having an out of a package model because it is highly adaptive to teachers' needs and their work is highly contextual. She felt that not having a packaged product made it challenging to sell to districts and schools.

We've been told by our board members to diversify. Who wants to be on soft money and grants and then we don't have something to sell that's a program? When we were told in 2002 to go for fee-for-service, she went fee for service. The Bay Area Writing didn't go fee-for-service. Reading and Lit Project didn't do much fee-for-service. Most of the Projects did not take that in hand. They were still paying teachers to come to their institutes. We went fee-for-service right then. Since I've been in this job, my position has been paid for by my contracts. These Teaching American History grants, they did help us a lot. They may come back again. (Barbara, personal communication, May 5, 2015)

Barbara felt that the being an early adopter of fee-for-service helped them adapt sooner.

Regarding competition, Maureen from Kern County worried that her districts and schools were not informed consumers and that some provider were “astronomically” more expensive.

I just think, like anything, we have to be informed consumers. Sometimes I’ve seen some of our districts hire entities that did good sales pitches and I just think, “Oh, no!,” because there’s some excellent ones out there and like anything, there’s some bad ones. It hurts my heart when they hire the bad ones and spend a lot of money on it. Frankly, those independent services are astronomically more expensive than county office services, but county office, we don’t have the resources to service fully 47 school districts, so it evens out. I don’t feel any competition with them. We don’t really interact with them. It’s just different ways of doing things. (Maureen, personal communication, June 9, 2015)

However, Maureen pointed out that the counties had very limited capacity and could not serve all of the districts in the region.

Sarah from the California History-Social Science Project was also concerned for districts regarding cohesion and relevance across professional development organizations. As Milbrey McLaughlin has deemed it, the Christmas Tree model of reform features many ornamental offerings but little cohesion and connective tissue.

I see it as really not in direct competition with each other but really saying, "How can we help teachers take these variety of resources that they're getting and then synthesize them to really help them use them to create strong, pedagogically appropriate curriculum for their students?" I think that's our unique niche. In thinking about content, I see a lot of other places, while they're building great stuff they're not really teaching teachers how to do that. I think a lot of those sources are great models that teachers can use to then build their own work from. (Sarah, personal communication, May 12, 2015)

Sarah felt that the California History-Social Science Project offered this type of synthesis that is essential for schools.

### **Gaps in the Feedback Loop**

After the first-year of LCAP implementation, parents were frustrated that although they spent countless hours providing input, their input was not reflected in the LCAP plans. For example, this occurred in San Francisco Unified School District. The district drafted its LCAP plan during the community engagement period. Additionally, there was a short period between the draft and final version of the LCAP plan. There was about a month for the parent groups, PAC and DELAC to provide feedback. A parent from the finance operations committee stated:

Some issues that came up at nearly every meeting, especially better communication with parents, didn’t make it into the LCAP. It was disappointing to some families involved in

the process not to see the lines between the feedback and what showed up in the final LCAP. (LCAP San Francisco Unified School District Report, 2015).

In order to address this issue, the PAC and community groups recommended establishing an LCAP Task Force, including members from stakeholder groups, to evaluate the first year of LCAP implementation and to incorporate effective practices into next year's LCAP process.

All projects, we all have a minimum amount of infrastructure for the number of contacts and contracts we have, so is this really the best use of the expertise? (Francis, May 9, 2015) California History-Social Science Project

Field-level conditions are very difficult for professional development organizations. These organizations are struggling to maintain research-based best practices under a constrained funding model that started with No Child Left Behind in 2001 and continued to intensify over the years. Many of the elements that are being lost are key design features. These include comprehensive evaluation and accountability of the professional development work, which also provided reflection and program improvement. There has been a loss of efficiency as various professional development organizations try to create an acceptable infrastructure rather than having shared infrastructure. There has been change in mentality as professional developers need to think about their work as a revenue generating enterprise rather than a public good. On the whole, professional developers feel that they did not enter their profession to be marketers and fundraisers and that those skills and knowledge are not their areas of expertise and they are forced to spend less time in the areas they are experts in. Furthermore, the largest network of teacher professional development organizations has been weakened to near breaking point. The California Subject Matter Project that has a 40-year history has been greatly weakened. Finally, there is very little ability to implement policy as the current model is highly distributed and diluted.

## Chapter 8: Conclusion and Implications

### Policy

California now has two interrelated sets of standards, the English Language Development Standards (2014 ELD Standards) and the English Language Arts (2013 ELA Standards). The State Superintendent of Public Instruction and the California State Board of Education adopted these policies and they define the progression of language development and contain detailed information regarding the importance of biliteracy that amend earlier standards and frameworks in radical ways. The previous generation of standards and framework employed deficit notions of English learners and other marginalized communities. Importantly, they contained antiquated ideas about language that were drawn primarily from the spoken language of the Euro-American upper-middle class. Fundamental to the shifting rhetoric has been the greater activation of primary language and the validation of the language and knowledge that English learners bring with them. There is greater acceptance of varieties of language and variability within the English language in the current standards and framework that recognizes that language is highly contextual and ultimately should be driven by the community of speakers. Furthermore, language is in the service of communicating effectively, not in the service of conforming to an idealized Standard English that is ambiguous at best. This means that English learners should be welcomed and encouraged to fully participate in school discourse communities. The current standards and framework foreground formative assessments for teachers to improve teaching of English learners, rather than high-stakes summative assessments that punish students and teachers alike and provide little information for instruction.

In California, historically remedial literacy instruction included restricting the delivery of language in the primary language, limiting or eliminating bilingual education, providing monolingual and mono-cultural textbooks rather than a wide diversity of multicultural materials, accomplishing classroom tasks through homogenous grouping, rarely placing attention on parental and community involvement, overemphasized highly sequenced and decontextual basic skills such as phonemic awareness, high-stakes punitive assessment, and generally focused on the technical dimensions of literacy.

Regarding its educational approach, the current 2014 ELD Standards and 2015 ELD/ELA Framework builds on the knowledge that English learners bring to the classroom and explains how to map new to pre-existing knowledge. The 2014 ELD Standards and 2015 ELD/ELA Framework describes how to build collaborative and complex conversation, meta-cognitive awareness, self-monitored learning, thinking aloud for meaning-making, and how to repair breakdowns in understanding. Importantly, the teachers' roles are portrayed as observers and facilitators, rather than arbiters or gatekeepers of knowledge. More expansive opportunities to learn include authentic and highly relevant materials that students can relate to and can discuss in heterogeneous groupings. Again, assessment is an opportunity for educators to learn more about students' thinking, rather than an opportunity for English learners to experience failure. Ultimately, literacy is seen as a social process.

### Organizations

## Stance Towards Primary Language and Bilingual Education

Organizations that took a position in favor of primary language and bilingual education were in a more challenging position in terms of their competitive advantage in the past. Californians Together, established in 1999 in response to Proposition 227, has established a grassroots coalition. However, they did not grow in size as a service provider like other organizations in this study that did not take a primary language and bilingual education advocacy role. It is nevertheless a momentous occasion that on November 8, 2016, 18 years after the passage of Proposition 227, California now has the right to bilingual education and primary language. It is through unrelenting pressure and in no small degree the work of Californians Together and CABE that this took place. Their deployment of pro-bilingual discourse mobilized communities and enabled the ideological change to take place. *Education Week* interviewed members of Californians Together and they discussed the even greater need for professional development of bilingual teachers at this time (*Education Week*, November 15, 2016). As consequence, Californians Together, CABE, and SEAL among others are better positioned to flourish in the California educational landscape.

SEAL discussed that they had some challenges with districts not being able to scale up due to their bilingual education model. SEAL's growth was more modest though steady. This may shift with the ability of districts and schools to more easily select for their students the type of educational program that is inclusive of bilingual education. However, what stabilized the work of SEAL was having foundation support; the Sobrato Foundation was committed to the SEAL model despite state and restrictive language pressures.

Other organizations were highly adaptable to the market, such as E.L. Achieve, which was nimble and able to move their operations outside the state easily. E.L. Achieve doubled in size during the period of this study. E.L. Achieve's name in itself alludes to academic performance and achievement indicators, which appealed to many districts. Their model was based upon a district-wide model and therefore was designed to scale up. They offered some resources in Spanish, but were primarily an English development program.

In comparison, CSMPs inhabited a middle ground. Some organizations within the network, such as the California World Language Project and the California Writing Project, had strong positions regarding primary language and bilingual education. However, during the period of this study they remained the same size. Other organizations within this network had a different view of language that created greater opportunities for them. For example, the California History–Social Science Project's English language development model based upon Systemic Functional Linguistics, positioned it well with districts that had English-only programs. They were also an early adopter of the fee-for-service model. However, these positions were consistent with their own beliefs about language and there is little evidence that indicates that they were being motivated by funding.

Considering these California standards and framework shifts and the fact that now primary language and bilingual education is permitted under Proposition 58, there are extensive implications for the work of teacher professional developers. Whether professional development organizations supported primary language and bilingual education or not, across the board there



was a lack of well-developed professional development programs and materials that would enable scaling up the use of primary language as a resource, as well as building and sustaining primary language. One concern that professional developers in this study raised was foundation support for Spanish/English bilingual development or simply Spanish development. Foundations will need to materially support professional development similar to the historical California Spanish Reading and Literature Project described in this study.

### **Approach Towards Language and Influence Upon Policy Interpretation**

Most professional development organizations in this study regarded language learning and literacy as a social process not dictated by rigid grammatical rules and these ideas influenced the ways they interpreted policy. A few organizations, such as the California History–Social Science Project and the California Reading and Literature Project, felt strongly that a Systemic Functional Linguistics approach to language was highly productive particularly for long-term English learners. Other organizations—namely Understanding Language—held a different view and saw language as highly dynamic and were not particularly engaged with Systemic Functional Linguistics, but rather were invested in developing constructive conversations in the classroom outside of that model. The California World Language Project were concerned with the cultural dimension of language and communication styles that were highly interactive. The California Writing Project had an emphasis on integrating students and teachers into discourse and writing practice right away. Together these diverse approaches can potentially create a rich foundation for professional development, but it would be greatly improved if they could benefit from each others’ thinking and sharing of best practices.

### **Approach Towards Pedagogy and Influence Upon Policy Interpretation**

Most professional development organizations in this study held a view of pedagogy consistent with the current ELD/ELA Standards and Framework. However, they still need to develop further capacity to create professional development that is in alignment with this approach, particularly as it pertains to English learners. This includes a greater focus on bringing English learners’ own knowledge and experiences into the foreground through culturally relevant and transformative literacy approaches that empower English learners.

### **Teacher Professional Development Model**

The CSMPs have a discipline-specific literacy development structure that emphasizes both content and language in tandem. They deliver this knowledge and practice through long-term institutes and coaching. Other professional development models in this study are less aligned with traditional professional development best practice due to budgetary constraints. The WestEd Comprehensive Center is providing support statewide and working directly with counties and some districts and participating in national policy conversations. However, there was little evidence of long-term and in-depth services. In short, their reach was wide, but lacked length. Understanding Language mostly delivered services through a MOOC. There is some research on the effectiveness of the MOOC that is promising but still nascent. On the rare occasions that they are able to provide more customized services, such as in Los Angeles, these are highly effective. They are leading statewide and national conversations regarding English

learners. This collective infrastructure would be made stronger by a coalition of these organizations, but there is currently little to no incentive for them to all come together. However, this is a fairly tight-knit community of individuals that are close colleagues; therefore, there may be ways to offer low-level incentives for them to share best practice and for them to think about professional development statewide.

Alternatively, the state's investment into a statewide infrastructure that has been embodied through the CSMPs will be lost. This infrastructure is already greatly weakened as compared to previous years. This means that there would be a loss of comprehensive external evaluation for this work, as evaluation is not funded in most cases with other organizations. There would also be a loss of efficiency as organizations are increasingly creating and replicating small infrastructure rather than a shared infrastructure. Necessarily, in order to survive, these organizations are becoming increasingly concerned with funding and profit. This is not a judgment on the organizations themselves—they would cease to exist if they did not consider funding—but rather it is a judgment on the system that continually pushes them in that direction.

Perhaps the time has come for an additional organization within CSMP, the California Cross-disciplinary Project for Teachers of English Learners. There must be an organization that is part of a statewide network that is concerned with the issues affecting teachers of English learners across the curriculum. The lack of such an organization perhaps sparked the need for other organizations to emerge, such as E.L. Achieve, which grew out of the California Reading and Literature Project. But, I would argue that not being part of the network weakens individual organizations and the network as a whole.

### **Closing Thoughts and Circumstances**

Although, there are now more favorable policies and regulations for providing primary language support and bilingual education in California, the climate for undocumented students is stark. On November 8, 2016, Donald Trump, a millionaire businessman, became the President-elect. He is paying particular attention to California policies that protect undocumented students. Although Democrats have a super majority in both houses of the California legislature, there is a moderate block that will likely make it difficult for California to hold its ground on gains made to help undocumented immigrants. The Legislature has released a joint statement promising to defend gains made through any tool available to them. They will be evaluating federal funding and analyzing the rights of people living in California. Trump will likely try to roll back legislation that makes college accessible and affordable for undocumented immigrants, which was signed into law by Governor Brown in 2011. Trump has vowed to pursue massive deportation, though this would not be good for business in California and the moderate block will likely oppose such measures along with the rest of the Legislature. Carlos Amador, lead organizer for the California Immigrant Policy Coalition, is urging students to organize. University of California President Janet Napolitano pledged to root out intolerance.

Trump favors school choice policies with \$20 billion going to school vouchers, which have been shown to disproportionately benefit middle- and upper-class students, as the poor cannot take advantage of these services due to financial and transportation challenges. For the position of Education Secretary, Trump selected billionaire Betsy DeVos, a longtime backer of

vouchers for private and religious schools, and charter schools. Therefore, the push towards marketization and privatization will be strong and will continue neo-liberal policies of the moderate Democratic Party.

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## Appendix A: Interview Protocol

### Background Information

Name:

Organization:

Position:

### Questions:

1. How do you and your organization envision the implementation of English learner profession development under CCSS with the new ELD Framework and professional development (CCSS ELTP)?
2. What are your beliefs about teaching English learners?
3. What was/is your role in the creation/shaping/implementation of the CCSS ELTP if any?
4. What does your organization believe is the intended goal of CCSS ELTP?
5. Do(es) you(r organization) believe that CCSS ELTP is achieving this goal? Why or why not?
  - a. Tell me one success story regarding the implementation of a language program.
  - b. Tell me one story of a failure regarding the implementation of a language program.
6. What are the challenges to implementing a policy such as CCSS ELTP?
  - a. Who is supporting/resisting the initiative?
  - b. Funding
  - c. Resources/Materials
  - d. Teachers (certification, professional development, etc.)

## **Appendix B: Administrator Interview Protocol**

### Background Information:

Name:

School:

Position:

Years in this position:

### Questions:

1. Can you tell me about the ELTP offered in your school/district and the history behind their introduction?
2. Why did you decide to work with [insert name of organization] on ELTP?
3. From what source do you receive funding for the program?
4. What types of information are you required to submit to your funders regarding the program?
5. What was the overall response you encountered when announcing to teachers, students, parents, and/or other administrators the introduction of this program? (Please provide specific examples.)
6. Is the program popular?
7. Can you describe to me some of the challenges that you encountered in implementing this program at your school/district? (Please provide specific examples.)
8. Has it been difficult finding teachers? What have their qualifications looked like?
9. If you could share with me only one, what would be your greatest success in implementing this program at your school?
10. How has the introduction of this program affected students? (Please provide specific examples.)

## Appendix C: English Learner Teacher Professional Developer Survey

Q1.1 University of California, Berkeley

Q1.2 According to our information, you are part of an organization that provides professional development for teachers of English learners. Because of this important role that you play, you are being invited to participate in a survey as part of a research study about the kinds of services that organizations like yours offer to educators. At the end of the survey you will be asked if you want to continue to participate by being interviewed. Your participation in the interview is completely separate and your acceptance is completely voluntary, as is your participation in this survey. If you wish to participate in this study, please respond that you accept. By accepting you are also indicating that you have read the full terms of agreement. If you agree to take part in the research, please print a copy of this page for your future reference, then click on the "Accept" button below.

- Accept (1)
- Don't Accept (2)

Q1.3 Open the full terms of agreement.

- Open (1)

Display This Question:

If Open the full terms of agreement. Open Is Selected

Q1.4 Introduction and Purpose

Q2.1 We would like to begin by asking you a few questions to confirm that our information is correct, and that you work for an organization that is relevant to the research study. Please answer the following questions.

Q2.2 Do you work for a professional development organization or department that serves teachers of English learners?

- Yes (1)
- No (2)

Q2.4 What is the website of your organization?

Q2.5 Have you served clients in the last year (2014)?

- Yes (1)
- No (2)

Q2.6 Is your organization composed of at least 2 people? (If you answer "no" you will not be able to continue the survey.)

- Yes (1)
- No (2)

Q3.1 About Your Organization The next block of questions are about the organization where you work. Please provide us with some basic information about this organization. We will be asking you to estimate and provide your best responses without having to look information up.

Q3.2 In the next section, please select the type of organization you work for and then select either the name of the organization or the name of the county or district.  
(Table Truncated to 63 Columns)

Q3.3 If the organization that you work for was not among those listed above, please write the organization name here.

Q3.4 In 2014, about how many employees worked in your teacher professional development organization? You may provide an estimate.

Q3.5 About how long has your organization been in existence?

Q4.1 Approximately what percentage of your organization's funding came from each funding source? Please note, the column will add up to 100%.

Q4.2 In 2014, of the contracts with districts and schools, how many would you estimate are with districts you have had several contracts and frequently do business with? If you don't know, please skip this question.

Q4.3 What counties did you serve in 2014? The counties are listed by region. Please select all that apply by pressing the Command (four leaf clover) key on a Mac or the Windows key on a Windows machine and clicking.

Q4.4 For this research, we are interested in understanding the duties that you, as an individual within the organization, spend time on. Please rank the following activities from the activities you spend the most time by dragging and dropping it as ("1") to the least by dragging and dropping it as ("8").

Q4.5 If you responded that you spend time on other activities, what were those activities in 2014?

Q4.6 Please select a response that describes most closely your organization's funding situation in 2014.

Q5.1 About the Services Your Organization Provides The next section of questions is about the services that your organization provides. Please inform us about the context within which you provide services, the types of services you provide, the clients that you serve, and the English learner teacher professional development approach that you take.

Q5.2 Please describe the typical process you follow to provide professional development to districts or schools. This is an open ended item.

Q5.3 In the last year (2014), teachers you served worked within which contexts?

Display This Question:

If In the last year (2014), teachers you served worked within which contexts? Other Is Selected

Q5.4 Please specify other contexts?

Q5.5 In the last year (2014), how often did your organization implement the following professional development activities?

Q5.6 In the last year (2014), how often did your organization implement the following professional development activities?

Q5.7 Do you offer online services for teachers of English learners? For example, do you offer online courses, online tools, online resources, and/or online mentorship? If so, please explain in 4-5 sentences what online services you provide and how central these services are to your work with teachers of English learners.

Q5.8 In the last year (2014), what English learner models guided your professional development work most? Please drag and drop all that apply in the box on the right and then rank them in order of the ones that guided your work most ("1") to least.

Display This Question:

If In the last year (2014), what English learner models guided your professional development work mo... Other - Guided My Professional Development Is Selected

And In the last year (2014), what English learner models guided your professional development work mo... Other Is Greater Than or Equal to 1

Q5.9 What other English learner models guided your professional development?

Q6.1 In your organization, reading tasks are viewed in the following ways.

Q7.1 About the Common Core State Standards The next section of questions is about the Common Core State Standards, your view of these standards, and the potential impact the standards will have on teachers of English learners. Please let us know your opinion about the Common Core and the ways that it is impacting your work.

Q7.2 In 3-4 sentences could you please summarize what you believe the Common Core State Standards represents for English learner teacher professional development?

Q7.3 Please respond to these statements regarding the impact of education policies on professional development with teachers of English learners.

Q7.4 What do you think about the Common Core State Standards in relationship to English learners?

Q7.5 Is there anything else you would like to share with us? Please feel free to write as much as is necessary to clarify, explain, or add to your responses in this survey.