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ABSTRACT OF DISSERTATION

Cynthia Reeves

The Graduate School

University of Kentucky

2004

HIGH STANDARDS FOR ALL STUDENTS?
THE KENTUCKY EDUCATION REFORM ACT AND IMMIGRANT HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS

ABSTRACT OF DISSERTATION

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the
College of Arts and Sciences
at the University of Kentucky

By
Cynthia Reeves

Lexington, Kentucky

Co-Directors: Dr. Beth Goldstein, Professor of Education
and Dr. John van Willigen, Professor of Anthropology

Lexington, Kentucky
2004

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ABSTRACT OF DISSERTATION

HIGH STANDARDS FOR ALL STUDENTS? THE KENTUCKY EDUCATION REFORM ACT AND IMMIGRANT HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS

During the 1990s, standards-based reform became the predominant education reform in the country. However, neither federal legislation nor state standards-based reform programs have focused much on addressing the needs of special groups. While, the explicit goal of standards-based reform was to raise academic achievement of all students, the implicit goal was to change beliefs about specific groups of students, particularly students who traditionally have been perceived as “disadvantaged.”

This dissertation examines the implementation of standards-based reform policies with populations of limited English proficient (LEP) high school students to determine the strength of the Kentucky’s policies to include LEP students and the capacity for those policies to influence educator beliefs about the abilities of LEP students. The study includes an analysis of Kentucky’s reform policies and a case study of one high school English as a Second Language program seen as a leader in implementing standards-based reforms. The case study approach provided an opportunity to learn about the issues associated with educating LEP high school students in the context of standards-based reform from the point of view of those who are charged with implementing these policies. The findings from this study suggest that it is not

sufficient to include LEP students in state assessment and accountability systems. In order for accountability systems to ensure strong student performance, they must also address inequities in students' opportunities to learn to high standards. The success of Kentucky's policies, as well as other standards-based policies, depends on their ability to drive changes in educator beliefs about students' capabilities and to drive the creation of local conditions supportive of practices consistent with achieving the goals of the Kentucky Education Reform Act.

KEYWORDS: Standards-Based Reform, Education Reform, High School Reform, English As A Second Language, Immigrant Students

Cynthia A. Reeves

June 21, 2004

HIGH STANDARDS FOR ALL STUDENTS?
THE KENTUCKY EDUCATION REFORM ACT AND
IMMIGRANT HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS

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DISSERTATION

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Tables……………………………………………………………………………..............vii

List of Figures………………………………………………………………………………….viii

List of Files……………………………………………………………………………….....ix

Introduction……………………………………………………………………………………..1

Background……………………………………………………………………………..7

The Study……………………………………………………………………………...10

Significance of the Study……………………………………………………………...11

Chapter One: Education Reform and Limited English Proficient Students: A Review of the Literature

Systemic Reform……………………………………………………………………...16

School Improvement: What We Know about What Works……………………….20

Features of Effective Secondary Programs for LEP Students………………….. 23

How Schools Change……………………………………………………….................26

Factors Affecting the Educational Experiences of LEP Students………………..30

LEP Immigrant Secondary Students and School Reform………………………..37

Inclusion in Accountability Systems…………………………………….39

School Organization…………………………………………………….....41

Shortage of Teachers……………………………………………………….45

Research Needs………………………………………………………………………….47

Chapter Two: Research Design

Introduction…………………………………………………………………………….49

Research Setting……………………………………………………………………….50

Research Questions…………………………………………………………………….51

Descriptive Questions……………………………………………………….51

Analysis Questions………………………………………………………….52

Rationale for Case Study Design……………………………………….................53

Data Collection Strategies…………………………………………………………….55

Sources of Evidence…………………………………………………………………...57

Interviews…………………………………………………………………...57

Observations……………………………………………………………….59

Document Review…………………………………………………………….60

Data Analysis…………………………………………………………………………60

Study Limitations…………………………………………………….................64

Chapter Three: Analysis of KERA Policies…………………………………………………66

KERA Policies…………………………………………………….................70

Control Strategies……………………………………………………...71
Empowerment Strategies…………………………………………...73
Supplemental Programs………………………………….................76
Strengths and Weaknesses of KERA Policies………………………………...77
Prescriptiveness……………………………………………………..77
Consistency…………………………………………………………80
Power………………………………………………….................82
Authority……………………………………………………………82
Summary……………………………………………………………………84

Chapter Four: Central High School's ESL Program: Structure and Organization……………...86
State Support for ESL Programs…………………………………………86
District Context…………...……………………………………………...88
ESL Program Funding………………………………………………….90
District ESL Program…………………………………….....................90
LEP Student Placement…………………………………................91
District Support Services…………………………………………...92
Central High School…………………………………………………….93
Assessment and Accountability………………………….................94
School Improvement Efforts…………………………………………..95
School Governance…………………………………………………97
The ESL Program………………………………………………………..99
Organization………………………………………………………..99
Curriculum…………………………………………….................102
Assessment……………………………………………….............104
The ESL Teachers…………………………………………………106
ESL Students………………………………………………………108
Summary………………………………………………………………..115

Chapter Five: Culture, Conditions, and Competencies for Effective Teaching and
Learning…..………………………………………………………………116
Culture……...……………………………………………………………120
Academic Expectations……………………………………………121
Behavioral Expectations…………………………………………..123
Conditions……...………………………………………………………..130
Isolation……………………………………………………………131
Lack of Emphasis on Academic Content...……………………………..136
Lack of Respect of Students' Language and Culture………...…………140
Limited Resources/Material……………………………………….147
Competencies……...……………………………………………………148
Student and Teacher Competencies……………………………….149
Evaluation…………………………………………………………150
Summary…………...……………………………………………………151

Chapter Six: Conclusions and Recommendations……………………………………………154
Conclusions……………………………………………………………..154
Assessment and Accountability……………………….............156
Local Capacity…………………………………………………157
Recommendations……………………………………………………161

Epilogue: ………………………………………………………………………………173
State Policy…………………………………………………………………..175
District Policy………………………………………………………………..177
Central High School…………………………………………………………178
Conclusion…………………………………………………………..............180

Appendices…………………………………………………………………………………...182

Bibliography………………………………………………………………………………200

Vita……………………………………………………………………………..............221

List of Tables

Table 4.1, School, District, and State Average KIRIS Scores 1992-1996……………………….94

Table 4.2, Percentage of Central Students Scoring at Each KIRIS Level 1994-1995..…………95

Table 4.3, Central ESL Students by Country of Origin 1994-95……….………………………..109

List of Figures

Figure 5.1, Arenas of Practice ……………………………………………………………….119

List of Files

CRdis.pdf: PDF file (1.1MB)

Introduction

In January 2002, President Bush signed the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 (NCLB) dramatically expanding the role of the federal government in public education by holding all schools accountable for the achievement of all students. Standards, assessment, and accountability have been major themes in recent reform efforts, and have been incorporated into much of the federal legislation aimed at improving the education of all students passed by Congress in the last decade. Two precursors to NCLB, enacted in the past ten years, *Goals 2000: Educate America Act* and the 1994 reauthorization of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, the *Improving America's Schools Act*, addressed "all students" and specifically included "students or children with limited English proficiency" (U.S. Department of Education, 1994). Both laws were aimed at improving education and raising student achievement by setting high expectations for all students. States were required to develop standards for all students, to assess students' progress toward those standards, and to hold schools accountable for student performance.

By 2002, almost all states had implemented some form of standards based reform. However, the federal government argued that the progress toward moving all students, including LEP students, to academic proficiency was slow and NCLB was meant to speed up the process. The *No Child Left Behind Act* placed greater demands on states and school districts than ever before. The law included a number of measures designed to drive gains in student achievement and to hold states and schools more accountable for student progress. Under NCLB, *all* students must achieve to the "proficient" level on state tests by the 2013-14 school year. Schools must meet state "adequate yearly progress" targets for their student populations as a whole and for certain demographic subgroups, including LEP students. Schools and school districts must raise test scores in reading and math, close achievement gaps, design improvement strategies and interventions for under-performing schools, hire or develop better qualified teachers, and create or expand public school choice programs.

Under NCLB, states are required to develop or adopt English-language-proficiency standards and English language proficiency assessments and to include LEP students in the same assessment program as their native English speaking peers. The requirement that LEP students be held to the same standards as their native English speaking peers was one of the more

controversial components of NCLB. The argument for including LEP students in academic testing was that many states had neglected to teach immigrant children academic English, and the new accountability for such children under the *No Child Left Behind Act* was meant to change that (Zehr, 2003). Federal education officials argued that oftentimes, because there were no consequences, students would stay in language-acquisition programs for years and never develop academic English skills (Zehr, 2003). Proponents of the regulation argued that LEP students will achieve to high levels if they are expected to achieve to high levels. Others argued that expecting LEP students to achieve to the same levels as other students is unrealistic, particularly students who enter U.S. schools in middle or high school with little or no English language skills and limited educational backgrounds (Collier, 1992; Ruiz-de-Velasco & Fix, 2000).

The policies of NCLB and other federal legislation of the past decade arose out of the systemic, or standards-based, reform movement that began in the mid-1980s as a response to a perceived out-dated and failing system of public education, the demands on the education system to prepare students for a knowledge-based economy (O'Day and Smith, 1993; Darling-Hammond, 1993; Marshall and Glover, 1996), and an increasing recognition that changing demographics required new educational approaches to ensure that students of diverse backgrounds learn to high levels. At the same time, changing theories of learning (Resnick, 1989; Vygotsky, 1978) were driving a reconceptualization of schooling, teaching, and learning.

In the early1980s, the prevailing perception of policy-makers and business leaders was that a large proportion of American youth were not adequately prepared to meet the demands of the workplace in the new knowledge-based service economy (National Commission on Excellence in Education, 1983). Education reformers began to demand more intellectually ambitious instruction for all students (Cohen and Spillane (1992). This was a radical departure from the long held view that most students need only basic and practical education. At the same time, the country was undergoing an economic and demographic shift. The United States was moving from an industrial economy to a technology and knowledge-based economy while experiencing the largest wave of immigration in almost a century. The economic and demographic changes in the United States, combined with new theories of learning, led reformers to advocate for a new instructional order based on deep comprehension of academic

subjects, in which students are active learners rather than passive recipients and in which teachers practice a much more thoughtful and demanding pedagogy (Cohen and Spillane, 1992).

The newly emphasized conceptions of teaching and learning were based on the premise that effective learning is active and contextual (Kazis, 1993; Shulman, 1987; Darling-Hammond, 1992; McLaughlin and Talbert, 1993). Learning involves the active construction of knowledge. Students' and teachers' roles are being redefined to reflect this new conception of learning. Students are expected to be active constructors of knowledge, collaborators, and decision-makers. The new conceptions of learning necessarily led to new conceptions of teaching. If students do not learn by passively ingesting information, teachers cannot teach by simply feeding them information. The role of the teachers should be to facilitate student engagement, not to deliver instruction (Darling-Hammond, 1992; McLaughlin and Talbert, 1993). Under the new conception of teaching, teachers are viewed as facilitators, guides, and mentors. And like students, teachers must continuously create their own knowledge and engage in collaboration and cooperation (Darling-Hammond, 1992; McLaughlin and Talbert, 1993; Shulman, 1987).

The reconceptualized view of schooling sees schools as learner-centered communities where the focus is on the students as the basis for organizing schoolwork and school organization (Banks, et al., 1992; Darling-Hammond, 1992). Proponents argued that education should be more personalized and should give more attention to the individual rather than to the system. Increased diversity in student populations has been important in the development of this conception. Due to an increased understanding that a one-size fits all instructional program is unlikely to meet the diverse needs of students from varied educational, cultural, linguistic, and socio-economic backgrounds.

Reformers also proposed fundamental, radical changes in politics and policy to achieve the new goals (Smith and O'Day, 1992; O'Day and Smith; 1993; Cohen and Spillane, 1992). School governance and instructional guidance were proposed as the most likely levers for producing the desired changes in the classrooms. Reformers proposed that the appropriate entity to provide sufficient guidance and accountability to ensure large-scale change was the state. NCLB and other recent federal legislation extended authority of the implementation of standards-based reform to the federal government.

Historically, the US government has had little influence on education. However, since the 1950s, the federal government had gained increasing influence on state and local decisions about funding, education for disadvantaged groups, civil rights, and research (Cohen and Spillane, 1992). State governments have traditionally delegated most authority to localities with the result being that many of the important education decisions have been made within the schools. Financial support for most schools is still tied to local tax bases and local taxation decisions. The result was a great deal of variety across schools in terms of resources and instructional programs. Standards-based reform policies were meant to create more uniformity in terms of teaching to common standards and common core content (O'Day and Smith, 1993). To develop this uniformity, proponents argue that decisions about standards, assessment, and curriculum frameworks should be made at the state or district level.

In standards-based reform theory, content standards, assessment, and accountability systems were meant to drive classroom practice in new directions based on reconceptualizations of teaching and learning. The standards in standards-based reform identify what students should know and be able to do as they progress through school. They were meant to be the base from which to align curriculum, instruction, and assessment.

Ensuring that all children have access to the common core content does not necessarily mean that all children receive exactly the same curriculum. The expectation was that curricula will vary with the interests, background, and cultures of the students and possibly their teachers and schools (O'Day and Smith, 1993). For the reform to be successful, advocates argued that the approaches taken by all schools must be based on common curriculum frameworks and all students must be expected and given the opportunity to perform at the same high standards on a common assessment (O'Day and Smith, 1993; Cohen and Spillane, 1992; Smith and O'Day, 1992). In order to maximize the opportunities for their students, individual schools must be free to choose the instructional strategies, language of instruction, use of curriculum materials, and topics to be emphasized. Successful standards-based reform is dependent upon state guidance informing local decisions.

At the core of standards-based reform was the tenet that all children should have access to the new challenging content and should be expected to learn this content to a high standard of performance (Smith and O'Day, 1992). This tenet was based on two key assumptions. First,

deep understanding of content, complex thinking, and problem solving are not only desirable and valued, but have become necessary for responsible citizenship in our diverse modern society. Second, all children can acquire these skills. Standards-based reform advocates argued that dumbing down the material for disadvantaged students denies them the opportunity to learn challenging material of the curriculum (O'Day and Smith, 1993).

Within the standards movement was a strong emphasis on educational equity. Not only are standards intended to make expectations clear and measurable, they also set high expectations for all students — including LEP students. The argument was that as school systems adopt standards with more rigorous expectations for the performance of LEP students, educators will pay greater attention to ensuring student attainment of those standards (Smith and O'Day, 1991). Unfortunately, the new approaches based on standards-based theory have not generally been applied to LEP students (Brisk, 1998; McLeod, 1995; Ruiz-de-Velasco & Fix, 2000).

Neither federal legislation nor state standards-based reform programs have focused much on addressing the needs of special groups. A number of states at the forefront of reform efforts, such as Kentucky, have small LEP populations and have no provisions regarding LEP achievement and no mechanisms to track their progress. Conversely, in states with large LEP populations, such as California, LEP students were not taken into account when curriculum frameworks were developed. California is only now in the process of developing curriculum frameworks to align the curriculum and instructional framework of LEP students to the English Language Arts content standards.

At the federal level, although the expressed goal of NCLB is to promote high achievement for "all" children, no explicit guidance is offered about how to help different groups of students, including LEP students, meet these standards. In particular, the place of secondary level, recent-immigrant students in the standards-based reform movement is unclear.

While all states have adopted content standards and performance standards, few states have created standards and curriculum frameworks for LEP students (Zehr, 2003; Blank, Manise, & Brathwaite, 1999), others are only developing them now, and still others have not yet begun. Under NCLB, states are required to develop English proficiency standards for LEP students and

to assess their progress toward English proficiency. In 2003, only thirteen states had developed English language proficiency standards; Kentucky was not one of them (Zehr, 2003).

Under standards-based reform, assessments are the primary means for determining whether or not students are achieving standards. Prior to the passage of NCLB, few states included LEP students in their state-wide assessments. Therefore, little data exists concerning LEP students progress toward meeting standards. Standards-based reform policies are based on the tenet that all students can achieve challenging standards. Yet, currently we lack coherent, research-based guidance or models about how to include LEP students into assessment and accountability systems in ways that ensure validity of assessment results and drive instruction in ways that provide LEP students the opportunities to learn challenging content.

While, the explicit goal of standards-based reform is to raise academic achievement of all students, the implicit goal is to change beliefs about specific groups of students, particularly students who traditionally have been perceived as “disadvantaged.”
Designers of Kentucky’s reform policies argued that one set of standards covered all students and to create different standards for different students defeated the purpose of the reform – to hold all students to the same high standards (Foster, 1999). There were no exceptions for special education students or LEP students. All students were held to the same high standards and all schools are expected to develop curriculum and instructional strategies to ensure that all students meet those high standards.

The purpose of this dissertation is to provide insight into the implementation of standards-based reform policies with populations of LEP high school students to determine the strength of the state’s policies to include LEP students and the capacity for those policies to influence educator beliefs about the abilities of LEP students. The study includes an analysis of the state’s reform policies and a case study of one high school ESL program seen as a leader in implementing standards-based reforms. The case study approach provided an opportunity to learn about the issues associated with educating LEP high school students in the context of standards-based reform from the point of view of those who are charged with implementing these policies. The case study of the Central High School ESL program provides insight into standards-based reform policies and their ability to ensure that schools are providing the same educational opportunities to LEP high school students as are being provided to their native

English speaking peers. While the majority of the data for the case study were collected in 1994-1996, little has changed in the past eight years in terms of state policy toward LEP students. The passage of *No Child Left Behind* requires states to develop language proficiency standards, but Kentucky has yet to comply with that requirement. In addition, Kentucky did not comply with the requirement of ESEA 1994 to disaggregate data by LEP status until 2003. Therefore, the data from 1993-1995 are still very relevant to understanding the ability of Kentucky's policies to influence ESL teachers' decisions about curriculum and instruction. However, additional data were collected in 2003-2004 on policy changes at the state and district level that affect LEP students and their inclusion in the reform effort. This information is included in the Epilogue along with a discussion of the potential of the new policies to address the conclusions and recommendations discussed in Chapter 6.

Background

In 1990, Kentucky's legislature passed the Kentucky Education Reform Act that set out to reconstruct the state's system of pubic schools. The catalyst for this reform legislation was the Kentucky Supreme Court opinion (*Rose v. Council for Better Education*, 1989) that declared the state's system of public education unconstitutional because it did not provide equal educational opportunities to all of the state's children. The Court said:

> This decision applies to the entire sweep of the system – all its parts and parcels. This decision applies to all the statutes creating, implementing and financing the system and to all regulations, etc., pertaining thereto. This decision covers the creation of local school districts, school boards, and the Kentucky Department of Education….It covers school construction and maintenance, teacher certification – the whole gamut of the common school system in Kentucky…Since we have, by this decision, declared the system of common schools in Kentucky to be unconstitutional, Section 183 places an absolute duty on the General assembly to re-create, re-establish a new system of common schools in the Commonwealth…..

…..We view this decision as an opportunity for the General Assembly to launch the Commonwealth into a new era of educational opportunity which will ensure a strong economic, cultural and political future (Rose, pp.215-216).

The outcome of this decision was House Bill 940, the Kentucky Education Reform Act (KERA), signed into law on April 11, 1990. KERA was a massive reform package consistent with the standards-based reform movement that was sweeping the nation, but it was also unique in its efforts for putting together a whole package of reform initiatives based on the systemic reform model.

The standards-based reform model was based on the premise that school improvement is complex and involves many interconnected factors that need to be addressed at the same time. The key components of this approach include: a unifying set of goals that *all* students must attain; a coherent system of instructional guidance, including curriculum frameworks, locally developed curricula, professional development, and assessment and accountability mechanisms; and a restructured governance system (Smith and O'Day, 1991). KERA included each of these components as well as a number of "input" measures that schools could use to help students overcome barriers to learning. The designers of the reform were aware that students from poor families faced non-academic barriers to learning that could impede their progress toward achieving the goals of the reform. The input measures were to be used by schools as additional assistance for those students at-risk for failure and included preschool programs, a nongraded primary program, integrated service centers, and extended school services.

The primary goal of the reform was that, by the year 2014, *all* students would achieve the challenging goals laid out in the legislation. Under KERA, schools were given the autonomy to decide how best to help students achieve the reform goals and schools were held accountable for student performance as measured by the state assessment instrument (the Kentucky Instructional Results Information System or KIRIS). To help schools achieve these goals, the reform package also included state curriculum guidance documents, professional development for teachers, regional service centers, and a technology program.

A standards-based reform was emerging as the pre-eminent reform strategy in the U.S., the country is experiencing an economic and demographic shift. Economically, the country was

moving from an industrial economy to a technology and knowledge-based economy. One hundred years ago, students who mastered the 'basics' of reading, writing, and arithmetic were well prepared for the workplace. In today's knowledge-based economy, to succeed in post-secondary education or the workplace, students need critical thinking and problem-solving skills as well as oral and written communication skills (NCEE, 1983; Education Trust, 2001). The system has changed little, but our educational needs have changed tremendously. All students now need those skills that were historically taught only to a fraction of students. Standards-based reform is an attempt to create an educational system based on high expectations for *all* students, clear measurements of student progress, and strong accountability for results.

At the same time Kentucky was implementing extensive education reforms, the state's student population was becoming increasingly diverse. Increased immigration, primarily from Asia and Latin America, introduced an element not initially addressed in the formulation of Kentucky's education reform programs and policies -- cultural and linguistic diversity. The initial motivation for reform in Kentucky was to equalize funding and educational opportunities between wealthy and poor districts. While the education reform legislation did not specifically address limited English proficient (LEP) students, it held as much promise for LEP students as for other students. The designers of KERA purposefully did not address specific groups of students because they wanted to emphasize that the high standards were meant for all students (Foster, 2000). In the words of the Task force on Education Reform:

> If one expects a discernible portion of students to fail, one will encounter the first student with whom one has difficulty and identify that student as one of those who cannot learn when measured against rigorous criteria. That student will be literally or figuratively abandoned. Soon a second will join the initial failed child and then another and another (cited in Foster, 2000).[1]

The focus on tailoring reform to local conditions through local control of budgeting and curriculum, high expectations for *all* students, and modifying curriculum and instruction to challenge and engage *all* students, all point to the belief that schools can educate children from

[1] The statement of principles was prepared by David Hornbeck for the Curriculum Committee and was adopted by the Task Force.

diverse backgrounds and schools were given leeway to develop curriculum appropriate to the local context and the needs of students (McLeod, 1995).

The Study

The findings from the study provide information relating to the capacity of Kentucky's current reform policies and programs to include LEP immigrant high school students and to influence educator beliefs about the abilities of LEP students. The insights were used to formulate proposals for improving the education of LEP immigrant students within the current structure of education in Kentucky.

This dissertation uses the case study of one high school ESL (English as a Second Language) program to examine the impact of state level reform policies on the educational opportunities and experiences of LEP immigrant students. The ESL program studied is located in a central Kentucky district that has experienced increasing numbers of immigrant students and within a school (Central High School) that has been acknowledged as a leader in implementing KERA reforms. The dissertation addresses the following questions:

1. What strategies are the state, district, and school using to educate immigrant students?
2. To what extent does KERA facilitate or hinder opportunities for immigrant students to achieve the KERA goals?

A high school population was selected because the majority of research on LEP students has been at the elementary level and high school students face a different set of issues. Academic pressures (language skills, grades, college acceptance) combined with social (assimilation, acceptance by mainstream peers) and family pressures (jobs, conflict created by assimilation) create a multi-stress environment for LEP high school students (Collier, 1992; Lucas, 1997; Mace-Matlcuk et al, 1998; Ruia-de-Velasco & Fix, 2000). Also, the particular characteristics of the site school provided an opportunity to examine the experiences of LEP high school students in a multilingual, multicultural environment in a school attempting to implement reforms that claim to address the needs of all students. This is not a study of best practices or of student needs. It is a study of policy implementation, an examination of one high school ESL program and the factors facilitating or hindering the implementation of state education reform policies with a high school LEP student population.

It is important to clarify the terms used in this report in order to avoid confusion. The terms *limited English proficient* (LEP) and *English language learner* have been used throughout the literature to refer to students who lack full proficiency in English. These students may be native or immigrant. In Kentucky, English language learners or LEP students are primarily immigrants and all of the students enrolled in the study program were immigrants. In addition, this dissertation addresses issues faced by students enrolled in an English as a Second Language (ESL) program and does not address issues of English speaking immigrants. Throughout this dissertation, the term LEP student will be used to refer to the limited English-proficient immigrant students enrolled in the study ESL program.

Significance of the research

During the past two decades, the proportion of students in the United States who are poor, minority, and limited English proficient has increased dramatically. Federal policy has played a major role in reshaping the demographic profile of the nation. The Immigration Act of 1965 eliminated national-origin quotas that had favored Europeans, thus allowing for the growth of immigration from Africa, Asia, Latin America, and the Caribbean (Greenblatt, 1995). Immigration into the U.S. roughly doubled in the decade of the 1980s and about 84% of these people were from Asia, the Caribbean, and Latin America (Rendon and Hope, 1996). This trend continued through the 1990s. Between 1990 and 2000, the immigrant population from Latin American grew by 6.1 million or 72 percent. During the same period, immigration from Asia grew by 2.2 million or 44 percent (Schmidley, 2003).

Immigrants currently arrive at the rate of about one million a year and, in 2000, there were 28.4 million foreign-born residents in the United States, representing 10.4% of the U.S. population, twice the percentage in 1970 (Schmidley, 2003). The U.S. Census Bureau reported that five percent of the students in the U.S. are LEP. Forty percent of these LEP students are foreign-born and 60 percent of these immigrant students have been in the US less than five years (Fix and Passel, 2003). In addition, immigrant children make up a larger share of the secondary than elementary school population: 6.4 percent versus 3.8 percent (Fix and Passel, 2003). These LEP students not only need language instruction, but many also need extra academic instruction

and secondary schools are typically less equipped to teach content, language, and literacy than elementary schools.

In 1988, The National Coalition of Advocates for Students reported that the U.S. public school system was unprepared for and overwhelmed by the challenge of educating immigrant children. Schools are faced with the task of educating students from diverse linguistic and cultural groups with various educational and socioeconomic backgrounds. While young immigrants are heavily concentrated (70%) in just five states (California, New York, Texas, Florida, and Illinois), other regions of the country not historically affected by immigration are also experiencing significant increases in their immigrant populations. The challenges are now being felt nationwide.

Kentucky, until the past decade, had experienced little immigration from countries other than those of Europe. Between 1990 and 2000, Kentucky was one of fifteen states that experienced a 100 percent or more increase it LEP population. During this ten year period, LEP student enrollment in Kentucky's schools increased by 290 percent (US Department of Education, 2002).

Following recent national trends, the state experienced an increase in immigration of people from Asia and Latin America, as well as from Eastern Europe, the former Soviet Republics and the Middle East (U.S. Citizenship and Naturalization Services, 2003). Kentucky's immigrant population is now characterized by diversity in cultures, languages, education and socioeconomic backgrounds. Many of these recent immigrants have been drawn to the region by available economic and educational opportunities. Japanese businesses associated with a major automobile manufacturer located in the region have brought with them corporate executives and their families. A major university also attracts faculty and students from a wide array of cultural and language backgrounds. Tobacco and horse farms in the region draw farm workers and their families. Other families have settled in the region as part of refugee resettlement programs sponsored by various civic and religious groups.

Prior to 1990, the Kentucky Department of Education did not keep track of the number of limited English proficient or immigrant students in the state. However, by 1994, 2161 students speaking 58 languages other than English were enrolled in Kentucky schools, primarily in four school districts. By the 2001-2002 school year, that number had increased to 6,017 (U.S.

Department of Education, 2002). This trend of increasing socioeconomic, ethnic, and linguistic diversity of today's students has been cited as a rationale for many recent education reform proposals throughout the nation (Gandara, 1994).

In the 1990s, Kentucky's reform effort was described as the most radical in the nation (Steffy, 1993) because of its comprehensiveness. The reform included standards, an assessment and accountability system, professional development for teachers, and supports for students. The only other recent, comprehensive, legislated reform prior to KERA was the Chicago School Reform Act of 1988, a district level reform effort (Hess, 1991). A comprehensive reform aimed at providing a quality education to *all* students bodes well for every student in Kentucky, but particularly for those students who have a history of low achievement. The emphasis on all children being provided access to the new challenging content and the belief that all children should be expected to learn this content to a high standard of performance was meant to focus educators attention on students traditionally viewed as "disadvantaged" and under traditional education systems, less likely to be exposed to challenging academic content (Smith and O'Day, 1992). The challenge for Kentucky's educators is to provide equal opportunity to learn the challenging content of the curriculum to *all* students, whatever their socioeconomic status, ethnicity, linguistic background, learning style, or disability. Ensuring that limited English proficient high school students have the opportunities to learn the challenging content of curriculum is particularly problematic because of their diverse educational, cultural, and language backgrounds, as well as the fact that they have a limited amount of time to learn English and keep on track academically.

The goal of this dissertation is to use the case study of Central High School to highlight the ability of Kentucky's systemic reform policies and programs to ensure LEP high school students meet state standards and to identify possible areas for improvement. Chapter 1 summarizes systemic reform theory and its potential benefits for the education of LEP students and reviews the literature on LEP students, identifying important issues and successful practices. Chapter 2 lays out the study and research methods. Chapter 3 describes the state and district policies, programs, and funding directed at the education of LEP students. Chapter 4 is an analysis of KERA policies and their impact on Central High's ESL program. The policies are analyzed in terms of their prescriptiveness, consistency, authority, and power (Porter et al, 1991)

in order to demonstrate the strengths and weaknesses of KERA's policies and programs to ensure that LEP high school students have access to curriculum and instruction that will enable them to meet KERA goals. Chapter 5 is a description of Central High Schools' student population, teachers, programs, policies, and practices. Chapter 6 describes the culture and conditions of teaching and learning of the ESL program and demonstrates how the fundamental aspects of school life have not changed in the direction desired by KERA. The chapter focuses on those factors influencing administrators and teachers decisions about curriculum and instruction that have been affected little or not at all by KERA. These factors include teacher and administrator beliefs about what LEP students are able to learn, how they are able to learn, and what knowledge and skills they need for their future in the U.S Chapter 7 summarizes the weaknesses of KERA policies in ensuring that LEP high school students meet the reform goals and outlines recommendations for increasing the likelihood that LEP students benefit from KERA's policies and programs. The dissertation concludes with an Epilogue that provides updated information on federal, state, and local policy changes that have been implemented since 1995. The data for the dissertation were collected eight years ago. Such a time lag between data collection and reporting can be problematic as policies and conditions change. In this case, policies, particularly at the federal level, have changed dramatically, but the impact on state and district policies has been minimal. Therefore, the case study is still very relevant to context of high school ESL education in Kentucky and provides useful insight into the implementation of standards-based reform policies with immigrant high school students in Kentucky.

The story of Central High School's ESL program is not a success story in terms of its implementation of KERA policies and programs. More often than not, studies focusing on education reform describe programs, schools, or districts that have had success in improving the academic achievement of students, particularly poor and/or minority students. The fact that the Central High program has not been successful in terms of ensuring that students enrolled in the school's ESL program had access to curriculum and instruction that would facilitate achievement of KERA goals provides an opportunity to identify the weaknesses in state policy and the linkages or lack thereof between state policy and classroom practice. The goal of the reform legislation was to change school and classroom practices in ways that ensure that all students have an opportunity to achieve the high standards laid out in the law. This study is an attempt to

identify the key factors that inhibit the adoption of such practices and how state policy may be changed or modified to address the weaknesses of existing policy as it relates to immigrant LEP students.

Chapter One

Education Reform and Limited English Proficient Students: A Review of the Literature

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the current systemic or standards-based reform movement and its potential benefit to LEP students drawing on research about effective schools, effective education environments for LEP students, and educational change.

This latest wave of reform stems from information gained from research on schools successful in raising the achievement of students at-risk for failure that led to calls for a restructuring of schools to better meet the needs of all students. The systemic reform movement is based on the increasing awareness that meaningful school change requires a rethinking and restructuring of our schools in order to recreate the successes in all schools. Recent research on effective programs for LEP immigrant secondary school students echoes these calls for restructuring and a reconceptualization of schools and schooling. This chapter describes the systemic reform model, the promise it holds for LEP immigrant students, what we know about the change process, and what we know about the LEP immigrant school experience and effective programs for LEP students.

Systemic Reform

For the past two decades, school reform proposals have emphasized the need to rethink how schools operate and how teaching and learning are pursued (Darling-Hammond, 1996). The new mission for education is to not merely deliver instruction, but to ensure that all students learn. In order for schools to be successful in this mission, they must find ways to provide challenging content to all students and meet the needs of diverse students. In the 1980s, states and school districts across the country began implementing ambitious education reforms largely in response to the National Commission on Excellence in Education's report, *A Nation at Risk* (1983). This report claimed that American schools were failing to prepare students for the world

of work and had contributed to the increasing lack of competitiveness of the United States on the world market. The dominant perception was that economic impotence was a result of the failure of U.S. public schools. At the level of the school, inadequate operating structure, poor management, weak and incoherent curricula, an absence of accountability and a lack of high academic expectations and standards were perceived as contributing to this failure and influenced the focus of reforms.

A Nation at Risk (1983) sparked a movement in education reform that has lasted two decades. This movement came in three waves. The first wave, in the early 1980s, was characterized by 'top-down' reforms that focused on increased graduation requirements, promotion criteria, testing mandates, and standard curricula. The second wave came in the late 1980s as a response to criticisms that the reforms of the first wave were unable to change the content of instruction or to involve teachers in the reform process. The second wave focused on 'bottom-up' strategies for improving teaching and teacher education and emphasized the process of change and the active involvement of school level educators as designers and directors of change efforts.

The third wave of reform, known as "systemic reform," emerged in the early 1990s and attempted to combine elements of the first and second waves. The philosophy and strategies of this approach were outlined by Smith & O'Day (1991). They argued that first wave reforms failed to produce meaningful gains in student achievement primarily because the strategies did not change the content of instruction, involve teachers in the reform process, or alter notions of teaching and learning. Second-wave reforms relied too much on school-based initiatives, making large-scale reform unlikely, and focused too little attention on classroom content and pedagogy. Smith and O'Day proposed a "coherent *systemic* strategy that can combine the energy and professional involvement of the second wave reforms with a new and challenging state structure to generalize the reforms to all schools within the state" (1991, pp. 234-235). This systemic approach was based on the assumption that, to significantly alter student outcomes, change must occur at the most basic level of education – in classrooms and schools -, however, the state must play a proactive role in setting the conditions for change in the "great majority" of schools.

According to Smith and O'Day (1991), the key strategies of systemic reform are to:

- Identify a **unifying set of goals** that *all* students must attain that go beyond basic factual knowledge to emphasize higher order knowledge and problem solving;
- Develop a **coherent system of instructional guidance** consisting of curriculum frameworks that describe the knowledge, skills, and attitudes expected of students; state support for schools and districts to construct locally responsive curricula within the structure of the state content frameworks; pre-service and in-service professional development to ensure that teachers have the knowledge and skills required to teach the content of the frameworks; high quality assessment instruments, based on the curriculum frameworks, to monitor progress toward achievement goals for accountability purposes;
- Institute a **restructured governance system** in which schools assume responsibility for providing an environment conducive to student achievement of the goals, while districts and the state provide resources and a supportive environment and policies for schools.

What Smith and O'Day initially referred to as "systemic reform" has become known more commonly as "standards-based reform." As Clune explained,

> For Smith and O'Day, standards were the foundation of systemic reform: standards-based curricula utilized as the touchstone for policy alignment…Standards-based curricula aim for active learning by students and support teaching for understanding, as opposed to the exclusive emphasis on basic skills that characterized some earlier exercises of policy alignment, such as minimum competency achievement testing. Both the meaning of teaching for understanding and the proper emphasis to be placed on basic skills are hotly debated to this day. But some kind of deepening (or upgrading) of the curriculum has remained a universally accepted goal of standards-based reform, especially for disadvantaged students. Thus the terms *systemic reform* and *standards-based reform* have become virtually synonymous (Clune 2001, p. 14).

The standards-based reform movement represents a radical departure from the way that public education has been perceived, organized, and delivered in the United States for the past 100 years. Standards-based reform marked a change in the way education policymakers think about education and who can achieve to high levels. Promoting instructional practices designed to help all students reach ambitious standards runs counter to widely shared beliefs about the nature of learning and about the abilities of many students, especially poor and minority students

(Cohen & Spillane, 1992). This shift required a reconceptualization of teaching and learning to drive instructional practice toward the goal of helping all students achieve to high standards. The reconceptualization focused on learners as constructors of knowledge, collaborators, and decision-makers; teachers as learners, facilitators, and cultural mediators; and schools as learner-centered communities. The learning of the individual becomes the focus, not the delivery of instruction.

The standards-based approach is based on the assumption that, to significantly alter student outcomes, change must occur at the most basic level of education -- in classrooms and schools. However, the state must play a proactive role in setting the conditions for change (Smith and O'Day, 1992; Cohen and Spillane, 1992). As defined by standards-based reform theory, successful implementation of reforms requires change at all levels of the system: state, district, and school. The state and districts are to provide the resources and supportive policies while the school is responsible for providing an environment conducive to student achievement of clearly defined goals.

Students at-risk of school failure, including LEP students, are frequently cited as justification for standards-based reform. It is generally assumed that if rigorous standards are created for all students, then a coordinated effort can be mounted that focuses on increased achievement. The intended result is that all students, including LEP immigrant students will achieve those high standards. If the expectations are increased for all students, the entire system is focused on helping students achieve those higher expectations, including LEP immigrant students and others at risk-for school failure.

Student assessment is the process by which achievement of these standards is measured, and forms the basis for the accountability system. Yet, in many states and districts, LEP students have been excluded from testing due to their lack of English proficiency and concerns about the validity of their test scores. Therefore, the assessment data do not provide useful information about the attainment of standards for this population. By excluding LEP students from the assessment process, accountability systems provide few incentives to improve outcomes for LEP high school students. If LEP immigrant students are not included in the assessments to determine their level of achievement, the result is often that little is expected of them or the

schools responsible for educating them and the likelihood of LEP students being provided opportunities to learn challenging material decreases (Ruiz-de-Velasco & Fix, 2000).

While including students at-risk for failure into standards-based reform efforts is important, education scholars argue that adopting new curricula, new teaching methods, and allocating more funding, are all meaningless unless we begin to think differently about immigrant students and thinking differently involves seeing these students in new ways that may contradict conventional notions about immigrant students capacity for learning rigorous academic content while learning English (Lucas, 1997; Mace-Matlcuk et al, 1998; Ruiz-de-Velasco & Fix, 2000). Recent research on school reform makes clear that higher standards and stronger data collection systems do not, alone, ensure change (Ayer, 1992; Fullan, 1991; McLaughlin, 1990; Wagner, 2002; Tyack and Tobin, 1994; Elmore, 1995; Fullan, 1993). Schools that have been effective in providing curriculum and instruction tied to high standards to LEP students have realized these changes through schoolwide reform efforts (Lucas, 1997; Mace-Matluck, 1998; McLaughlin & McLeod, 1996; Miramonte, 1997; Ruiz-de-Velasco & Fix, 2000).

School Improvement: What We Know About What Works

In the past 20 years there has been an abundance of research on school improvement and educational change in general. The school effectiveness research of the 1980s focused on identifying correlates of effective schools associated with student performance (based on available achievement data). Twenty years of research on school factors that influence student performance has identified seven correlates of effective schools:

- A clear school-wide vision
- High expectations for success
- Opportunity to learn
- Frequent monitoring of student progress
- Safe and orderly environment conducive to learning
- Strong leadership
- Home-school relations

The most effective schools, no matter the student population, maintain a school-wide vision with shared goals that tie the content, structure, and resources of the school together (Bell, 2000; Bottoms, et al, 2003; Charles A. Dana Center, 1999; Education Trust, 1999; Herman, 1992; McNeil, 1986; Slavin, et al., 1993). The vision or mission provides the rationale for the selection of curriculum materials, instructional strategies, the use of student assessment, and the purposes and content of professional development. The particulars of school visions will differ to reflect the local context. However, as McNeil (1986) points out, the vision must focus on teaching and learning, rather than control and discipline, if the school is to be successful in promoting complex thinking, depth of understanding, and active student involvement. In an effective school, the staff share an understanding of and commitment to instructional goals, priorities, assessment procedures and accountability and accept responsibility for students' learning of the school's essential curricular goals.

The goals and values of the school are translated into everyday life by establishing clear rules and guidelines and maintaining high expectations for all students (Anderson, C. S., 1985; Bain and Jacobs, 1990; Bottoms et al, 2003; Charles A. Dana Center, 1999; Coleman and Hoffer, 1987; Levine and Eubanks, 1989; Mortimore, 1991). Goal setting helps to define performance objectives for both students and teachers and thus creates a greater expectation for success (Darling-Hammond, 1996; Mohrman and Lawler, 1996). High teacher expectations have long been considered an important component of successful schools (Rosenthal and Jacobson, 1968). High expectations mean all students are expected to achieve high academic standards and are given the opportunities to learn the challenging material of the curriculum to achieve to those standards. In an effective school, there is a climate of expectation in which the staff believe and demonstrate that all students can learn challenging content and skills, and the staff also believe that they have the capability to help all students achieve those goals.

A focus on high academic standards requires greater competence on the part of teachers. Teachers must know their subject matter deeply and be able to draw on a variety of instructional strategies to address the specific learning needs of individual students. Wenglinsky's (2000) analysis of national NAEP math and science data including the questionnaire sent to students, teachers and principals found that a teacher's educational background, professional development,

and classroom practices play key roles in improving student achievement. Students whose teachers received professional development in working with special populations outperformed their peers by more than a full grade level, and students whose teachers received professional development in higher-order thinking skills outperformed their peers by 40 percent of a grade level. Also, students whose teachers majored or minored in the subject they were teaching outperformed their peers by about 40 percent of a grade level in both science and math. Students with teachers with deep understanding of their subject matter and who could draw on a wide repertoire of strategies to address the needs of diverse students achieved to higher levels than their peers.

Successful schools continuously assess students on their progress toward clearly defined goals (Bottoms et al, 2003; Charles A. Dana Center, 1999; Fullan, 1992; Levine and Lezotte, 1990; Louis and Miles, 1989; Purkey and Smith, 1983). A variety of assessment procedures are used and the results of the assessments are used to improve individual student performance and also to improve the instructional program.

Highly effective schools have a positive school climate that is conducive to teaching and learning (Agne, Greenwood, and Miller, 1994; Anderson, C. S.,1985; Bain and Jacobs,1990; Bell, 2000; Bottoms et al, 2003; Charles A. Dana Center, 1999; Darling-Hammond, 1996; Edmonds,1979; Mortimore and Sammons, 1987; Newmann, 1991). A positive environment would be not only free from drugs and crime, but would be characterized by mutual respect among educators and students. In successful schools, teachers and peers offer support. Learning involves risk taking and a supportive environment encourages risk taking. In a supportive environment, students feel a personal attachment to their school and their teachers and believe that the school will help them succeed in learning. Developing a sense of caring within the school is important for student engagement in school and classroom activities and for developing a sense of membership.

The research on effective school leaders points to a need for both technical and culture-building skills (Andrews and Soder, 1987; Charles A. Dana Center, 1999; Berman and McLaughlin, 1979; Bottoms et al, 2003; Edmonds, 1979; Fullan,1994; Louis and Miles,1989; Mortimore, 1991; Purkey and Smith, 1983). Strong leaders have a vision for their school and are able to build a shared sense of mission among the faculty. An effective principal is purposeful,

but not too authoritarian or too democratic (Louis & Miles, 1989). An effective leader is able to share ownership of the school with colleagues and involve the faculty in the management of the school. However, principals are not the only leaders (Peterson, 1985; Bird & Little, 1985; Pitner, 1986). Teacher leadership and collegiality are also important aspects of school improvement. Highly successful schools operate through shared decision-making about curriculum, instruction, and assessment that is based on shared goals and norms. Schools use a wide variety of strategies such as committees, teaching teams or other work groups to maximize participation of the faculty. Such structures increase opportunities for people to develop shared perspectives and to learn from one another. Teachers who under more traditional school structures have been isolated from the mainstream, such as special education and ESL/bilingual education teachers, are provided an opportunity to share with and learn from mainstream teachers. Teaching teams or other work groups allow ESL/bilingual education and special education teachers to share their experiences and successful teaching strategies with mainstream teachers, while mainstream teachers may share their experience and knowledge of content and teaching to standards.

In the effective school, parents understand and support the school's basic mission and are given the opportunity to play an important role in helping the school to achieve that mission. Involving parents and the community in the school is likely to increase support and confidence in the school (Bell, 2000; Darling-Hammond, 1996; Levine and Stark, 1982; Newmann, 1991; Tangri and Moles, 1987). If parents and educators share a common understanding of school goals, the goals pursued at school may be reinforced at home as well. A continuous exchange of information between school and home makes it easier for parents and educators to work with students toward the same ends. Connecting with parents to create bridges or common ground also can help reduce cultural conflicts. Parents may feel uncomfortable initially in their contact with the school. But a continuous exchange of information creates understanding and allows parents and school staff to find common ground.

Features of effective secondary school programs for LEP students

We now know that, for the most part, good programs for LEP students exist within good schools (Brisk, 1998; Carter & Chatfield, 1986; Goldenberg and Sullivan, 1994; Lucas, 1997;

Mace-Matluck et al, 1998; Tomlinson, 1989). Because LEP students are rarely included in state testing systems, little achievement data is available on these students. As a result, researchers have relied primarily on the knowledge of educators working with LEP students to identify effective programs for improving academic performance of LEP students. "Effective" in these studies can be defined in a variety of ways including successful transition to mainstream classrooms, ability to learn challenging academic content, and successful transition to post-secondary education and work. While comparable achievement data does not exist for LEP students, the findings from research on effective strategies in schooling for LEP students and from the research on successful schools in general are strikingly similar. The research on schools that have had success in improving the academic performance of LEP students indicates that successful schools exhibit the following characteristics (Brisk, 1998; Carter and Chatfield, 1986; Goldenberg and Sullivan, 1994; Lucas, 1997; Mace-Matluck et al, 1998; Ruiz-de-Velasco & Fix, 2000; Tomlinson, 1989):

- Clear, shared goals
- A positive school climate
- High expectations
- A knowledgeable staff
- Strong leadership
- The use of indicators that measure success
- Parental and community involvement

Researchers and policymakers have suggested a need to move away from thinking about programs in broad terms such as ESL or bilingual education programs, and instead see them as containing multiple components, i.e. features that are available to meet the differing needs of particular students (Brisk, 1998; Glenn, 1997). The argument follows that the interests of LEP students will be better served by research-based experimentation on effective schooling of poor children of any cultural or ethnic background, taking into account how they are assessed and taught. In essence, improvement in programs for LEP students requires fundamental changes within the whole school because the overall quality of the school will affect the program. Research on effective schools demonstrates that schools can stimulate academic achievement for

students regardless of how situational factors influence them (Bell, 2000; Bottoms et al, 2003; Charles A. Dana Center, 1999, Education Trust, 1999).

When implemented thoughtfully by schools that are educated about the needs of language learners, standards-based reform holds great promise for changing high schools in ways that will provide LEP immigrant students enriched learning contexts for both English language proficiency and academic content (Harklau, 1999). Successful implementation of reforms requires fundamental shifts in the curriculum, philosophy, and goals of instruction, and the changes suggested by reform advocates are compatible with ESL needs in mainstream classrooms: increased use of cooperative learning techniques (McGroaty, 1992; Sagan, 1986) and other forms of student-directed work; curricula organized around central concepts or themes, and linked to hands-on activities (Wheelock, 1992) and real life experiences of students (Goodlad & Oakes, 1988); authentic, individualized forms of assessment (Gottlieb, 1999; Goodlad & Oakes, 1988; Oakes, 1986); modeling tasks (Cone, 1991); and collaborative teams of teachers who work together to plan and implement instruction for a cluster of students within the school (Wheelock, 1992).

An examination of programs that have successfully institutionalized reforms for LEP immigrant students reveals some common elements (Lucas, 1997; Mace-Matluck et al, 1998; Ruiz-de-Velasco, 2000). Effective programs for LEP immigrant students take a variety of forms, but all are found in schools that have developed shared school wide reform goals and have focused on building school capacity to teach immigrant students and to increase accountability for LEP student outcomes. The common elements shared by these schools are:

- Reforms for LEP students are linked to broader school reform and restructuring efforts.
- Accountability mechanisms have been developed that focus on LEP immigrant students' progress.
- All faculty assume responsibility for LEP immigrant students' learning.
- Reforms are supported by a wide coalition of stakeholders, including parents and district-level administrators.
- There is an emphasis on sustained, long-term professional development of all school professionals.

The lessons learned from an examination of these effective programs demonstrate that the goals of standards-based reform and effective education for secondary immigrant LEP students require the collaboration of people, resources, and organizations across the school community, rather than the traditional fragmentation and isolation that characterize American education in general, and secondary education in particular.

How Schools Change

While the effective schools literature paints a fairly clear picture of what effective schools look like, there is no similar consensus on how to bring it to scale, how to make less effective schools more effective. It is important to note that we can find examples of high-performing schools in a wide variety of contexts. However, creating successful schools on a much larger scale requires new policy initiatives and scaling-up strategies. As mentioned previously, research indicates that major shifts in the nature of teaching and learning also will be necessary (Carnevale, 2001; Cohen et al, 1993; Murnane & Levy, 1996).

Standards-based education reform is aimed at changing all components of the educational system to create the conditions necessary to bring the successes to scale. These reform efforts are focused not only on improving student performance, but also on increasing capacity throughout the system to enable that performance (Cohen and Spillane, 1992; Smith and O'Day, 1992; O'Day and Smith, 1993). Research indicates that efforts at change such as the adoption of school improvement plans and site-based management oftentimes do little to change the culture of the school, the beliefs, norms, and behaviors that drive practice (Tyack and Tobin, 1994; Elmore, 1995; Fullan, 1993). Top-down strategies have rarely resulted in the types of changes desired because they do not directly address the culture of schools and the beliefs educators hold about teaching and learning that drive their decisions about curriculum and instruction (Elmore, 1995; Fullan, 1993).

This focus on a need to change the underlying culture of schools makes sense in light of the effective schools correlates. Effective schools go beyond aligning standards, curriculum, and assessments to create a positive school climate characterized by high expectations for all students, staff collegiality, and a sense of caring and community within the school. Creating a school environment focused on the learning of individual students must also address the learning

of educators. Fullan (1993) argued that in order to have students who are continuous learners and effective collaborators, teachers must have the same characteristics. Teachers must respond to the needs of a diverse and rapidly changing student population, rapidly changing technology, and increasing demands for excellence. They must have the capacity to deal with change, learn from it, and help students learn from it. Traditionally, teachers have worked in isolation, with little time to learn and share with their colleagues, learn new strategies, and reflect on their practice. This is particularly true of ESL/bilingual education teachers (Brisk, 1998; Harklau, 1999; McLeod, 1995).

Research has demonstrated that successful implementation of policy requires a combination of pressure and support (David & Shields, 2001; Elmore & McLaughlin, 1982; Fullan, 1986; Montjoy & O'Toole, 1979). Pressure is needed to focus attention on an objective and support is needed to enable implementation (McLaughlin, 1987). Too often pressure is not followed by support. Implementation is often driven by strategies of compliance and control such as legislation, inspection, and linking funding to performance (Hargreaves, 2001). Yet, the sustainability of reform depends on the capacity of individuals and of schools to sustain reform efforts over time (O'Day, Goertz & Floden, 1995; Fullan, 2000; Stoll, 1999). Ultimately, reform policies must be implemented in classrooms by teachers. In order for policies to affect change, they must influence teacher practice in ways compatible to the desired outcomes.

Cohen and Hill (2001), in one of the few studies documenting the success of policy aimed at improving teaching, found that the key element in connecting state policy to classroom practice was teachers' opportunities to learn. Under the California mathematics reform of the early 1990s, teachers who took advantage of extensive and prolonged learning opportunities grounded in practice were more likely to change their practice in the direction of the reform. Teachers who participated in the training had opportunities to do the mathematics that would be required by students, talk with each other about the content and observe examples of student work. The learning opportunities did not just describe the broad themes of the policy instruments, but were grounded in the mathematics and student work on curricula and assessments that were the instruments of practice. Teachers had extensive opportunities to explore new ideas and develop the confidence and competence to put these ideas into practice. The learning opportunities provided participating teachers with the knowledge and skills needed

to implement the changes outlined in the reform. Findings from the Cohen and Hill study (2001) demonstrate that educators need prolonged, sustained contact with the ideas, beliefs, values, and norms associated with the practices being promoted by the reform in order for reform policies to affect their practice (Cohen and Hill, 2001; David and Shields, 2001).

The framework developed by Porter et al (1988) was based on studies of curriculum and instruction from the Institute for Research on Teaching at Michigan State University that were focused on understanding teacher practice and how it might be improved. This research was based on the hypothesis that teachers determine what is taught and they create opportunities for students to learn that influence future achievement in school and beyond.

The framework was developed by Porter, Floden, Freeman, Schmidt and Schwille (1988) based on policy characteristics identified in the educational change literature as creating conditions more conducive to change within schools. This framework will be used in this dissertation to examine the potential of KERA policies and programs to ensure alignment of ESL teachers' practice to the reform. The framework was designed as a means for evaluating the potential of policies to influence teachers' decisions about curriculum and instruction. While it is the policymakers, business leaders, legislators, and parents who currently support the call for sweeping changes in our schools in curriculum, instruction, testing, and teacher preparation, ultimately, it is teachers who put the changes in place. Teachers are at the center of reform and reforms cannot succeed without a base of support for change among teachers. But, not only must educators support change, they must have the capacity to implement the changes. In order for policies to affect change, they must influence teacher practice in ways compatible to the desired outcomes. The framework provides a mechanism for analyzing policies' strengths and capabilities to influence teacher practice. In order for state reform policies to be successful, there must be strong connections between the policy and teacher practice.

The Porter et al (1988) framework has four parts: authority, power prescriptiveness, and consistency. The power and authority of policy provide the pressure for schools and teachers to implement the strategies, while prescriptiveness and consistency serve to support their efforts at change. Authority is persuasive, either through legal mandate, expert opinion, or through consistency with social norms or promotion by a charismatic leader. Power refers to the ability to force teachers and students to do what they otherwise would not have done. Prescriptiveness

refers to how specific and explicit a standard is in specifying classroom practice. Consistency refers to the ways in which multiple programs, activities, and instruments connect. The framework will be used in this dissertation to analyze the strength of KERA policies to influence teachers of LEP students to align their curriculum and instructional strategies with the goals of the reform. The framework will provide the basis for the first part of the analysis in this dissertation.

To gain a more complete understanding of the capacity of specific reforms to include LEP high schools students in the potential benefits, the analysis will be two-fold. First, the policies themselves will be analyzed using the framework developed by Porter et al (1988) to determine the potential strength that they hold to include LEP high school students in the benefits of reform. Second, the implementation of those policies at the school level will be examined in order to understand the capacity of those reforms to change classroom practice and educator beliefs about the abilities of LEP students to learn the challenging content of the curriculum. The analysis of change at the school and program level will be based on a conceptual framework developed by the Change Leadership Group at the Harvard Graduate School of Education. The framework identifies the most crucial arenas for promoting learning: culture, conditions, and competencies. (Wagner, 2002). These three areas are consistent with the findings of the education change literature -- the types of changes compatible with standards-based reform theory are more likely to occur as a result of policies and strategies that directly address the culture of schools, the beliefs educators hold about teaching and learning that drive their decisions about curriculum and instruction, and their capacity to implement such changes (Cohen and Hill, 2001; David and Shields, 2001; Elmore, 1995; Fullan, 1993).

Wagner proposes that these three arenas of practice must be addressed in order to align practice with the goals of standards-based reform. However, these are not separate and distinct arenas of practice. A dynamic relationship exists among them; each is dependent on the other. Changes in these arenas are integral to changing the way educators think about instruction and are key to successful implementation of reform policies and programs.

Darling-Hammond (1992; 1996; 1998) has written extensively on what teachers need to learn to do to support the learning of all students. According to Darling-Hammond (1998), teachers need to learn to use different teaching strategies to accomplish various goals and to use

a variety of means to evaluate student knowledge. Teachers must be able to identify the strengths of individual students while addressing their weaknesses. Teachers need to think about what it means to learn different kinds of material for different purposes and how to decide which kinds of learning are most necessary in different contexts. Teachers need to know about collaboration and about how to structure interactions among students so that more powerful learning can occur. They also need to learn to collaborate with other teachers and to work with parents to learn more about their students and to shape supportive experiences at school and at home. Lastly, they need to be able to analyze and reflect on their practice and to refine and improve their teaching. These kinds of changes require changes in school culture, the structural and organization conditions that support that culture, and the competencies of educators and students (Darling-Hammond, 1996; Cohen and Hill, 2001; Hargreaves, 2001; Wagner, 2002). For teachers to make these changes in their approach to instruction, they will need to be provided with opportunities to learn new strategies, to experiment with those strategies, to collaborate with colleagues, and to reflect on their own practice.

To achieve the goal of all students achieving to high standards, researchers have become increasingly aware of the importance of changing the organizational culture of schools to create schools as learning organizations (Fullan, 1993;Wagner, 2002). These researchers argue that reform efforts have failed because they have failed to address the fundamental features of school life, the values, beliefs, norms and behaviors of educators (Evans, 1996; Fullan, 1993: Wagner, 2002).

The second part of the analysis in this dissertation focuses on the impact that KERA policies have had on the decision-making of teachers of one high school ESL program. The case study of Central High School is meant to provide insight into the reform policies' capacity to influence ESL teachers' decisions about curriculum and instruction in ways that are compatible with the outcomes specified in KERA.

In order to understand the context in which ESL teachers work and the potential for standards-based policies to benefit ESL students, it is important to understand the factors that influence immigrant high school students' education experiences.

Factors Affecting the Educational Experiences of LEP Students

Prior to the widespread adoption of standards-based reforms, the primary focus of research on LEP immigrant students was on the linguistic, cultural, political, and structural factors that influence academic performance (Cummins, 1979, 1981, 1984; Collier, 1992; Au and Mason, 1981; Delpit, 1988; Ogbu, 1978, 1987, 1991; Suarez-Orozco, 1989; Trueba et al, 1993; Trueba, 1989). As a result of this research, we know a great deal about the factors that influence immigrant students' academic achievement and the difficulties faced by LEP immigrant students as they enter school. Understanding of the educational achievement and experiences of LEP students comes from research in a variety of fields emphasizing different causal factors for LEP students' academic successes and failures. Among explanations for academic failure are: lack of English language skills; cultural discontinuities deriving from differences in communication styles, learning styles, perceptions and expectations; structural factors such as segregation of LEP students and an "Anglo" centered curriculum; and socioeconomic status.

Obviously, one of the greatest challenges for LEP immigrant students is learning to read, write, understand, and speak English. Research on second language acquisition has identified a variety of social and individual factors that influence second language acquisition in adolescence (McGroaty, 1988). Adolescents have different social, cognitive, and emotional needs from young children or adults that may influence second language learning (Schumann, 1978, 1986). The maturation level of the learners' cognitive system, the developmental changes in the brain associated with puberty (Lenneberg, 1967), the degree of self confidence of the learner (Dulay & Burt, 1972), all may affect an individual's language learning experience.

Cummins (1979, 1981, 1984) has shown that the level of proficiency obtained in the first language has a direct relationship to the ease with which a student learns a second language. Others have shown that the nature of linguistic input is critical for successful second language acquisition (Krashen, 1982; Lanbert, 1981). Naturally occurring linguistic input leads to more successful language acquisition than does the structured environment of the traditional classroom where students are taught the rules of the language rather than having the opportunities to use it for communication.

In the past decade, a number of large-scale studies have reported that, on average, LEP students require at least five years to attain grade norms on academic aspects of English

proficiency (Collier 1992; Klesmer, 1994; Ramirez, 1992). Collier's work is particularly relevant for secondary language development programs. She found that children who arrived in the U.S. between ages eight and twelve, with several years of first language schooling, required five to seven years to reach national norms in reading, social studies and science. Students who arrived before age eight required seven to ten years, while those who arrived after age twelve often ran out of time before they could catch up academically.

This research has important implications for assessment. Assessment conducted in English ignores what students know in their first language and underestimates their potential until they have been learning English for at least five years. A first language assessment may be useful in the early stages, but interpretation of results from first language assessments becomes increasingly difficult as students' length of residence increases and concepts in domains associated with school and literacy are developed in English rather than in the student's first language.

A common assumption on the part of educators and the public is that the problem of LEP students is only one of language skills. Of course, language skills are important, but, in reality, the problems are much more complicated. Immigrant children have been removed from their familiar environment and placed in a new social, linguistic, and cultural environment, away from family and friends and are expected to acquire the culture of the school through a language they do not understand and often in circumstances of stress and alienation (Au 1980, Delgado-Gaitan 1987, Gilmore and Glatthorn 1982). These students face not only problems of second language acquisition, but also the academic, social and emotional difficulties associated with a new culture, a new school, and the pressures to keep up academically with their peers.

If LEP students are to succeed, they must learn to deal with an institution and individuals of a culture other than their own, gain proficiency in a second language, master the subjects of the curriculum, and many must overcome the obstacles associated with poverty. These students are at-risk for dropping out of school, performing below grade level, and being enrolled in non-academic courses (Blide, Steinberg and Chan 1982; Bavatz-Snowder and Duran 1987).

Cultural discontinuities play out in a myriad of ways including communication styles, learning styles, and expectations. For example, culturally learned verbal and nonverbal communication styles imply different expectations of appropriate behavior. These different

expectations may result in misinterpretations between teacher and student affecting the overall educational experience of the student (Au and Mason 1981, Collins 1988, Delpit 1988, Heath 1983, Gumperz and Hymes 1972; Jacob and Jordan 1993; Philips, 1972). Problems arise when teacher and student do not recognize these differences in their attempts to communicate with each other. For example, in some cultures, it is disrespectful to look a person of greater authority, such as a teacher, in the eye. In the United States, teachers expect students to look at them when they are talking to them. U.S. teachers may interpret the student's unwillingness to look her in the eye as disrespectful, when in fact it means just the opposite. Conflicts between the communications styles of the students' home and school may result in little meaningful communication occurring among teachers and students in the classroom (Philips, 1972; Heath, 1983). The structure of classroom interaction depends on dialogue between teacher and student and if that dialogue breaks down, the classroom no longer functions as it is supposed to.

Within schools these differences become apparent in teacher-student interactions. Oftentimes, LEP students do not share the understanding of what constitutes appropriate classroom behavior. Rather than associating a student's behavior with his/her cultural norms, the teacher often associates that behavior with the student. For example, an Iranian student who interrupts the teacher is assumed to be rude although in her culture, interruptions are associated with friendliness and active involvement in classroom activities (Zimmerman & West, 1975). One of the greatest shocks to immigrant students is the observation of the relationship between mainstream students and teachers. Teachers in the U.S. do not appear to receive the respect that is common in other countries and they are not always obeyed. Students in the U.S. also are expected to speak more and express their opinions. For many immigrant students, participation in such interactions is extremely difficult, if not impossible, given their cultural orientation (Shields 1989).

Philips' (1972, 1974, 1983) study of Native American children identified differences between the conversational style used in the home and in the school that affected the children's performance in school. At home, children were not expected to answer questions immediately, but to provide a thoughtful response when they were ready. Their teachers, however, did expect the students to answer questions immediately. Because the students did not fulfill the teacher's expectations, they were viewed as uncooperative and disrespectful.

Collins (1988) claims that the white middle class modes of conduct and communication, such as answering immediately when asked a question, are more effective in acquiring and displaying knowledge typically found in situations of formal education, while the modes characteristic of working class and minority communities diverge from and often conflict with those of school. This results in more than just miscommunication. Students' use of speech in the classroom is a demonstration of not only linguistic competency, but of social competency involving knowledge of when and in what style one must speak. Evaluations of students' abilities are often based on their behavior. If a student's behavior does not adhere to expected norms, the teacher's evaluation of that student is often negative, thus limiting the possibilities of high academic achievement of minority students.

Cultural groups also exhibit differences in learning styles. Numerous studies have indicated that American curriculum content and teaching strategies are oftentimes culturally "Anglo," oriented toward individualistic achievement values (Warren 1982, Heath 1983). Some scholars argue that schools and classrooms are organized to meet the demands of a competitive, economic world (Trueba 1989). School culture is a culture of competition. What teachers do and are taught to do is actually congruent with expectations of American culture. Competition is at the heart of democratic, capitalist societies with open social and economic systems that maximize individual freedom and free enterprise. Many immigrant children face serious cultural dilemmas because they are caught between two conflicting value and behavioral demands. They come from home cultures in which socialization efforts are oriented toward working cooperatively and performing inconspicuously (Ovando 1985; Shields 1989). The curriculum of American schools has historically incorporated majority perspectives about what is important and is often oblivious to the lives and experiences of minority students. Knowledge acquired in non-Western, non-white cultures, if included in the curriculum at all, often is relegated to special topics.

Others have emphasized how identity, historical experiences, and perceptions of opportunities affect school performance (Gibson, 1988; Matute-Bianchi 1986, 1991, Ogbu 1978, 1987, 1991; Suarez-Orozco 1989, 1991). Ogbu argues that the differences in achievement levels between minority groups are related to their respective perceptions regarding future opportunities and their perceptions and responses to schooling (Ogbu 1987). These perceptions constitute

"cultural models" that promote or discourage emphasis on education as a means of socioeconomic advancement. Cultural models develop over time in response to occupational opportunities and inter-group relations. These models form the basis of the educational behaviors of students from that cultural group. Students from some cultural groups simply stop trying as a response to the discrimination they see around them.

In addition, socioeconomic status (SES) is frequently used to explain the academic failure of LEP students. Education research has consistently identified poverty as a key factor in school success (U.S. Department of Education, 2002). Low SES students often do not have the resources of their wealthier peers. Many poor students do not have books and writing materials to prepare for class, may come to class hungry, or live in such cramped conditions that they have no quiet place to study. Teachers often do not share the SES of their students and may have lower expectations for students of lower SES (Trueba, 1989).

LEP parents are often blamed for not becoming involved in their children's education. Most LEP parents do, in fact, have high expectations for their children (Ovando, 1985; Boethel, 2004). However, they are often intimidated by limited language skills or educational background and are reluctant to visit the school and/or communicate regularly with their child's teachers. Others do not participate through such activities as parent/teacher conferences because they are unfamiliar with the American school system and the expectation that parents participate and often have limited or no English skills.

Trueba et al (1993) point out that structural factors beyond the control of immigrants may isolate them and prevent them from integrating into the community and school. For students to have an opportunity to achieve, they must be given an opportunity to participate fully in the school. This includes not only learning the second language, but acquisition of the school culture (Trueba, 1989). They must become familiar with the structures of authority, academic tasks, and the curriculum as well as the role of teachers and the behavior of other students. Immigrant students must adapt to a school culture that may be in conflict with the culture of their family. This is even more difficult when immigrant students are segregated from their native English-speaking peers as they often are in ESL or bilingual education classes. Segregation is a common problem in American schools, particularly with LEP students. Not only are students segregated through placement in special classes, but invisible barriers often prevent

communication and interaction between LEP and mainstream students. This is most evident at lunchtime where students often can be seen sitting and socializing in segregated groups.

In the classroom, the structure of academic tasks, the curriculum content, the use of power by authority figures, the role of teachers and principals, and the behavior of mainstream peers may send immigrant students indirect messages about their own incompetence and the lack of value of their home culture and language (Trueba, 1989). Students may become disinterested in school when they are unable to see clear connections between what they learn and what they experience outside school. Many times this disinterest masks the anger students feel about the unsupportive conditions in the school (Delgado-Gaitan, 1988).

Explanations for the academic failure of LEP students have, for the most part, placed the blame with students' languages, homes, and cultures. However, another body of research has begun to focus on the school as the arena in which the discontinuities between the language and culture of school and home can be negotiated and resolved on a daily basis. As a response to more deterministic views of institutional and social forces, this body of work views the two (or more) cultures as negotiated and focuses on the relationships between teachers and students and schools and communities (Eisenhart, 1989; Goodwin and Duranti, 1992; Lave, 1988; Patthey-Chavez, 1993; Lee 1994). These researchers acknowledge the conditions that predispose children to fail in school. However, they take this one step further in arguing that students can be empowered by their school experiences and develop the ability, confidence, and motivation to succeed academically. The school community is seen as involved daily in the mutual accommodation necessary to resolve the conflicts between cultures.

Central to the research is the "new" model of culture as "emergent and problematic":

> In contrast to the older model in which culture is manifest primarily in patterns of behavior and belief assumed to be **given** by history and social legacy to clearly differentiated groups, the newer model focuses on culture as manifest in context-dependent behaviors and beliefs, **derived** from the past but reconstituted in the activities of people who regularly interact together over time (Eisenhart 1989:54).

Research by Lee (1994), Eisenhart (1989), and Patthey-Chavez (1993) indicates that attitudes toward education are not static, but are negotiated through experiences and relationships

within the school and community. According to Eisenhart (1989), inherited culture should be perceived as a set of opportunities or alternatives available for all individuals to use or not.

Cummins (1986) suggests that the main reason previous attempts at educational reform have been unsuccessful is that the relationships between teachers and students and between schools and communities have remained static. Cummins argues that for meaningful reform to occur, the power relations between school and community must be altered to empower students and the community. Students from 'dominated' societal groups are either 'empowered' or 'disabled' as a direct result of their interactions with educators in the schools. Students are empowered when their languages and cultures are incorporated into the school program, community participation is encouraged, pedagogy motivates students to use language actively, and educators become advocates for minority students rather than legitimizing the location of the 'problem' in the students.

LEP Immigrant Secondary Students and School Reform

The rising sense of frustration with public education and the continued low levels of academic achievement among specific groups of students has led to a proliferation of studies and government initiatives with recommendations to reform education. Most national educational reform efforts, however, do not include LEP students. Brisk (1998) cites three reasons for this. First, various expert panels and commissions do not include experts on bilingual/ESL education. Second, bilingual/ESL education is perceived as a politically controversial topic to be left up to legislation and court rulings. And lastly, it is seen as a compensatory program separate from mainstream education rather than a sound approach that can be integrated into schoolwide reform and restructuring efforts.

The prevailing approach that has guided the teaching of LEP students in the United States has been compensatory, an add-on and not part of mainstream education. More often than not, English is viewed as the only means for acquisition of knowledge and a lack of English proficiency is considered a problem and the source of academic failure. Therefore, education programs for LEP students have been evaluated solely on their effectiveness to teach English and the typical response of schools experiencing recent growth in its LEP student population has been to develop unintegrated ESL curricula that is supplemental to unaltered mainstream

curricula (Harklau, 1999; Ruiz-de-Velasco & Fix, 2000). While addressing students' immediate needs for increased language proficiency, unintegrated programs provide little support for students' special linguistic needs and ethnic diversity in the school at large. This is especially significant because students typically stay in ESL programs only a brief time, and the majority of their class time is spent in mainstream classrooms with little support.

As the previous section highlighted, the needs of LEP immigrant students extend well beyond acquiring English language proficiency. LEP secondary students must not only learn a new language, but must, at the same time, accumulate content area knowledge in that new language that allows them to gain the credits necessary to graduate and to prepare for post-secondary education or work. In the past, many English language learners graduated from high school without having taken the types of courses needed to prepare them for higher education. These students were kept in separate classrooms in the belief that they did not have enough English to participate in grade-appropriate content courses (Brisk, 1998; Ruiz-de-Velasco & Fix, 2000).

A major benefit of the standards-based movement is the emphasis on the inclusion of English language learners in the expectation that all students achieve to high standards and equal opportunity to learn challenging content material. Yet, research suggests that LEP students continue to be invisible and omitted from accountability systems, even in schools engaged in systemic reform (Ruiz-de-Velasco & Fix, 2000). While reform advocates agree that standards-based reform should include all students, there are numerous challenges to incorporating LEP students into accountability systems. A lack of ESL and bilingual education standards and a lack of appropriate assessments have resulted in LEP students routinely being excluded from the assessment and accountability process thereby providing few, if any, incentives to improve outcomes for these students. Moreover, the organization and structure of the traditional high school (academic departments, 50 minute classes, large class size, and courses based on the assumption that students have basic literacy skills) are powerful barriers to the implementation of schoolwide reform and restructuring that includes students at-risk for academic failure.

More importantly, immigrant education has not been an explicit policy concern among state and national education leaders. As a result, few resources are targeted to the schools that bear the fiscal and institutional burdens of immigration or for research on effective programs for

LEP students, particularly at the secondary level. It is not surprising then, that bilingual and ESL education at the secondary level remains one of the most unexamined and overlooked areas of education in the United States (Faltis & Wolfe, 1999). After almost two decades of standards-based reforms, there is still an extremely limited knowledge base regarding the best ways to educate LEP immigrant students, particularly in secondary schools where the challenges are especially acute. However, beginning in the late 1990s, more information became available on programs that show promise for addressing the needs of LEP immigrant secondary students in the larger context of school restructuring (Lucas 1997, Mace-Matluck, 1998; McLaughlin & McLeod, 1996; Ruiz-de-Velasco & Fix, 2000).

The recent studies on LEP immigrant secondary students have identified a number of factors affecting a school's capacity to include LEP students in school reform and restructuring efforts. These factors include: exclusion from statewide accountability programs; school structure and organization; and a shortage of teachers trained to work with LEP students.

Inclusion in accountability systems

The central goal of school reform is achievement, and research has shown that for reforms to increase achievement for all students, the reforms must influence the way teachers teach and students learn (Carnevale, 2001; Cohen et al, 1993, Cohen and Hill, 2001; Elmore 1995; Fullan, 1993 Levy, 1996) standards-based reform strongly indicates that the performance of students at risk for academic failure can be substantially improved when all educators in a school are given appropriate incentives to focus on these students and are held accountable for student outcomes (Grissmer and Flanagan, 1998). The promotion of high standards for all children appears to indicate a concern at the federal and state level for the inclusion of LEP children. However, states have been slow to develop content standards for ESL or bilingual education programs. Without clear content standards for language development courses, teachers are left to determine the instructional methods and content they cover with little guidance from any source. It is difficult for teachers to plan their work and to collaborate with their colleagues in the absence of shared goals that standards provide. In addition, when the content varies, it is impossible to develop common skill and knowledge benchmarks that will

allow school leaders to monitor student progress and evaluate the effectiveness of their language development programs.

Research has also shown that LEP students often are not exposed to the same content as other students (McLaughlin & McLeod, 1996; Lucas, 1997; Ruiz-de-Velasco, 2000). A survey in California conducted by the National Center for Research on Cultural Diversity and Second Language Learning (McLaughlin & McLeod, 1996) revealed that few schools offer a full course of academic study to students with limited English proficiency. The problem is particularly acute at the secondary level, where many students take only ESL and elective classes. In many cases, the courses available do not allow them to accumulate enough credits to graduate from high school. Even if they are able to graduate, they are frequently lacking courses essential for college admission, such as laboratory science (McLaughlin & McLeod, 1996). If students who lack proficiency in English are placed in remedial mathematics and science classes or excluded from social studies and history classes, schools are effectively denying students from linguistically and culturally diverse backgrounds the opportunity to work toward the same high standards as other students.

In addition, research has shown that in many cases LEP students are outside of accountability systems in that they are not tested because of their limited English (August, Piche, and Rice, 1999). As a result, schools often fail to monitor the educational progress of LEP students. The greatest challenges in the movement toward higher standards for LEP students surround assessments for purposes of accountability.

Currently, there is a lack of authoritative instruments for assessing LEP immigrant students' language, literacy, and content knowledge. Without assessment instruments validated for use with LEP students, it is difficult to evaluate student progress or draw fair conclusions about school effectiveness.

In the absence of appropriate assessments, the policy trend is moving toward requiring all LEP students to take the same assessment, under the same conditions, as other students. The current political context is characterized by a widely held belief that testing is good, that the only way to know how well students are achieving is to evaluate their performance and measure their progress. Tests provide a means of holding schools accountable for student progress. The prevailing belief is that by excluding LEP students from the assessment process, even in the

absence of appropriate instruments, schools will not be accountable for the education they are providing these students. In an attempt to ensure accountability for LEP students, the 2000 reauthorization of ESEA, "No Child Left Behind," requires states to include LEP students in their accountability systems.

Another assessment challenge lies in the provision of accommodations for LEP students. In the past, most states only had accommodation policies for students with disabilities. Recently, state policies have begun to address English language learners as well. However, most of our knowledge about accommodations is based on students with disabilities and it is unclear whether or not these are also appropriate for use with LEP students (McLaughlin & McLeod, 1996). No Child Left Behind supports providing students with accommodations, however it does not define which types of accommodations are acceptable and which are not. There is considerable variability in accommodations used across states, and often there is extreme variability in specific accommodations allowed.

While education advocates agree that LEP students should be included in assessment and accountability systems, recent research on school reform makes clear that higher standards and stronger data collection systems do not, alone, ensure change (Ladd, 1996; Goertz et al., 1996; McLaughlin, Shephard, and O'Day, 1995). Educators of LEP secondary students have learned that they need to transform the culture of their schools from one where teachers focus on teaching subjects to one where teachers are encouraged and rewarded for focusing on student outcomes. Teachers who focus on the routines of subject-matter teaching tend to assume students bear sole responsibility for their academic performance. Within such a culture, teachers have no incentive to explore how changes in their own teaching methods might improve student outcomes (Lucas, 1997; Mace-Matluck, 1998; Miramonte, 1998; Ruiz-de-Velasco, 2000).

School organization

Some of the most convincing evidence regarding why LEP immigrant students do well or poorly in school has been provided through studies focusing on how the school organizes and supports its students regardless of their native language and prior schooling (Faltis and Wolfe, 1999; Lucas, Henze & Donato, 1990; Minicucci & Olsen, 1992, Lucas, 1997; Ruiz-de-Velasco, 2000).

Schools face particularly difficult challenges in educating underschooled newcomer teens. Due to their limited educational background, these students enter U.S. secondary schools with a weak foundation for learning a second language and have difficulty working at age-appropriate levels in required subjects. Underschooled teens also tend to lack basic study skills that promote classroom learning. Secondary schools are particularly ill-equipped to deal with the needs of these students because high schools are organized on three important assumptions (Ruiz-de-Velasco and Fix, 2000): that students are prepared to speak and comprehend oral communication in English; that the literacy level of students is at, or near, grade level; and that students have knowledge of appropriate classroom behavior. Therefore, most ESL and bilingual education programs for secondary school youth assume some native language literacy as a foundation for second language learning and a certain degree of study skills. They are not designed to develop the basic literacy and study skills that children usually acquire in elementary schools (Garcia 1999; Mace-Matluck et al, 1998; Crandall and Greenblatt, 1998, and Crandall et al, 1998).

As a result, secondary schools that receive immigrant adolescents with limited schooling face an array of new demands. They must teach basic concepts and skills normally taught in the elementary grades and work effectively with students who have not been socialized into the culture of schooling in any country. Because students with little school experience often lack the knowledge of appropriate classroom behavior, ESL teachers tend to spend a great deal of time teaching students how to behave in the classroom, rather than helping them extend their English language development (Garcia, 1999).

Schools face great obstacles in working with underschooled adolescents to bring them up to the levels of academic achievement expected under current accountability systems. Immigrant students with some academic skills are often able to make up the years they lost to poverty or political strife in two to three years of concentrated coursework in content areas that is adapted to meet their language needs. In contrast, immigrant students lacking rudimentary literacy skills in their native language are especially challenged in secondary school and may need many years of intensive work in order to graduate or make the transition to an appropriate program.

The Program in Immigrant Education (PRIME), funded by the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation beginning in 1993, involved local demonstration projects designed to strengthen the

participating schools' capacity to meet immigrant students' needs by helping school staff plan, organize, and implement reforms (Ruiz-de-Velasco & Fix, 2000). Teachers in the PRIME schools identified the single strongest predictor of academic success for newcomers, outside of English language fluency, as how much prior schooling students had in their native countries.

The experiences of the PRIME schools suggests that meaningful reform addressing the needs of these underschooled students requires a curriculum and a set of basic literacy development strategies typically associated with elementary, not secondary schools. A focus on these fundamental skills also requires organizational structures not normally found or easily arranged within the typical secondary school schedule: small classes and opportunities for cross-departmental collaboration or individualized instruction over expended periods of the school day (Ruiz-de-Velasco, 2000)..

The challenges presented by these students suggest the need for schoolwide reform and the participation of teachers and professional staff from all school departments. Moreover, recent reports on effective programs have shown that the education of language learners in high schools is enhanced by the coordination of efforts among mainstream and ESL educators, with all taking responsibility for students' linguistic and academic learning in their classrooms (Faltis and Wolfe, 1999; Lucas, 1997; Mace-Matluck, 1998; Harklau, 1999; Ruiz-de-Velasco). Yet, only organizing the work of all teachers to focus on the academic needs of all students is not sufficient to address the wide array of challenges facing LEP immigrant secondary students. Immigrant LEP secondary school students who have limited formal schooling often need comprehensive services to accommodate a range of health and social needs. Research indicates that an effective program should incorporate not only instructional intervention, but also parental and family involvement, support services, and professional development. Taking responsibility for LEP students should include administrators, counselors, and support staff as well (Faltis and Wolfe, 1999; Lucas, 1997; Ruiz-de-Velasco & Fix, 2000).

Yet, schoolwide reform and restructuring efforts at the secondary school level are severely hampered by the fragmented and specialized nature of typical high school organization (Harklau, 1999; Lucas, 1997; Mace-Matluck, 1998; Ruiz-de-Velasco & Fix, 2000). First, the division of labor in the typical secondary school encourages mainstream teachers to believe that addressing the language development needs of LEP students is the responsibility of other school

staff or departments. More often than not, the task of preparing LEP immigrant students to participate effectively in mainstream classrooms is organizationally conceived as a special or add-on activity outside what school staff often consider the "normal" functions of the secondary school (Brisk, 1998; Harklau, 1999; Ruiz-de-Velasco-Ruiz & Fix, 2000). As a result, ESL teachers often must assume administrative, placement, and advising functions that for mainstream students would be routinely handled by principals, counselors, registrars, librarians, or other administrators. ESL teachers often are expected to advise students on course scheduling, college admissions processes, tutor LEP students in all subjects, and assume responsibility for disciplinary matters.

Teachers in the PRIME schools believed that their success depended on developing collaborative relationships with core subject teachers (Ruiz-de-Velasco & Fix, 2000). ESL and bilingual education teachers believed that their insights would contribute to curriculum decision-making in the departments, and they could share effective classroom techniques with the core subject teachers. Subject matter teachers could help familiarize language development teachers with subject content areas and help them infuse their lessons with relevant content material tied to the school's core curriculum. The teachers quickly learned that sustained collaboration could not occur without formal support and recognition from department leaders and school administrators. When collaboration efforts were formalized so that mainstream teachers worked more closely with the language development program, the mainstream teachers reported that their attitudes and expectations of LEP immigrant students changed. The subject matter teachers reported that this shift in their awareness led them to take greater responsibility for the LEP students' success and to seek further professional development opportunities.

The typical school schedule is also a powerful barrier to effective teaching for LEP immigrant students (Harklau, 1999; Lucas, 1997; Mace-Matluck, 1998; Ruiz-de-Velasco & Fix, 2000). Two critical needs often go unmet under the traditionally inflexible secondary school schedule. First, students need to spend more time an all tasks that require English language proficiency. Second, teachers need to devote more time to planning and collaboration when facing greater skill diversity. Both language development and subject area teachers need more time to plan their lessons and a more flexible schedule that allows for cross-departmental collaboration so that they can learn from each other.

Schools have experimented with various program adaptations to meet the needs of LEP immigrant secondary students. However, most of these adaptations have been limited to language development programs (Lucas, 1997, McLaughlin & McLeod, 1996, short, 1999). Such adaptations include doubling the average class period for language development classes, creating a half-day newcomer school, and instituting peer or cross-age tutoring services before and after the school day. Another variation is the establishment of semester-long courses to serve students who have had grade-level equivalent instruction in their home country (Short, 1999). Students are then able to acquire the English associated with familiar subjects before moving on to higher-level coursework. Semester-long classes have also been successful with secondary students who have low literacy skills (Buchman & Helman, 1993). The semester course uses sheltered techniques with emphasis on hands-on activities, language development, and connections to students' real life experiences to provide students with the requisite knowledge and skill to enable them to move on to the appropriate grade level course. Scheduling changes that require district-level support – such as specially designed summer school, or tutoring and extended day programs staffed by paid professionals – have been rarely supported (Ruiz-de-Velasco & Fix, 2000; Short, 1999).

A growing number of schools have reorganized themselves into smaller learning communities, sometimes known as houses, teams, or academies. These schools are not constrained by the traditional bell schedule of a secondary school (Berman et al, 1995; Minicucci, 1996). Some have instituted block scheduling so that teachers have the flexibility to plan instruction in meaningful chunks of time. Students have more time for sustained interaction with the material and interdisciplinary themes can be explored more fully.

Shortage of teachers

Another challenge faced by schools and districts experiencing an increase in LEP immigrant students is a shortage of new teachers specially trained to work with LEP students. Coursework and training in teacher education programs to date, have not generally included the theory and practice related to educating culturally and linguistically diverse learners (Short, 1999). Given the demographic projections, most teachers and current teacher candidates will encounter some culturally and linguistically diverse students during their careers. The shortage

of specially trained teachers emphasizes the importance of training veteran teachers to work more effectively with immigrant LEP students. Research indicates that in order to ensure that LEP secondary students continue to accumulate content knowledge while learning English, they will need a combination of content-based ESL or bilingual instruction and some form of sheltered instruction in the core content classes. In order to successfully address the content knowledge needs of immigrant students, while they are learning English, mainstream content area teachers need to be knowledgeable about how students acquire and use language and how to incorporate appropriate instructional strategies into their teaching (Brisk, 1998; Short, 1999).

If mainstream subject area teachers are expected to take responsibility for LEP students' learning, they should be provided training in sheltered techniques (Short, 1993, 1994). The sheltered approach is not a new set of skills that teachers must acquire at the expense of their current practice. The sheltered approach draws from and complements methods and strategies advocated for both language and mainstream classrooms. Strategies include (Short, 1999):

- Making connections between content and students' real life experiences;
- Paying attention to language issues and employing strategies that help students learn the language of the content area;
- Promoting critical thinking and study skill development;
- Using graphic organizers to help students represent information and identify relationships;
- Being process-oriented and providing modeling to help students make the transition to academic tasks;
- Tapping the students as resources for information;
- Incorporating cooperative learning activities;
- Allowing some use of the native language;
- Increasing multicultural content;
- Offering students multiple pathways to demonstrate their understanding of the content;
- Adjusting for different learning styles; and
- Developing a student-entered curriculum.

Moreover, principals, counselors, and support staff typically have not had any special training to work with LEP immigrant youth. Yet, they provide access to important education opportunities. Librarians and technology staff are instrumental in students' access to technology resources and counselors are charged with guiding students through the requirements for advanced placement programs, graduation, and postsecondary work and study.

To successfully implement standards-based reform policies and practices that focus on ensuring LEP students access to rigorous curriculum, all educators will need more education to increase their sensitivity to and knowledge of their students' cultures and languages (Brisk, 1998, Lucas, 1997, Mace-Matluck et al, 1998, ruiz-de-Velasco & Fix, 2000). Schools will need educators who have a positive attitude toward cultural differences, extensive knowledge about students' cultural experiences, and the technical skills to translate this cultural information into pedagogical practice (Lucas, 1997, McLaughlin and McLeod, 1996, Mace-Matluck et al, 1998, Ruiz-de-Velasco & Fix, 2000). If we are to succeed in providing LEP immigrant students with the support they need to meet high standards, changes are necessary in teacher education programs and extensive professional development for practicing educators. Support for educators could take multiple forms including collaboration with more skilled colleagues, carefully designed series of in-service workshops, and professional development lab schools. Professional development focusing on linguistic and cultural diversity should move beyond 'sensitivity training' to include effective methods and strategies for teaching academic content to LEP students. Without these changes, most educators are unlikely to develop the knowledge and sensitivity that is needed to understand the immigrant experience and its relation to education.

Research needs

Although researchers have identified many promising approaches to instruction that are consistent with what we know about how children learn and about the cultural and linguistic influences on learning, the development of appropriate assessments of learning has lagged far behind. Researchers do not know how to reliably measure how much children are learning except through the use of standardized tests. Such tests have been demonstrated to have

numerous problems when administered to minority populations or to students not fluent in English. In addition, they may not measure the different kinds of learning that education reformers are now advocating. There is a need for more research on assessment tools that can be used to evaluate second language learners in core subject areas, address the literacy development of underschooled adolescents, and to determine when second language learners are ready to be included in the same assessments given to English-proficient peers.

There is also a need for more research on literacy learning for underschooled adolescents, academic and personal counseling, community involvement, newcomer schools, and vocational education (Faltis, 1999; Mace-Matluck et al, 1998).

This review also has shown that there is a limited body of research and few successful program models to draw on for guidance in scaling up successful programs for LEP immigrant students. In general, we need more research on how systemic reform succeeds in schools that serve students from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds, about how systemic reform occurs, and is fostered. It is one thing to know what schools need to do and another to say how they can do it.

When the Kentucky Education Reform Act, based on systemic reform theory, was introduced it was described as the most comprehensive state reform effort in the nation because it included standards, assessment, accountability, professional development, and student supports. This study analyzes the ability of KERA to ensure that LEP students are provided with the same educational opportunities as other students in the state, and to change educator beliefs about the abilities of LEP students to learn the challenging content of the curriculum. The case study of Central High School highlights the way in which local factors influenced the implementation of state level policies aimed at ensuring all students achieve to high academic standards and the role of school culture in teacher's decision-making process.

Chapter Two
Research Design

Introduction

The research design of this dissertation is a case study of the Central High School ESL program. Central High School is located in an urban county in Kentucky, a state viewed as a leader in standards-based reform. The ESL program of Central High School was examined within the context of the broader state level reform efforts in order to account for the supports, incentives, and constraints of the reform polices that influence local capacity and motivation to implement the reforms. The case study examined state policy initiatives as they were transformed through various individual interpretations and choices at the school level. Central High School provided an example of how state policies affect the implementation of a high school ESL program and the extent to which the state's reform policies influence ESL teachers' decisions about curriculum and instruction. The dissertation illustrates the complexities of implementing standards-based reform policies and examines the interaction of significant factors that affect the implementation of state policy and the decision-making of ESL teachers.

The study was meant to provide information useful to education decision makers working to formulate, implement, and evaluate standards-based policies and their ability to ensure that all students, including English language learners, have access to curriculum, instruction, and supports that will allow them to achieve high standards. The case study was meant to provide insight into the ability of KERA policies to ensure that limited English proficient students have access to the curriculum, instruction, and supports they need to achieve the six KERA goals:

1. Students are able to use basic communication and mathematics skills for purposes and situations they will encounter throughout their lives.
2. Students shall develop their abilities to apply core concepts and principles from mathematics, the sciences, the arts, the humanities, social studies, practical living studies, and vocational studies to what they will encounter throughout their lives.
3. Students shall develop their abilities to become self-sufficient individuals.

4. Students shall develop their abilities to become responsible members of a family, work group, or community, including demonstrating effectiveness in community service.
5. Students shall develop their abilities to think and solve problems in school situations and in a variety of situations they will encounter in life.
6. Students shall develop their abilities to connect and integrate experiences and new knowledge from all subject matter fields with what they have previously learned and build on past learning experiences to acquire new information through various media sources.

Research Setting

The research was conducted during the 1994-95 and 1995-96 school years in an urban school district experiencing a rapid growth in its immigrant student population. Additional data were collected in 2003 to update the report to address recent policy and programmatic changes. The district was chosen because it contained one of the largest populations of immigrant students in the state and the high school housing the ESL program was known as a leader in KERA implementation. The focus of the study was the high school magnet ESL program for the district. At that time, high school age students whose first language is not English had the option of enrolling in this countywide ESL program or enrolling in their home district high school and receiving no ESL support.

A high school population was chosen for two reasons: 2) programs for secondary school LEP students have not been researched to the extent of programs for early elementary school students and 2) high school students face a different set of pressures than do elementary students. Academic pressures (language skills, grades, college acceptance) combined with social (assimilation, acceptance by mainstream peers) and family pressures (jobs, conflict created by assimilation) create a multi-stress environment for ESL high school students (Collier, 1992; Lucas, 1997; Mace-Matlcuk et al, 1998; Ruia-de-Velasco & Fix, 2000). The particular characteristics of the site school provided an opportunity to examine a high school ESL program characterized by a multilingual, multicultural student population in a school attempting to implement reforms that claim to address the needs of all students.

Research Questions

This dissertation uses a case study of one high school ESL (English as a Second Language) program to examine the ability of state level reform policies to 1) include limited English proficient students, 2) to influence teachers' beliefs about the abilities of LEP students to learn challenging content, and to 3) influence teachers' decisions about classroom practice. These issues were examined through addressing the following questions:

1. What strategies are the state, district, and school using to ensure that high school immigrant students have access to the curriculum, instruction, and supports necessary to meet state standards as defined under KERA?
2. To what extent does KERA facilitate or hinder opportunities for immigrant students to achieve the KERA goals?

To address these overarching research questions, specific descriptive and analytical sub-questions were formulated. The questions were designed to focus data collection on specific aspects of the ESL program to ascertain alignment between state policy and school program implementation. The descriptive questions address the areas that KERA was designed to change: curriculum, instructional practices, assessment, and decision-making and were meant to answer the first research question. The analytical questions address the factors that influence what occurs in the school and classroom and were meant to answer the second research question.

Descriptive Questions

Policy

1. What are the state policies affecting programs for LEP students?
2. What are the district policies in regard to LEP students?

Curriculum

1. In which courses were ESL students enrolled?
2. What proportion of time was spent on teaching basic factual knowledge, process skills, thinking/problem solving skills?
3. To what extent were ESL students challenged to meet KERA goals and expectations?

Instructional Strategies

4. How much variety of instructional practice was in evidence?
5. What were the predominant instructional materials used?
6. To what extent were resource persons used?
7. To what extent was team teaching in evidence?
8. What sorts of grouping practices were employed?

Assessment

9. What kinds of assessment were used?
10. To what extent was assessment integrated with instruction?
11. What sorts of skills, concepts, and knowledge were assessed?
12. Do teachers continually assess students' achievement to track progress toward KERA goals?

Decision-making

13. How were decisions made about curriculum and instruction?
14. What were the strongest influences on decisions about curriculum and instruction?

Analysis Questions

1. How effective are KERA policies and curriculum frameworks in helping schools develop curriculum and instructional strategies that address the needs and abilities of immigrant LEP students?
2. In what ways do organizational and structural arrangements contribute to what goes on in the school and classroom?
3. In what ways do teacher beliefs about teaching and learning contribute to what happened in the school and classroom?

Implementation of KERA policies required the development of curriculum aligned with state standards, development and/or adoption of instructional strategies aligned with curriculum and state standards, and development of support services to provide students extra help in meeting state standards. Once it was determined that the ESL program at Central High had not developed curriculum, instructional strategies and supports aligned with KERA goals, the focus

of data collection became the factors that influenced decision-making about curriculum and instruction. First, it was important to determine how the ESL program was able to ignore KERA as a factor to consider in developing curriculum for the Central High ESL program. Second, if KERA was not a factor in influencing decisions about curriculum development, what factors were influential? An additional descriptive sub-question was added: How was Central High School able to avoid incorporating KERA into curriculum development for the ESL program?

In order to answer the first question, "How was the ESL program able to ignore KERA as a factor in decisions about curriculum and instruction?" it was necessary to look more closely at KERA policies and programs and the place of LEP students in those policies. Therefore, an analysis of KERA policies using the Porter et al (1998) framework was added to the analysis to provide a better understanding of the policy context in which the ESL teachers at Central were working and the strength of KERA policies to influence teachers decision-making. The framework was designed as a means for evaluating the potential of policies to influence teachers' decisions about curriculum and instruction.

As was stated earlier, the initial research questions were modified once it became clear that the ESL teachers made no attempt to align their curriculum and instructional practices with KERA goals. As a result, data collection was modified to focus only on the questions concerning decision-making (descriptive questions 13 and 14) and the role of organizational culture and teacher beliefs (analysis questions 1, 2 and 3) on teacher's willingness to implement the reform.

Rationale for Case Study Design

A case study, an intense examination of one unit (in this case the ESL program of Central High School), was particularly suited to the purposes of this investigation because the goal of this research was to illuminate the complex interrelationships of causes and consequences that affect the decisions ESL teachers make about curriculum and instruction and hence, the implementation of standards-based education reforms. The case study method allows investigators to retain the holistic and meaningful characteristics of real-life events, in this case organizational processes (Yin, 2003). The case study is the method of choice when the phenomenon under study is not readily distinguishable from its context, when an examination of

the complex interactions between a phenomenon and its context is desired (Yin, 1993). In the case of the Central High School ESL program, an understanding of the decisions made by teachers about curriculum and instruction was difficult without an examination of the context in which those decisions were made. A case study allows for the examination of the complexities of implementation of state reforms at the local level. The research questions and the difficulty of distinguishing KERA policies from the context in which they were implemented dictated the choice of a case study design.

The context of policy implementation, the Central High School ESL program, was hypothesized to contain important explanatory variables about the implementation of KERA policy at the local level. The context was extremely relevant to an understanding of the strength of KERA policies to change the culture and organization of the school to focus on ensuring that all students, including LEP students, have access to the educational opportunities necessary to achieve state standards. A case study design provided the best opportunity for determining causal relationships. Moreover, this type of design was well suited for discovering unintended consequences of education policies (Yin, 1993 and 2003).

The case study of the Central High School ESL program was an exploratory case study focusing on how programmatic decisions were made and what factors influenced those decisions. The findings from the case study was used to address the broader question of the strength of KERA policies to ensure that districts and schools developed curriculum, instructional strategies, and support programs to help LEP high school students meet state standards.

The case study of the Central High School ESL program examined the causal links between KERA policies and the development or lack of development of curriculum, instructional strategies, and supports at Central High School to help LEP students achieve state standards. These causal links provide critical insight into the strength of KERA's standards-based policies to include LEP high school students.

The study combined components of ethnography of education and applied anthropology. It was ethnographic in that the collection of data was contextualized, prolonged, repetitive, and multimodal (Goetz & LeCompte, 1984; LeCompte & Preissle, 1993; Wilson, 1997. This allowed for the focus of inquiry to be modified as the researcher gained information. The study

typifies applied anthropology in that the data were not used to develop theory, but to provide information to inform policy (van Willigen, 1993). The overall goal of the research was to provide education policymakers with information regarding the viability of standards-based reform policies to ensure that all students, including English language learners achieve high standards. It was intended that the study uncover strengths and weaknesses in the policies relative to their impact on teachers' decisions about curriculum and instruction and provide information useful to modifying or redesigning education policies to address those identified weaknesses.

Data Collection Strategies

The theoretical proposition driving the data collection for the case study was derived from systemic reform theory. Systemic reform theory is based on the proposition that if rigorous standards are created for all students, then a coordinated effort can be mounted that focuses on increased achievement. If the expectations are increased for all students, the entire system is focused on helping students achieve those higher expectations, including LEP immigrant students and others at risk-for school failure. Schools are held accountable for students' performance on assessments. This accountability will drive school level efforts to focus on helping students achieve standards and perform well on the assessment. This systemic approach was based on the assumption that, to significantly alter student outcomes, change must occur at the most basic level of education – in classrooms and schools -, however, the state must play a proactive role in setting the conditions for change in the "great majority" of schools. The case study was chosen as the most appropriate method for examining the connections between state level policy and school level implementation of that policy and to evaluate the adequacy of KERA policies to drive change in classroom practice with LEP students.

Qualitative methods were used for data collection. According to Van Maanen (1983), the label 'qualitative methods' has no precise meaning. It is an umbrella term covering a variety of interpretive techniques that seek to describe, decode, translate, and come to terms with the meaning, not the frequency, of phenomena occurring in the social world. Qualitative methods are focused on collecting data which enable the researcher to see the world as the subject(s) see it. The data collected was in the form of people's own words and behavior. The goal of this

study was to understand the perspectives of those involved in making programmatic decisions about Central High Schools ESL program. What factors influenced those decisions? What was the context in which those decisions were made? Qualitative methods were the most appropriate to produce the descriptive data needed to address these questions. Qualitative methods allow for unobtrusiveness and flexibility and were more effective for understanding the dynamics of reform implementation through opportunities to interact directly with those who were implementing the reform. The complex nature of the education reform was best examined through methods that allowed for a deep understanding of the individuals involved and the constraints under which they operated.

The research design was a case study utilizing the ethnographic methods of observation, interviews, and document review. Ethnographic methods were used in order to observe action in the setting in which it occured (Bogdan and Biklen 1992). An ethnographic research design utilizing qualitative methods allowed for the examination of interactive processes and the inclusion of the various perspectives that made up the context of schooling. Participation, personal observations, and face-to-face interviews allow the researcher to experience the constraints and possibilities of culture as the participants did (Eisenhart and Borko, 1993). Ethnographic methods also allowed for an in-depth examination of process. This study was concerned with process, the decision-making process related to curriculum and instruction, rather than outcomes - how the state policies were interpreted and implemented rather than the student outcomes associated with changes brought about by the policies.

To address the research questions listed above, the research design was multimodal, incorporating a variety of research techniques: interviews of key players, observations of important activities and events, and review of relevant documents. The use of a variety of data sources and collection techniques helped ensure the credibility of the research findings (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Information on the same topic was collected through multiple methods - interviews, observation, and documents – as well as through multiple sources via a single method – different interview respondents. This allowed for data gathered in one way to be used as a cross-check on the accuracy of data collected in another way. In this way, biases in researcher interpretation could be evaluated.

Data collection took place in various contexts: ESL and mainstream classrooms, common areas of the school, and district and state offices. The primary methods of data collection were participant observation, formal and informal interviewing, and document analysis. Participant observation provided the bulk of data collected and supplemented with formal and informal interviews and document collection.

Permission to conduct this research was granted by the school district's administration and the school principal on the condition that the ESL teachers agreed and IRB approval was obtained through the University of Kentucky. Permission to observe classes and interact with students and staff was enthusiastically agreed to by the ESL teachers. Other teachers were approached as they became important to the study and permission was granted to observe their classes. Permission from individual students and others outside of the school was obtained on an individual basis.

Sources of Evidence

Interviews

During the early stages of the study, numerous informal interviews were conducted with teachers, administrators and students to build rapport and identify issues for further inquiry. The initial conversations formed the basis for an interview guide to be used in formal interviews. After an interview guide addressing the research questions was developed, a representative sample of 10 students was chosen through criterion-based sampling (Goetz and Le Compte 1984) for in-depth interviewing. Student participants were selected to ensure representation of the diversity of the student population as to socioeconomic status, country of origin, and gender (Appendix A). School staff and community members were selected for participation based on their connections to the ESL program. Those teachers and school staff who had worked directly with the ESL program were interviewed. These individuals were selected by their obvious connections (ESL teachers, school administrators, and guidance counselors) or were identified by students or teachers as relevant to the study (mainstream teachers who were known to have many ESL students in their classes). This networking provided a way of identifying those individuals important to the students' experiences (Goetz and LeCompte 1984).

Initial semistructured interviews were conducted with each of the 10 students in the sample. These interviews emphasized family background, general feelings about America and school, particular likes and dislikes concerning school, class schedule, social life, future plans, relationships with teachers and other students, and parental involvement in their education (Appendix B). Many of the students seemed uncomfortable with a formal interview format, so attempts were made to keep the interviews informal and conversational. After the initial interview, informal conversations occurred in which specific topics, identified through the semi-structured interviews, were introduced as they became relevant. As the students became more comfortable with my presence in the school, they were more likely to engage in conversation and specific issues raised in the initial interview could be explored in greater depth.

Initial semistructured interviews were conducted with teachers and administrators to gather data concerning their background and general attitudes toward and relationships with the students, the ESL program, and the school as well as general information concerning the structure and policies of the ESL program. Follow-up informal interviews took place throughout the course of the research to address issues/questions that would arise during the course of observation, such as specific interactions among teachers and students. Interviews with the eight administrators at various levels (school, district, state) provided information relating to the structure and policies of the ESL program as well as its history and future. Teacher interviews included three ESL teachers and three mainstream teachers. The mainstream teachers taught English, history/political science, and math. Administrators included were: the school principal and two associate principals, school counselor, district ESL coordinator, state ESL coordinator, district professional development coordinator, and the director of migrant services (Appendix C).

In 2003, follow-up interviews were conducted with the state ESL coordinator, the district level ESL coordinator, and the three ESL teachers (two of the teachers were still teaching at Central and the third ESL teacher transferred to another school in the same district) to obtain information relating to any policy and/or programmatic changes that occurred between the time of the initial research and the completion of this dissertation.

Through the interview process, key informants were identified, one teacher, one teacher's aide, and two students. These individuals were observant, reflective of their experiences with the

ESL program and could clearly articulate their understanding of the culture of the school. These individuals provided valuable insights throughout the course of the study.

Observations

Long-term participant and direct observation allowed for the development of rapport within the school community and thereby facilitated the collection of data on sensitive subjects. Participant observation also increased the likelihood that members of the school community did not change their behavior in reaction to the presence of a researcher. "Lower reactivity means higher validity of data" (Bernard, 1988: 150). Finally, developing an understanding of a social institution or organization was best achieved through observing, over an extended period of time, the working of that organization and talking with those involved with the organization (Bogden & Bilken, 1992).

My long-term presence in the school enabled me to develop trusting relationships with the respondents and to interview individuals over time in order to probe issues in greater depth. Persistent observations in the same classrooms allowed me to see commonalities and elements relevant to the research questions.

Drawbacks of participant observation include situations in which the researcher must take on positions or advocacy roles that influence others behaviors. During the course of this study, I was asked by the ESL teachers to assist them in obtaining information or communicating with individuals outside of the school about specific situations with students. My participation in these situations had a direct impact on the outcome of the situation and the student's educational experience. Participant observation also limits the time a researcher has to take notes or to raise questions about events that he/she has observed. I often found myself in situations where I was unable to record observations as I witnessed them, and was able to make notes on observations and conversations only after leaving the classroom or the school sometimes hours later.

I spent ten months conducting observations and interviews within the high school during the 1994-95 school year, two to three days a week three to four hours per day. I found that my ability to concentrate greatly diminished after about four hours, so limited myself to a maximum of four hours per day. I conducted follow-up field visits during the 1995-96 school year to collect information to fill in gaps in data. I carried out the observations in ESL classes,

mainstream classes, and non-classroom areas. The observations focused on three key areas: physical surroundings, content, instruction, conversations and interactions (these included interactions among teachers, administrators, students, and other staff). I made anecdotal records as well as verbatim transcripts during the observations when the situation allowed.

As the research progressed a passive approach to observing became increasingly difficult. As teachers and students became more comfortable with my presence I was often drawn into conversation or activity and forced to rely more on reconstructed conversations and observations.

Strategies for conducting observations included a variety of techniques. Each student in the sample was shadowed for a day. This included attending all of their classes, ESL and mainstream. In addition, ESL classes were attended regularly on a rotating schedule to ensure an adequate representation of all classes. The schedule could not always be followed because I would often attend classes that were involved in specific activities that the teachers or students viewed as highly effective or problematic. Mainstream teachers whose classes included ESL students were identified, interviewed and their classes observed. Observations were also conducted in non-classroom settings that included the hallways, the cafeteria, the faculty lounge, assemblies, and the school grounds.

Document Review

Document collection constituted another form of data collection. These documents included school records, state, district or school policy statements and regulations, student assignments, copies of students' written work, minutes of school council meetings, memoranda, KERA documents, and newspaper articles. The document review process provided information pertaining to state, district, and school policy; the immigrant population in the region; curriculum; and instructional strategies employed by ESL teachers.

Data Analysis

The data analysis of this dissertation was two-fold. First, Kentucky's standards-based reform policies were analyzed for their potential to include LEP students. A framework developed by Porter, Floden, Freeman, Schmidt and Schwille (1988) were used to analyze the strength of KERA policies to influence local level decision-making in regards to curriculum and

instruction for LEP students. The framework was based on policy characteristics identified in the educational change literature as creating conditions more conducive to change within schools. The framework was designed as a means for evaluating the potential of policies to influence teachers' decisions about curriculum and instruction. The framework has four parts: prescriptiveness, consistency, authority, and power. Prescriptiveness refers to how specific and explicit a standard is in specifying classroom practice. Consistency refers to the ways in which multiple programs, activities, and instruments connect. Authority is persuasive, either through legal mandate, expert opinion, or through consistency with social norms or promotion by a charismatic leader. Power refers to the ability to force teachers and students to do what they otherwise would not have done. Data collected for this part of the analysis was obtained from state documents and interviews with state level administrators. The examination of KERA policies using the Porter et al (1988) framework provided essential background information from which to interpret the findings of the case study reflecting the decision-making of ESL teachers and placed the ESL program of Central High School in a larger policy context.

The designers of KERA purposefully did not address specific groups of students because they wanted to emphasize that the high standards were meant for all students (Foster, 2000). There were no exceptions for special education students or LEP students. All students were to be held to the same high standards and all schools were expected to develop curriculum and instructional strategies to ensure that all students meet those high standards. In order to understand the decisions made about curriculum and instruction by the ESL teachers at Central High School, we must have a clear picture of how ESL students fit into the KERA reforms, particularly in the assessment and accountability systems.

The second part of the analysis was based on the case of the ESL program at Central High School. The case study was used to highlight the connection or lack of connection between the state level standards-based reform policies and school level changes affecting decisions about curriculum and instruction. The standards-based approach was based on the assumption that, to significantly alter student outcomes, change must occur in classrooms and schools (Smith and O'Day, 1991). In order to determine the connection between state policy and changes in curriculum and instructional practice, school level data were used to examine the factors that influence ESL teachers' decisions about curriculum and instruction and the ability of KERA

policies to change the structure and organization of the school to support the desired changes in teaching and learning.

The philosophical basis of KERA was the belief that all students can achieve high academic standards and all students are held to the same high standards. Schools and districts were to develop curricula aligned with these standards, teachers were to align their instruction with the standards and curriculum, and the state assessment was meant to test students' progress toward these standards. Teacher background and preparation, societal factors, school policies, and curricula choices set parameters for teachers, but ultimately teachers choose instructional practices, administer assessment, and set standards for their students that determine the quality of instruction their students receive. Education researchers argue that successful change is local and depends on the will and capacity of teachers and others in the actual situation (Ayer, 1992; Fullan, 1991; McLaughlin, 1990; Wagner, 2002). Without adequate attention to local conditions and school culture, it is difficult to implement school-level change.

The second par the analysis examined the case of the Central High School ESL program using a framework developed by the Change Leadership Group at the Harvard Graduate School of Education. This conceptual framework identifies the most crucial arenas for promoting learning (Wagner, 2002). Wagner (2002) identifies three arenas of practice that must be addressed in order to align practice with the goals of standards-based reform. The three arenas are culture, conditions, and competencies. These are not separate and distinct arenas of practice. A dynamic relationship among them; each is dependent on the other. This framework was used as the basis for analysis for the case study of the ESL program of Central High School.

The first arena for change is culture. Creating a culture supportive of the goals of standards-based reform requires a reexamination of assumptions about authority, relationships, and students' competencies for learning at high levels. Whether or not educators believe that all students can achieve to high levels greatly impacts what they teach and how they teach it (Wagner, 2002). Educators' beliefs about student capabilities influence not only the content and strategies used by those educators, but also the relationships with the students. A culture based on high expectations for LEP students implies respect for students' cultures encompassing acceptance of their ideas, knowledge, values, and behaviors.

The second arena involves conditions of the learning environment. Education leaders need to create the conditions supportive of a school culture focused on effective teaching and learning to ensure that all students have access to a challenging curriculum. Careful attention must be paid to nurturing and sustaining relationships built on mutual trust and respect. As summarized in Chapter One, effective schools are characterized by environments in which teachers and students are treated with respect and relationships are based on mutual trust.

Creating a culture and conditions conducive to change cannot be effective if teachers do not have the knowledge and skills to implement the new strategies and there is not a clear understanding of what students are to learn. Under Wagner's (2002) change model, leaders must identify and develop critical competencies that must be learned at every level for individual and organizational growth. This means competencies for students as well as educators. Ongoing programs must be created that help individuals master the skills needed to improve student and adult learning.

The analysis addressed the extent to which these arenas have been impacted by the reform in ways that facilitated the adoption of curriculum and instructional practices aimed at ensuring all students meet the goals of the reform. The data for this part of the analysis was obtained through observations within the school and classrooms; interviews with students, teachers, and school staff; and document analysis of school and ESL program documents. Three data bases were developed: 1) notes - including transcriptions and reconstructions of interview, observations, and document analysis, 2) quantitative data - including state, district and school data, and 3) collected documents. Coding strategies for the observational and interview data are listed in Appendix D. Fieldnotes were coded using the categories listed in Appendix IV. Notes were then sorted by category for examination for patterns related to teacher beliefs about standards-based reform, teacher beliefs about their students' abilities, and the influences on teachers' decisions about curriculum and instruction.

A text-based computer program [NUD*IST] was used to code and categorize narrative text collected through interviews and observations. Data coded under specific topics (see Appendix IV for coding categories) will be examined in order to identify patterns or themes of behavior and attitudes of teachers, administrators, and students who played a role in decisions about curriculum and instruction.

The primary technique of data analysis was explanation building (Yin, 2003). The analysis attempts to explain why the ESL program at Central High School ignored KERA policies in making decisions about curriculum, instruction, and supports for ESL students and what factors contributed to the ESL teachers' decisions about curriculum and instruction.

The effectiveness of KERA policies for ensuring that LEP high school students are included in the reform efforts was determined through an examination of the reform policies and the case study of one high school ESL program. KERA policies' were analyzed for their capacity to influence school level decisions on curriculum and instruction for LEP students. The case study was meant to demonstrate the strength of KERA policies to influence local adoption of curriculum aligned to KERA goals and instructional strategies aimed at helping all students achieve those goals. KERA outlined the academic goals and expectations students were to attain. These standards were to ensure good teaching and exposure to challenging content for all students. The case study of Central High School's ESL program provides insight into the strengths and weaknesses of KERA policies to affect change in teacher practice in the direction desired by the reform.

Study Limitations

While a case study is useful in understanding the processes of a program and for discovering the context characteristics that will shed light on a particular issue, in this case, the inclusion or LEP high school students in standards-based reform, limited generalization is warranted. The study included only one program, at a particular time, and under particular circumstances. While many of the local factors influencing the level of implementation of reform policies may be unique to Central High School, the study indicates a need to take local factors into account when developing state policy.

Also, the study was conducted by one researcher. In a qualitative case study, the researcher is the primary instrument for gathering and analyzing. Inevitably, mistakes were made, opportunities were missed, and personal biases interfered. While attempts were made to minimize the problems of bias, the researcher does not profess perfection and acknowledges these limitations.

The study is not a critique of the standards-based reform movement or its underlying assumptions. It is also not a study of student needs or best practices. It is meant to determine the level of inclusiveness of LEP students in Kentucky's reform effort and to identify potential policy and programmatic solutions to improve state and districts efforts at including LEP students in the reform.

Chapter Three
Analysis of KERA Policies

The policies of KERA were meant to support schools in their efforts to ensure that *all* students achieve the six learning goals laid out in the legislation. The policies and programs of KERA were developed to guide schools in creating learning environments in which all students could achieve these goals. The goals were meant to help schools in the development of curriculum focused on challenging content that emphasizes producing knowledge, rather than simply reproducing knowledge. Newmann (1991) described the outcome of challenging content as authentic achievement. Authentic achievement is the ability to apply knowledge and requires disciplined inquiry involving the use of prior knowledge, in-depth understanding, and the integration of ideas and information. This type of inquiry was emphasized in the KERA learning goals and implied the use of challenging instructional strategies that engage students in active problem solving, knowledge construction through analysis of real-life problems, and hands-on experiences. Also, the emphasis on *all* students achieving the goals implied the use of a variety of instructional approaches to address students' different learning styles and backgrounds.

This emphasis on more intellectually ambitious instruction for all students and authentic achievement constituted a radical departure from the long held view that most students need only basic and practical education. Promoting instructional practices designed to help all students reach ambitious standards runs counter to widely shared beliefs about the nature of learning and about the abilities of many students, especially poor and minority students (Cohen & Spillane, 1992). In order for schools to be successful in this mission, they must find ways to provide challenging content to all students and meet the needs of diverse students. The successful implementation of reforms based on the belief that all students should have access to more rigorous curriculum and instruction requires that schools and educators develop or adopt curriculum and instructional strategies focused on meeting the educational needs of individual students, not just on delivering instruction.

The standards-based approach to education reform is based on the assumption that, to significantly alter student outcomes, change must occur at the most basic level of education -- in classrooms and schools. While the state must play a proactive role in setting the conditions for

change (Smith and O'Day, 1992; Cohen and Spillane, 1992), ultimately, reform policies must be implemented in classrooms by teachers. Therefore, in order for policies to affect change, they must influence teacher practice in ways compatible to the desired outcomes.

Studies of curriculum and instruction from the Institute for Research on Teaching at Michigan State University have focused on understanding teacher practice and how it might be improved (Porter, et al, 1988). This research was based on the hypothesis that teachers determine what is taught and they create opportunities for students to learn that influence future achievement in school and beyond. Porter et al (1988) argued that, in the absence of other advice, teachers follow their own convictions and experience in what to teach and how to teach it. However, external influence comes from many different sources including principals, central office staff, university professors, as well as federal, state, district and school policies. The teacher is the filter between these messages and what students are taught. The teacher's own beliefs and convictions mediate the effects of that advice. In order to have an effect on teachers' decisions, external influence must either change teachers' beliefs about what is most desirable or override those beliefs by forcing teachers to comply.

Through an examination of state and district policies focused on teacher content decision making in elementary school mathematics, the IRT researchers developed a framework for explaining differences in policy strength and their influence on teacher practice. The framework provides a way of analyzing educational policies and the impact of these policies on curriculum reform and their utility as strategies for achieving challenging content for all students. The framework focuses on four policy characteristics that give policies strength – prescriptiveness, consistency, power, and authority. Prescriptiveness refers to how specific a standard is in specifying classroom practice. Consistency refers to the ways in which multiple programs, activities, and instruments connect. Authority is persuasive, either through legal mandate, expert opinion, or through consistency with social norms or promotion by a charismatic leader. Power refers to the ability to force teachers and students to do what they otherwise would not have done. IRT researchers found that while policies that are more prescriptive, consistent, powerful and authoritative have greater impact on teacher practice, the effects of policies that are more authoritative than powerful are more enduring (Porter et al, 1988). The example of mathematics

reform in California demonstrates that a policy may be highly prescriptive and consistent, but if it lacks a strong element of authority and/or power, its impact will likely be limited.

Cohen and Hill's (2001) decade long study of mathematics reform in California is one of the few studies documenting the success of state policy aimed at improving teaching. The findings from this study suggest mechanisms for linking policy to practice and thereby improving teaching and learning in schools. The study provides an excellent opportunity to demonstrate the utility of Porter et al's (1988) framework for analyzing the strength of education policies to influence teacher practice. Cohen and Hill's study of the California reform demonstrates the effectiveness of coherent and prescriptive policies. Yet, as the discussion will show, the lack of power and authority inherent in the reform effort limited its influence to only about 10 percent of the state's teachers.

California's mathematics reforms of the early 1990s were aimed at improving the intellectual challenge and quality of mathematics education. The policies were an attempt to shift mathematics instruction from traditional, didactic, teacher centered pedagogy to greater focus on disciplinary knowledge and student's thinking.

Cohen and Hill (2001) explain that the California experience suggests that policies can have a positive impact on teaching and learning if the policies address the links between policy and practice through three important conditions for success: opportunities for teachers to learn what policy implied for their practice; coherence among policy instruments; and support throughout the education community for change in practice. The findings of this study fit neatly into the IRT framework.

An important component of the California reform effort was teachers' opportunities to learn about the new curricula and assessment methods. These learning opportunities were highly prescriptive in the sense that they did not merely describe the broad themes of the new policy instruments, but they were grounded in the actual mathematics and student work on curricula and assessments that were the instruments of practice. Curricular materials were developed that were meant to be instructive for both students and teachers. The curricular replacement units described the new instructional methods as well as something about the mathematics students might invent or encounter as part of the unit. These replacement units formed the basis of some of the workshops offered to teachers. Teachers were provided with extended opportunities to

learn about new ideas, put them into action, and talk about them to others. They learned what the reform would look like in practice, making it more likely that they would implement the new ideas and practices into their teaching. Cohen and Hill (2001) found that when the objectives of the policies and the actions educators needed to take to implement the policies are elaborated, policies are more likely to work. While only a small fraction of the state's teachers had substantial opportunities to learn about the replacement units and the new assessments, these opportunities made a difference in the practice of those who did have access to training.

Consistency among policy instruments was an important factor contributing to the success of the reforms. Policymakers developed curricular frameworks that laid out the aims and direction for change. Those frameworks were then used to guide the evaluation of commercial texts in an effort to align materials to the goals of the reform. The frameworks were also used to guide the development of the state assessment. In addition, the frameworks were used to guide the development of instruments of practice such as math curriculum units for students and teachers. And teacher learning opportunities focused on the use of these instruments to guide teaching and learning.

While the state efforts included coherent policy instruments and effective learning opportunities for teachers, the policy was only advisory. Therefore, educators could ignore the curriculum frameworks and the other state reform documents. The state education agency had limited resources available to fund the reform efforts and the authority of the state education agency was not supported by the governor or the legislature. While the learning opportunities available were important factors in changing teacher practice, the lack of authority and funds limited the ability of the California Department of Education (CDE) to reach all mathematics teachers in the state (Cohen and Hill, 2001). The CDE did not have the money or political support to provide the necessary opportunities for teachers to learn about the new instructional strategies.

Nor did the state have the power of law to enact reform policy focused on curriculum and instruction. California law prohibited the state from mandating curricular or instructional practices in classrooms. Even though, the reforms included coherent policy instruments and effective opportunities for teachers to learn about the reforms and how to incorporate the new instructional methods into their practice, the limited power and authority of the state education

agency limited the reach of the reforms. Teachers were not required to participate in the training, thereby reducing the likelihood that teachers would learn how to use the curricular materials effectively.

Cohen and Hill (2001) argued that the California reforms met with some success for those teachers who had significant opportunities to learn how to improve mathematics teaching. For those teachers, learning was centered on a coherent set of policy instruments and was embedded in practice. The policies cannot be considered a large-scale success because the state education agency did not have the power or authority to ensure that all of the state's mathematics teachers had those opportunities.

Applying Porter et al's (1988) framework to the findings of Cohen and Hill (2001) demonstrates the utility of the framework for identifying areas of strength and weakness in education policy. The California policies were strong on coherence and prescriptiveness, but weak on authority and power. The weaknesses in authority and power limited the reach of the reforms and their ability to affect teacher practice throughout the state. The rest of this chapter will examine the policies of KERA, using the Porter framework, to identify the areas of strength and weakness of the policy to influence educators of LEP students to adopt curriculum and instructional strategies aligned with state goals.

KERA Policies

KERA, following systemic reform theory, was an attempt to combine top-down, or control strategies, with bottom-up, or empowerment strategies aimed at ensuring that all students are exposed to challenging content. Smith & O'Day (1991), in their seminal article outlining systemic reform, argued that top-down reforms failed to produce meaningful gains in student achievement primarily because the strategies did not change the content of instruction, involve teachers in the reform process, or alter notions of teaching and learning. Bottom-up reforms relied too much on school-based initiatives, making large-scale reform unlikely, and focused too little attention on classroom content and pedagogy. Smith and O'Day (1991) proposed a "coherent *systemic* strategy that can combine the energy and professional involvement of the second wave reforms with a new and challenging state structure to generalize the reforms to all schools within the state" (1991, pp. 234-235). This systemic approach was based on the

assumption that, to significantly alter student outcomes, change must occur at the most basic level of education – in classrooms and schools -, however, the state must play a proactive role in setting the conditions for change in the "great majority" of schools.

This chapter examines the control (top-down) and empowerment (bottom-up) strategies of KERA in terms of the four policy characteristics of Porter's framework as they relate to LEP students to determine the strength of the policies to ensure LEP students access to challenging curriculum.

The top-down strategies of KERA included the assessment and accountability systems and curriculum frameworks. Bottom-up strategies included site-based decision making councils and in-service teacher training. KERA included an additional set of strategies -- supplemental programs aimed at helping at-risk students overcome barriers to learning. These included the non-graded primary, extended school services, and the Family Resource and Youth Services Centers. This combination of strategies was meant to provide for increased pressure on schools to improve student academic achievement and to provide support to help them in their efforts.

Control Strategies

Assessment

The Kentucky Instructional Results Information System (KIRIS) was a primarily performance-based assessment program meant to reflect the kinds of instruction students would need to meet the KERA learning goals. The assessments were administered in grades 4, 8, and 12 initially, but were later spread across grades 4-5, 7-8, and 11-12. At various times, KIRIS included multiple choice items, open-ended questions, on-demand writing tasks, writing and math portfolios, and performance events.[2] LEP students were required to be included in the state assessment after they were in enrolled in an ESL program for two years.

Under these requirements, students enrolled in ESL programs who entered the Kentucky school system in high school participated in the state assessment once, if at all. Until 2000, there

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[2] Performance events were structured activities in which students had to demonstrate an ability to use certain concepts or processes to solve one or more problems. These exercises were typically done in small groups, but students were required to answer questions individually in writing when the group task had been completed. Writing portfolios involved student composition, refinement, and compilation of writing pieces from various genres into a portfolio. Math portfolios contained written descriptions of complex problems and their solutions (Kannapel, Aagaard, Coe & Reeves, 2000).

were no data on the achievement of LEP students on the state assessment or the number of LEP students that participated in the state assessment. Prior to 2000, assessment data were not disaggregated by LEP status. Therefore, prior to 2000, it was impossible to determine the number or proportion of ESL students who participated in the state assessment or their levels of achievement as defined by KERA.

Accountability

For accountability purposes, KIRIS assessment results were combined with noncognitive indicators – dropout, attendance, and retention rates and transition to higher education, work, or the military after high school – to produce an accountability index for each school and district. The results were averaged over a two-year period and schools were expected to show improvement at rates specified by the state based on their biennium index. Schools that exceeded their targets and moved at least 10 percent of their students from a "novice" rating to a higher performance category received financial rewards.[3] Schools that failed to reach their performance goals were subject to various sanctions.

Since, the state assessment data were not disaggregated by LEP status, schools and districts could not be held accountable for the performance of LEP students. Without disaggregations of the test data, neither the state nor the district had the capability to monitor the performance of LEP students on the state assessment or to determine if they were being provided with access to educational opportunities that would ensure they achieve KERA goals. The school had access to the performance reports of individual students and could, if so desired, monitor the performance of students enrolled in ESL classes. However, the state accountability system, by omitting LEP students, provided no incentive to do so. Schools and districts were not encouraged or required to develop local assessment and accountability systems to monitor the progress of students excluded from the state accountability system.

Yet, in 1994 the reauthorization of Title I included the requirement that states develop standards and assessment and accountability systems to measure school's progress toward those standards. The legislation also required states to disaggregate assessment results by race,

[3]Student performance on KIRIS was judged in terms of four performance categories: novice, apprentice, proficient, and distinguished.

ethnicity, income, and LEP status. However, at the time of this study, Kentucky was not in compliance with the regulation. The state accountability system did not include a data category for LEP students.

Empowerment Strategies

KERA included a number of strategies designed to help shift decision-making to local schools. KERA empowerment strategies included site-based decision making and teacher training. Site-based management was meant to increase the involvement of teachers in decision-making and professional development was meant to provide teachers with the knowledge and skills they needed to effectively implement the reform (Rowan, 1990).

Site-Based Decision Making

An important component of Kentucky's education reform was the restructured governance system. Schools were required to create site-based decision making councils to "ensure true participation of the school faculty in the most important instructional decisions in the school" (Foster, 1999). The purpose was to move key decisions about teaching and learning to the school level. All schools were required (except those that had met their state-defined KIRIS goals or those in one-school districts) to establish SBDM councils by July 1, 1996 (Kentucky Department of Education, 1999). Councils were required to include the principal, three teachers elected by teachers at the school, and two parents elected by parents of enrolled students. Schools with eight percent or more minority students were required to elect at least one minority member. The minority member could be a teacher or parent. The term "minority" had been widely interpreted to mean racial minority. At Central, the minority council member was selected from African American teachers and parents. The understanding among Central High School administrators and teachers was that the minority member would be African American. According to the ESL teachers, this practice had never been questioned by ESL teachers or parents. In addition, KERA made no provisions to ensure that the interests of LEP students and their families –or other subgroups such as students with disabilities or low-income students --were represented on SBDM councils.

SBDM councils were responsible for setting school policy to provide an environment promoting student achievement of KERA goals. SBDM councils were responsible for:

- Determining the frequency of and agenda for meetings;
- Determining, within the limits of total available funds, the number of persons to be employed in each job classification;
- Determining which textbooks, instructional materials, and student support services shall be provided in the school;
- Hiring a principal when a vacancy occurs based upon a list of applicants submitted by the superintendent and consulting with the principal on filling other staff vacancies;
- Adopting policies, to be implemented by the principal, concerning curriculum; assignment of staff time; student assignment to classes and programs; school schedule; use of school space; instructional practices; discipline and classroom management; extracurricular programs; and procedures for alignment with state standards, technology utilization, and program appraisal (Kannapel, et al, 2000).

There is little evidence that school councils have focused on developing standards-based curriculum (KIER, 1997; Kannapel et al., 1994). In the early years of KERA, councils focused more on logistics and procedures than on issues of curriculum and instruction that could help all students achieve the standards set by KERA (Kannapel et al., 1994).

Professional Development

Under standards-based reform, the state or district develops policies to be implemented in the school and classroom. However, the teachers stand between the messages sent through policy and the students to be taught. The effects of policy are mediated by the teachers' own beliefs and convictions about what should be taught and how (Porter et al, 1991). Teachers determine what is taught in school by deciding what content to teach and by implementing strategies to engage students in that content. Teachers determine (a) how much time is allocated to a subject; (b) what topics are taught; (c) what topics are taught to which students; (d) when and in what order each topic is taught; and (e) to what standards of achievement a topic is taught. These decisions largely determine student opportunities to learn, a major influence on student achievement (Barr, Dreeben and Wiratchai, 1983; Carroll, 1963). Yet, KERA did not address

the need for major changes in teacher expertise (Foster, 1999). The state relied on teacher education programs in colleges to certify teachers. However, colleges and universities were not included in the reform effort. The state did, however, provide a great deal of funding for professional development. However, professional development focused to a large extent on implementing the various individual components of KERA (school-based decision-making, performance-based assessment, the primary program). Professional development did not address the integration of these components and did not focus on curriculum development and instructional approaches to help all children reach the learning goals identified in KERA (AEL, 1994, 2000). According to Foster (2000), the designers of KERA assumed that teachers would develop standards-based curriculum and would change their methods to ensure that every child learns. KERA did not endorse or require any particular methodology for teaching. It was expected that local educators would have control over instruction and that professional development providers would develop learning opportunities for educators to help them with this process. That did not happen. According to Foster, the result was that educators were not provided opportunities to gain the intellectual and technical skills to engage in curriculum creation and revision (1999).

Central High School teachers who were interviewed for this study reported that they had no professional development focused on issues of diversity or instructional strategies to address the diverse needs of students. Teachers reported that during one “in-service” there was a brief discussion relating to the vision and mission of Central High School and the importance of developing a school open to diversity and an environment focusing on equality. However, the training did not include a discussion about how this could be done. The teachers reported that during the first four years of KERA, there were no professional development opportunities aimed at helping teachers make instructional changes in alignment with the new standards. Teachers interviewed for this study reported that no staff development was available that was explicitly designed to help teachers and school personnel better address the needs of LEP students. The teachers’ reports were reinforced by an examination of district professional development documents describing the professional development opportunities available to district teachers. None of the sessions listed included references to the needs of diverse students.

A review of research on KERA by the Kentucky Institute for Education Reform (1997) concluded that multicultural resource materials and professional staffing were needed in all schools, regardless of the composition of the student population; professional development opportunities were needed to help educators develop instructional strategies responsive to human diversity; and school/district support for multicultural education was needed. This statement was the only reference in the report to student cultural diversity. Language diversity was not addressed.

Supplemental Programs

KERA included provisions for establishing supplemental programs aimed at reducing barriers to achievement faced by at-risk students. These included Family Resource and Youth Service Centers, Extended School Services, and a non-graded primary program. Since the non-grade primary program is not relevant to this discussion, it is not included here.

Family Resource Centers and Youth Service Centers

Schools with 20 percent or more students on free lunch could apply for state grants to establish Family Resource or Youth Service Centers to coordinate or provide services to help students overcome social, emotional, and physical barriers to learning. While not all schools were eligible for funding, the service centers could be used by any student in the district, not just students in the Center schools. The Centers were meant to coordinate additional health and human services to students and their families either by administering programs or working with other community agencies and/or organizations.

Extended School Services

Funding was provided for extended school services (an extended school day, week, or year) at all schools for students who needed additional time to meet KERA goals. After school programs were the most prevalent format for extended school services (AEL, 2000). At Central, an afterschool program was established for ESL students two days a week for two hours each day. The program was staffed by an ESL teacher and was meant to provide students with the additional time and assistance they needed to meet KERA goals.

In summary, KERA policies were meant to provide local educators with the guidance and support they would need to develop curricula and instruction aligned to reform goals and to help all students achieve those goals. The expectation was that curricula would vary with the interests, background, and cultures of the students and possibly their teachers and schools (O'Day and Smith, 1993; Foster, 1999). For the reform to be successful, advocates argued that the approaches taken by all schools must be based on common curriculum frameworks and all students must be expected and given the opportunity to perform at the same high standards on a common assessment (O'Day and Smith, 1993; Cohen and Spillane, 1992; Smith and O'Day, 1992). In order to maximize the opportunities for their students, it was argued that individual schools must be free to choose the instructional strategies, language of instruction, use of curriculum materials, and topics to be emphasized. However, proponents of standards-based reform argued that in order for standards-based reform to be successful on a large scale, state guidance and assistance is needed to inform local decisions.

The following section examines KERA policies in terms of prescriptiveness, coherence, power, and authority to identify areas of strength and weakness of the policies in their ability to ensure that teachers of LEP students align curriculum and instruction to the state goals.

Strengths and Weaknesses of KERA Policies

Prescriptiveness

Prescriptiveness refers to the extent and specificity of a policy for informing teachers what to do. It refers to the extent to which the policy system provides a clear idea of what schools and teachers are supposed to do. This guidance can take the form of curriculum frameworks, the availability of textbooks, replacement curriculum units, student assessments, and demonstration teaching tapes. Moreover, there are degrees of prescriptiveness. A mandated textbook is less prescriptive than a mandated textbook that teachers are instructed to follow closely, starting at the beginning and carrying through to completion.

Generally, the greater the number and type of outcomes and processes controlled, the more prescriptive the policy. A test of minimum basic skills competencies is prescriptive of

outcomes; but a test that attempts to assess all that should be taught, not just minimums, is more prescriptive. This means, the more prescriptive the control strategy, the less room for local discretion (Porter et al, 1991).

KERA was not meant to be strongly prescriptive. State curriculum guidelines were vague by design because curriculum was supposed to be developed locally to address local needs and concerns. Districts and schools were expected to develop curricula focused on the Learning Goals and Academic Expectations while taking into account local needs. Kentucky's curriculum frameworks were never meant to be a state curriculum; they were not meant to be highly prescriptive. The three curriclum documents developed by the state were meant to identify the minimum content that all students should know and to provide guidelines to local educators to develop their own curriculum to meet local needs (Foster, 1999). The first curriculum document released in 1991, *Kentucky's Learner Goals and Valued Outcomes,* laid out the six learner goals and 75 valued outcomes that formed the base of KERA.[4] The second curriculum document released in July, 1993, *Transformations: Kentucky's Curriculum Framework*, was more than 500 pages long in two volumes. The frameworks were designed around the 57 academic expectations and attempted to provide guidance for addressing each outcome in curricular terms in one or two pages per outcome. *Transformations* contained a list of indicators for assessing student progress toward each of the 57 academic expectations, ideas for making connections to real-life situations and other content areas, sample teaching and assessment strategies, suggested instructional activities, ideas for incorporating community resources, and suggested processes for developing curriculum.

Problems arose with the use of *Transformations* because the document failed to specify which facts associated with each subject area were important and which were not. Also, the relationship between the framework and textbooks still in use was not spelled out (Foster, 1999). Teachers were unclear about how to use the document in their classroom and found *Transformations* cumbersome and vague (AEL, 1995). It was difficult for teachers to discern from *Transformations* what skills and knowledge would be tested on KIRIS. While the frameworks were confusing to mainstream educators, they were even more so for ESL teachers

[4] The 75 valued outcomes were later reduced to 57 academic expectations after controversy over KERA goals 3 and 4 led to the outcomes for those goals being deleted (Foster, 1999)

because they did not take into account the educational needs of LEP students. The frameworks did not address English language learners and possible strategies to employ to help LEP students meet KERA goals. There were no references in the frameworks to adopting strategies to address the needs of LEP students. The perception of Central's ESL teachers was that the state curriculum documents were developed with the assumption that students were native English speakers and had been enrolled in American schools for the duration of their education.

The designers of KERA assumed that teachers would be able to develop curriculum to meet the needs of their students. Curriculum was meant to be a local creation that could easily be adapted to a local community environment and culture (Foster, 1999). The intent of the policies was to allow for local flexibility to enable schools to create a curriculum that reflects its own social and cultural environment.

> Policies, priorities, and practices must be redirected, refined, and restructured to create conditions which allow for the success of all students…This transformation can only be achieved through a continual, well designed curriculum development process that is collegial in nature; reflects the interrelationship of curriculum, instruction and assessment; and continually realigns curriculum to the learner outcomes. The most effective curriculum is developed by local teachers who have a strong knowledge base; an understanding of the developmental stages of student learning; and the ability to combine both into relevant, stimulating instructional program (Kentucky Department of Education, 1993: 35).

Complaints from teachers about the lack of curricular guidance resulted in the development of the *Core Content for Assessment*, released in 1996 (Foster, 1999; Kannapel et al, 2000). The *Core Content* specified the content to be assessed under KERA goals 1 and 2, the goals that focus on basic subject matter knowledge.
Yet, training or materials were not provided to help teachers make use of these materials. It was unclear to ESL teachers at Central how they would go about developing curriculum for ESL students that would be aligned with the state learning goals. All teachers, but ESL teachers in particular, would have benefited from training and materials that explicitly described the process of developing an aligned curriculum.

Studies have documented that the task of creating a school-based curriculum was far more difficult than anticipated (Foster, 1999; AEL, 2000). Many teachers were not professionally prepared to develop a curriculum. Neither the administrators nor the teachers had the training or experience in creating curriculum to address the needs of diverse students and none was provided through KERA. Jack Foster (1999), education advisor to Governor Wilkinson,[5] wrote that "We understood that the new approach to curriculum would require significant changes in teaching techniques and strategies. However, we took the position that pedagogy is the domain of educators and not policy makers….Therefore, there are no references in the law to such things as phonics, mathematical tables, whole language instruction, or any other teaching methodology" (47).

The frameworks, by design, were not highly prescriptive. They were designed to allow for local flexibility, but did not take into account that teachers did not have the training or experience to develop curricula. Therefore, the curriculum frameworks were not sufficient to ensure the development of curriculum aligned with KERA's learning goals and academic expectations. While the reform's designers were very clear that they expected schools and districts to develop curricula reflecting local needs and concerns, the state provided little guidance and assistance to educators that would help them develop or adopt appropriate curricula to align with state goals. We learned from the California mathematics reform that opportunities to learn about the state developed policy instruments and how to use them effectively to improve student achievement was essential to the success of the reform. Under KERA, opportunities were not provided to learn about the reform instruments and to provide opportunities for educators to explore ways to use the state-develop instruments to improve their practice. The connections between the policy instruments and teacher practice were not made clear.

Consistency

Consistency refers to links among policies, and how policies can contradict or reinforce each other. Consistency is achieved when all of the elements of a system push in the same

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[5] Governor Wilkinson was heavily involved in the early phases of the development of KERA and was in office when KERA was passed (Foster, 1999).

direction and are aligned around a common vision. When all policy instruments prescribe the same outputs and/or processes, the system is internally consistent.

KERA learning goals and academic expectations outlined what students should know and be able to do; the core content laid out the content knowledge outlined in learning goals 1 and 2; the State assessment focused primarily on the core content; and the curriculum frameworks attempted to provide guidance for including learning goals 5 and 6 - higher order skills, problem solving, subject integration, and real-life application. In addition, Kentucky policymakers excluded KERA goals 3 and 4 (self sufficiency and responsible group membership) from the assessment program in response to pressure from groups and individuals who believed that the outcomes reflected liberal values and detracted from the teaching of "basic skills" (Kannapel et al, 2000).

Since *Transformations*, the curriculum guide, was not mandatory and was seen as vague and confusing, it was generally not used. These factors, combined with a state assessment that focused primarily on KERA goals 1 and 2, meant that goals 3 through 6 were effectively excluded from the system. The result was that the Core Content, focused on goals 1 and 2, took on the role of a state curriculum because it was what was tested (AEL, 2000).

The 1995 AEL report documented widespread complaints about curriculum confusion. At this time, most schools were just beginning the process of aligning their curriculum to the state content standards. The confusion over curricular expectations and teachers' lack of training and experience in developing curriculum led to the delay of this process. With the same limited experience and training in curriculum development and without curriculum frameworks or guidelines directed toward English language learners, ESL teachers were further isolated from the process of reform.

KERA learning goals and academic expectations were meant for all students. Yet, curriculum documents did not provide guidance for developing curriculum and instructional strategies to meet the needs of a diverse population. Moreover, English language learners were exempt from the state assessment for two years meaning that ESL high school students might never take the test. In addition, the test was designed for English speaking students. In terms of ensuring LEP students have access to curriculum to help them achieve KERA goals, the KERA policy system was not only inconsistent, it was basically exclusionary.

Power

Policies with power achieve compliance through demand. Power can be achieved through resources such as professional development opportunities or financial rewards and sanctions attached to an accountability system or policy compliance. The KERA policies with the most potential power for influencing classroom practice – student assessment and accountability – did not affect ESL teachers in any significant way. The rewards and sanctions attached to KERA applied to schools, not individual teachers or students. Since assessment data were not disaggregated by LEP status, there was no mechanism for holding schools accountable for LEP student's performance on KIRIS – or even for how many of those students took the test. Under the state accountability system, ESL teachers were not held accountable for the performance of their students on the state assessment. The result was that the assessment and accountability systems held limited power over ESL teachers. Without inclusion in the accountability system, nothing, in terms of state policy, pushed ESL teachers to adopt the state standards or to develop/adopt curricula or instructional practices focused on ensuring that LEP students achieved those standards.

Authority

Authority refers to the extent to which policies are persuasive in convincing teachers that the policy is consistent with notions of good practice. Policies can gain authority through appeal to law, social norms, expert knowledge, or support from charismatic individuals. Authority is provided through the backing of powerful institutions or individuals such as the legislature or the governor. Sometimes a particular policy instrument such as a student assessment achieves an authoritative recognition (Porter et al, 1991). If educators believe that the assessment they are required to use accurately tests student knowledge, they are more likely to align their curriculum and instruction to that assessment.

ESL teachers at Central did not perceive the standards or assessment as being appropriate for LEP high school students. It was their belief that state policymakers did not understand the educational needs of LEP students or the issues of curriculum and instruction faced by teachers of LEP students. In their eyes, the state, because of their ignorance on these issues, had no

authority over what ESL teachers do in their classroom. The lack of explicit acknowledgement of student diversity in the state developed documents fueled this belief.

As was pointed out in Chapter 1, systematic assessment is an important component of effective schools (Mace-Matluck, 1990). Successful schools base decisions about students on data and clearly defined goals. According to Brisk (1998), fair assessment strategies for English language learners include:

- Assessing in the home language.
- Assessing in both languages.
- Allowing students to choose the language in which they will perform.
- Using limited- or nonverbal measures when testing in English.
- Incorporating elements of students' culture using multiple assessment strategies.
- Coordinating assessment by various teachers.
- Involving the community.

KIRIS did not allow for students to be tested in their dominant language, nor were authentic assessment activities used to assess language proficiency or academic achievement. After being enrolled in Kentucky schools for only two years, ESL high school students participated in an assessment designed to measure the content knowledge of English language speakers. Such tests operate more as a test of the student's language skills than content knowledge and are therefore inadequate in assessing LEP students' academic content knowledge (August and Hakuta, 1998). Therefore, a test designed for native English speakers held no authority over teachers of students with limited English proficiency because it was not perceived to accurately assess LEP students' academic content knowledge. Exclusion from the accountability system combined with an assessment that was not designed to test the academic content knowledge of LEP students provided little authority from which to push teachers of LEP students to develop or adopt a curriculum aligned with the assessment or the standards on which it was based.

Summary

Standards-based reform, like that in Kentucky, offered the hope of more equitable educational opportunities for all students. Inclusion of all students in the testing and accountability system held the promise that students could no longer be written off and offered less challenging curricula. The promise of KERA was that all students would be offered a challenging curriculum aligned to standards. The idea that challenging standards for all students would lead to better instructional experiences for all students, particularly for students traditionally exposed to weak curricula, was a central component of the theory of action underlying standards reform (Fuhrman, 2001).

Yet, this analysis of KERA policies demonstrates that the policies are relatively weak and fragmented when judged against the attributes of prescriptiveness, consistency, power, and authority in terms of their ability to ensure access to a challenging curriculum appropriate for LEP high school students. KERA policies are only mildly prescriptive and were not carefully constructed to be mutually reinforcing. In addition, the policies held little power or authority over ESL teachers to develop or adopt curriculum and instructional strategies aligned with the learning goals and academic expectations.

Both the control and empowerment strategies of KERA lacked an explicit focus on the goal of assisting all students, including LEP students, to achieve KERA goals. The state developed challenging content standards and gave schools flexibility to design instructional programs aimed at ensuring students meet those standards based on accountability. Yet, LEP students were not included in the assessment program until after being enrolled in school for two years, and test scores were not disaggregated by LEP status. Schools were, therefore, under no direct pressure to focus their instructional program on those students. Also, the state monitored the results and not the educational processes. Since there was no "result" that indicates how ESL students are performing, they were essentially excluded from the system.

Where the assessment and accountability system essentially excluded LEP high school students, substantial investment in teacher empowerment might increase the persuasiveness of curriculum policies. However, the state did not provide opportunities for educators to learn effective ways to utilize the state documents to improve their practice. Investments in

professional development did not occur to the extent necessary to persuade educators of the benefit of developing curriculum for ESL high school students aligned with KERA goals.

Jack Foster described the reform process in Kentucky as mostly a top-down reform. The planning process did not include representatives of those who are primarily responsible for the education of special populations (Foster, 1999; AEL, 2000). Therefore, the opportunities and support needed to address the implications of the reform for special populations were not available to educators of LEP students, or other special populations. In addition, the capacity building efforts – professional development, curriculum development, program evaluation, data-based decision making processes – did not reach these teachers. According to Foster (2000), the designers of KERA assumed that teachers would develop standards-based curriculum and would change their methods to ensure that every child learns. KERA did not endorse or require any particular methodology for teaching. It was expected that local educators would have control over curriculum and instruction and that professional development providers would develop learning opportunities for educators to help them with this process. That did not happen. As a result of the content driven nature of the assessment, the core content became a de facto state curriculum, thereby limiting local flexibility. In addition, professional development providers did not fill in the gaps in teacher training to help local educators with curriculum development.

This chapter demonstrates the weaknesses in the KERA policies to ensure that LEP immigrant high school students are provided with access to the challenging curriculum that would enable them to achieve KERA goals. The law lacked the power to push educators to develop curricula aligned with the KERA Learning Goals and Academic Expectations that is appropriate for students enrolled in ESL programs. The law also lacked the authority to persuade educators that developing such curricula would be beneficial to ESL students. Moreover, the law and the resulting state curriculum documents lacked any prescription for developing such curricula or ensuring teachers were knowledgeable about effective instructional strategies for ESL students. The result was that the job of ensuring that ESL students had access to curriculum and instruction aligned with the KERA goals was left to the districts, schools, and teachers. The lack of mechanisms linking policy to practice made it highly unlikely that the policies would have a significant impact on teaching and learning in Kentucky's high school ESL programs.

Chapter Four
Central High School's ESL Program: Structure and Organization

Systemic reform proponents have maintained that state regulations of standards and assessment will not automatically lead to changes in curriculum and teaching. Creating meaningful, widespread change in curriculum and instruction requires regulations focused on establishing conditions for good teaching (Elmore & Fuhrman, 1994). The previous chapter explained that KERA policies were designed to allow for local flexibility in developing curriculum to address local needs and concerns and purposefully did not address instructional strategies for the same reasons. However, the policy analysis suggests that, due to the inherent weaknesses of the policies, they are unlikely to result in significant changes in teaching and learning. The case study of Central High School's ESL program provides insight into the effect that such weak and fragmented policies have on the ability of the state to establish local conditions for good teaching and to influence districts, schools, and teachers to develop curriculum and adopt instructional strategies to ensure that LEP immigrant high school students are held to the same high standards as their native born peers.

In order to understand the potential impact of Kentucky's reform policies on teaching and learning, we must examine the context in which teaching and learning take place and the extent to which state policies have facilitated the creation of conditions for teaching that ensure LEP students are provided opportunities to reach KERA goals.

The next two chapters describe how KERA regulations and policies played out in one high school that experienced a dramatic increase in its immigrant LEP student population. This chapter describes the school context, its organization and structure, how the ESL program fits into the larger school and district context, and the extent to which the ESL program has implemented KERA policies.

State Support for ESL Programs

Previous chapters explained that the designers of Kentucky's reform policies argued that one set of standards covered all students. To create different standards for different students

would defeat the purpose of the reform – to hold all students to the same high standards (Foster, 1999). No exceptions to the requirements of KERA appeared within the state regulations for special education students or LEP students. All students are held to the same high standards and all schools are expected to develop curriculum and instructional strategies to ensure that all students meet those high standards. In addition, the state provided no specific guidelines to schools for developing curriculum and instructional strategies for LEP students.

The Kentucky state coordinator for ESL indicated that the Kentucky Department of Education provided information and resources to schools and districts, sponsored professional development and conferences, and brought together teams of educators from districts to discuss issues regarding ESL programs and LEP students. The district ESL coordinator reported that prior to KERA, ESL educators from around the state met regularly to discuss issues and strategies focused on LEP students. However, once the Kentucky Department of Education was restructured under KERA, the meetings stopped. However, neither Central ESL teachers nor the district ESL coordinator were aware of any resources or state sponsored professional development available at the time of this study that focused directly or indirectly on ESL or LEP students. Moreover, the district coordinator and two of the three Central High School ESL teachers did not know the name of the person at the state education agency overseeing state efforts in this area. Assistance from the state education agency may have been available, but it appeared not to have been widely communicated to districts and schools. Darney County is one of the top three counties in the state in terms of the numbers of LEP students. If ESL teachers in Darney County were not involved with state efforts in this area, it is unlikely that teachers in counties with smaller LEP populations were involved or aware of the state's efforts.

At the state level, ESL was included in the division that housed special student populations including gifted and talented and special education students. In 1994-95, the director of this division indicated that she did not have any ESL specialists on staff and did not have an ESL background herself. She expressed her belief that the same instructional strategies that were effective with special education students were effective with LEP students, and therefore she saw no need to develop separate programs for providing assistance and support to districts and schools with populations of LEP students. She also explained that the KERA standards were for all students and therefore the assistance and support provided by the state

were for all students. She did not perceive the needs of LEP students to be unique and did not perceive a need for special guidance and assistance for schools in implementing KERA reforms with LEP students.

Prior to 1994, the KIRIS Student Assessment Curriculum Reports reported KIRIS results by white/nonwhite, but not by specific racial or ethnic group, nor by LEP status. The reports also included data by Title I/non-Title I and male/female. Beginning in 1996, the reports included data disaggregated by racial and ethnic groups such as African American, Hispanic, Asian, and Native American. Also, beginning in 1996, the reports included the numbers of students with disabilities tested with accommodations, but not the number of LEP students tested with accommodations. Therefore, at the time of data collection for the case study, no data were available on the performance of LEP students on the state test or on the numbers of LEP students tested with accommodations. In addition, no data were available on the number of LEP students who took the test, how they performed, or how many were allowed accommodations or what those accommodations were.

While KERA policies were meant to ensure that *all* students are provided an equal opportunity to an education focused on KERA goals, the state assessment and accountability system, the means by which school success is measured and schools are held accountable, effectively excluded LEP students. LEP students were exempt from testing for two years, ensuring that many high school LEP students would never participate in the state assessment. Moreover, the state provided no training or support to help educators adapt standards, curriculum and instruction to help students of diverse backgrounds meet state standards. The primary piece of the legislation meant to drive changes in the classroom, the accountability component, did not include a means for holding schools accountable for the academic achievement of LEP students and the state provided no assistance or guidance in developing appropriate curriculum to schools and/or educators faced with ensuring that LEP students achieved the KERA goals.

District Context

The population of Darney County in 1996 was around 250,000. The minority population of the county was about 20 percent, with about 13 percent African American, 3 percent Hispanic,

and 3 percent Asian. About 12 percent of the population lived in poverty. The county was a regional commerce and cultural center with manufacturing and service industries providing the majority of jobs in the county.

Kentucky, until the past decade, had experienced little immigration from countries other than those of Europe. Between 1990 and 2000, Kentucky was one of fifteen states that experienced a 100 percent or more increase in its LEP population. During this ten year period, LEP student enrollment in Kentucky's schools increased by 290 percent (US Department of Education, 2002).

Following national trends, the state experienced an increase in immigration of people from Asia and Latin America, as well as from Eastern Europe, the former Soviet Republics and the Middle East (U.S. Citizenship and Naturalization Services, 2003). Kentucky's immigrant population is now characterized by diversity in cultures, languages, education and socioeconomic backgrounds. Many of these recent immigrants have been drawn to the region by available economic and educational opportunities. Japanese businesses associated with a major automobile manufacturer located in the region have brought with them corporate executives and their families. A major university also attracts faculty and students from a wide array of cultural and language backgrounds. Farms in the region draw farm workers and their families. Other families have settled in the region as part of refugee resettlement programs sponsored by various civic and religious groups.

In 1996, ESL services were provided at most elementary schools, one middle school, and one high school. The elementary schools employed ESL tutors to work with students in mainstream classes or pull them out of class for more intensive help as necessary. The middle and high school ESL programs offered ESL classes that could fulfill the English language arts requirements for eligible students. ESL classes were not offered in other academic subject areas. LEP middle and high school students were enrolled in mainstream classes for all academic subjects other than English Language Arts.

State officials estimated that between 1990 and 1995, students enrolled in state ESL programs increased from about 1300 to 2000. Records were not kept on the numbers of ESL students enrolled in the Darney County school district before the 1994/95 school year. In 1994,

there were 445 students enrolled in Darney County district ESL programs (see Appendix F).[6] While these numbers are not as high as in other school systems across the country, they were sufficient to challenge the system in ways for which it was not prepared. At the time of this study, the district had no strategy for assessing LEP student progress toward English proficiency or for ensuring that they were provided with access to educational opportunities that would help them to achieve the academic goals of the KERA reforms. The district ESL coordinator said that she had no data on student performance and had no control over the collection of data. The district did not exhibit any interest in monitoring the academic performance of LEP students.

ESL Program Funding

Districts across the state used a combination of federal, state, and local funds to support their ESL programs. Available federal funds included Title I and Migrant Education grants. State funding was available through KERA-based programs aimed at improving the academic achievement of all students. No state statutes addressed limited English proficient students and no separate state funding stream existed. KERA was meant for all students and the specific funding streams such as SEEK[7], Extended School Services, and Family Resource and Youth Services Centers were meant to provide services to all students, including LEP students. Districts and schools were to determine the specifics of these programs based on local needs.

District ESL Program

According to state policy, districts could create a department specifically for ESL or attach it to another department within the district central office. In Darney County, ESL was housed within the district foreign language office. The district coordinator for foreign language/ESL was a former foreign language teacher and was responsible for providing support

[6] That number grew to 1,380 by 2003.
[7] The Support Education Excellence in Kentucky (SEEK) fund was established under KERA to provide funds for regular operating and capital expenditures. Each district receives a base amount based on total number of students and this base is adjusted by the number of students on free/reduced lunch and the number of students with disabilities.

to all district foreign language and ESL programs. At the time of this study no administrators at the state, district, or school level had ESL experience prior to taking these positions.

The district coordinator, Elena Munoz, reported that her primary responsibilities were to develop the ESL program for the district, assess new students' language skills, and review student transcripts to determine appropriate placement. She explained that new students usually came to her through churches, charities, or businesses. She explained that people knew where to find her and she felt that she did not need to do any outreach to identify students who may need ESL services. Also, she indicated that on occasion families asked her for assistance in finding a doctor, an adult ESL class or other service. She said that she would provide them with the contact information, but did not work directly with health and human service agencies and had no connection to adult ESL programs in the county.

The ESL teachers at Central High School reported that Ms. Munoz provided little support for their program. They indicated that her primary role in connection to their program was in the initial English language proficiency testing of new students.   The teachers reported that Ms. Munoz provided nothing in the way of resources for the ESL program, leaving the ESL teachers to find resources and teaching materials on their own. The teachers also complained that the only "advice" Ms. Munoz offered on improving their program was how to maintain order and quiet in the classroom. The teachers viewed this advice as inappropriate given that they often had to divide their students in groups to address the wide variety of educational and language proficiency levels of their students. This strategy often led to noise levels in the classrooms that Ms. Munoz perceived as inappropriate.

LEP Student Placement

Ms. Munoz administered an oral assessment in English language proficiency to new LEP students. Students were not assessed on content knowledge in their native language because the district did not have the capabilities. Assessing students in their native language requires the use of translators and the district did not have the funding to pay translators for all of the languages spoken by LEP students. Ms. Munoz described the district language assessment strategies as inadequate for placement purposes. Not only were the students not tested on content knowledge, but the test was administered orally and assessed listening and speaking skills only. The test did

not address a students' ability to read or write in English. The result was that often it took weeks before the ESL teachers at Central determined the best placement for new students. New ESL students often changed classes two or three times in their first few weeks before an appropriate placement was found.

Ms. Munoz explained that the ESL teachers at Central frequently used the TOEFL (Test of English as a Foreign Language) in their classes as practice for their students in preparation for taking the test later on and to assess their language proficiency. She said that she felt the TOEFL test provided an adequate measure of student progress toward English proficiency. She felt confident that the ESL teachers were effectively monitoring student progress toward English proficiency. However, the district had no policy for evaluating LEP student progress toward English proficiency and no data were kept at the school or district level on LEP student progress.

Ms. Munoz explained that ESL classes counted as English classes toward the fulfillment of graduation requirements. According to district practice, ESL high school students initially were placed in English classes for three periods a day (six periods in the school day). In addition, students often were placed in a math class. Munoz explained that LEP students were able to perform fairly well in math classes because they did not need to understand much English. She added that electives such as music and art were also classes she viewed as appropriate for new ESL students. Science was not a priority and students were not enrolled in science classes until they were "ready" meaning until they had sufficient English language skills. The district had no suggested timeline for LEP students to be enrolled in academic content area classes other than English and Mathematics and no formal means for determining when they were "ready." At the high school, one of the ESL teachers, offered one history class per year, either U.S. or World history on a rotation basis. Ms. Munoz explained that more ESL students need U.S. history than World History. Oftentimes, students had taken World History or an equivalent in their home country. She claimed that the ESL history classes used the same textbook and the same curriculum as mainstream classes. As I will explain in the next section, this was not the case.

District Support Services

Under KERA, the role of the state department and the district central office was to provide support and resources to schools as they implemented KERA policies and programs. Neither the state nor the district ESL office provided resources or support to educators of LEP students for curriculum development or to improve instructional practice. Schools and teachers were on their own in developing curriculum and instructional programs as well as locating resources. District ESL policy centered on language acquisition and did not address academic content. Moreover, no policies existed that addressed placement in academic courses to ensure students had access to courses required to graduate or to gain acceptance to college.

However, the district did provide some support to students to help them achieve KERA goals. The district offered ESL summer school for students who were performing below grade level, defined as receiving a failing grade in a course required for graduation. For these students summer school was free. Other students were allowed to attend, but they had to pay for the classes.

In theory, students from all schools in the district could utilize the services of any Family Resource or Youth Services Center. The district had one Youth Services Center located in another district high school, however, no one interviewed for this study could recall any instance of Central ESL students taking advantage of its services. Central High School attempted to qualify for a Youth Services Center, but could not meet the requirement of 20 percent of the student population on free lunch.

Central High School

Central High School was one of five high schools in one of the largest school districts in Kentucky. In 1994-95, the total school student population was just over 1,750 in grades 9-12. Twenty five percent of the student population was minority, about 5 percent were ESL students, and 20 percent of the students were on free/reduced lunch. Approximately 80 percent of Central's graduating seniors went on to college. Fifty six percent of the students in the class of 1995 took the SAT and 84 percent took the ACT. Central students consistently scored above the state and national average on the ACT and SAT. From the 1995 graduating class, 75 percent

attended a four year college, 11 percent attended a two year college, 4 percent attended business/vocational schools, 3 percent joined the military, and 7 percent entered the job market.

Assessment and Accountability

On the state KIRIS test, Central students have consistently scored slightly above the district and state average. The school received rewards for the first two accountability cycles of KERA. However, the number of non-white students scoring at high levels lagged far behind the number of white students. The number of non-white students scoring at the Novice range was almost three times that of white students (1994-95).

Table 4.1: School, District, and State Average KIRIS Scores 1992-1996

School, District, and State Average KIRIS Scores				
Academic Index	1992-93	1993-94	1994-95	1995-96
Central High School	29	45	47	43
District Average	30	40	41	41
State Average	36	43	45	43

Table 4.2: Percentage of Central Students Scoring at Each KIRIS Level 1994-1995

Percentage of Central Students Scoring at Each KIRIS Level[8]					
1994-95	Student Group	Novice	Apprentice	Proficient	Distinguished
Reading	White	16%	62%	20%	1%
	Non-white	49%	44%	7%	0
Mathematics	White	14%	37%	25%	24%
	Non-white	46%	35%	11%	8%
Science	White	3%	72%	23%	2%
	Non-white	24%	70%	6%	0
Social Studies	White	15%	55%	27%	3%
	Non-white	46%	41%	13%	0
Writing Portfolio	White	17%	50%	31%	2%
	Non-white	38%	48%	12%	2%

School Improvement Efforts

Soon after the KERA legislation was passed by the state legislature, Central High School hired a principal from out of state who had extensive experience with high school reform. The new principal was enthusiastic and the school quickly adopted many new reform initiatives including the School Renewal Project begun in 1991/92. As part of this process, staff, parents, and students formed committees to plan for improvement in five areas including at-risk students, communication, curriculum and instruction, planning, school climate, and staff development. The committees and each academic department developed goals and proposed activities. The ESL program submitted goals and activities separate from the foreign language department in which they were housed. An examination of the school renewal plans included references to LEP students only in the sections submitted by the ESL program. However, general references to multiculturalism were found. For example, one of the goals for improving school climate in

[8] These results are from grade 11 tests in reading, mathematics, science, and social studies.

the 1993-94 plan was to provide more opportunities for multicultural acceptance. The major progress cited in this area was the development of prejudice reduction training for freshman and an ESL hosted international holiday lunch for staff. The 1993-94 plan for the foreign language department included one goal focused on ESL students: to familiarize ESL students with a range of vocational occupations and professions. The recommendation for achieving this goal was to invite more professionals or journeyman from the community to discuss professions with the ESL classes. During the two years of this study, ESL teachers reported that no such activities took place.

The problem statement of the foreign language department for the 1993-94 school year was "high school students are not knowledgeable of foreign cultures and how many activities in American culture are borrowed from foreign culture." The desired outcome was "to expose students to foreign culture and to realize that some are not as foreign as they believed." Activities proposed to achieve that outcome included:

- Foreign language students will perform songs, musical performance and/or folk dances at lunch time for other students' entertainment.
- ESL students will provide a potluck lunch of ethnic foods for teachers.
- Foreign language classes will compete with others in World Cup soccer matches.

The only activity that occurred during the course of this study was the potluck of ethnic foods. More importantly, each of the proposed activities was extracurricular. During the course of this study, no activities were proposed to increase the level of contact between ESL and mainstream students around academic work. Exposing students to other cultures involved holiday celebrations, food, and entertainment. The documents included no mention of incorporating multicultural issues into the curriculum.

The 1994/95 Transformation Plan included reference to the need to improve learning opportunities for ESL students. One stated goal was to study the equity task force report and implement strategies aimed at providing equal educational opportunities for all students resulting in positive outcomes for members of all racial and cultural groups. Activities proposed to address this goal included a diversity workshop for teachers. ESL teachers reported that these workshops focused primarily on understanding and respecting diversity and did not provide the kinds of information or training they felt would be helpful for educators, i.e. effective

instructional strategies for students from diverse backgrounds. No training was provided for developing curriculum appropriate for LEP students or for incorporating effective instructional practices.

The 1995/96 Transformation Plan included two goals focused on closing the achievement gap between white and non-white students – to provide more academic support for "non-white" students and to determine the equity of class placement of students. Yet, the proposed in-service programs to address the goals of the plan included topics of block scheduling, technology, technology education and problem-solving. The following statement included in the plan explained why the proposed programs did not align with the goals: "We are hampered in this respect due to the nature of KERA limitations on acceptable areas for in-service." For the first two years of KERA , districts were required to provide in-service training around KERA in general, school-based decision making, performance-based assessment, the primary program, research-based instructional practices, instructional uses of technology, and multicultural sensitivity. The narrow interpretation of the law's requirements resulted in the school not using professional development opportunities to address the goals of the transformation plan.

The analysis of school planning documents indicates limited attention to the academic learning of LEP students. The plans did not include strategies for ensuring that LEP students were exposed to challenging curriculum or that teachers, ESL and mainstream, were familiar with effective instructional strategies for use with LEP students.

School Governance

With the passage of KERA, the school governance structure shifted. Under the new governance system, many of the decisions affecting school policy were made by the school site-based decision-making councils (SBDM). Also, the role of the central office shifted from directing school action toward providing services and support.

In 1992, Central High School established a site-based decision-making council, one of the first schools in the district to do so. During the first couple of years following the passage of KERA, the SBDM council developed policies on Cooperative Learning, Student Honor Code, Fund Raising, and Extracurricular Eligibility. An analysis of the SBDM council minutes for the years 1992 – 1995 uncovered no references to the ESL program or the students it served.

Other studies of SBDM councils found that the councils rarely focused on policies affecting curriculum and instruction (AEL, 2000, 1993; Kentucky Institute for Education Research, 1997; Brown, 1997). AEL's ten year study of KERA found that SBDM councils often played a minor role in the school decision-making process. While decision-making did shift from the district to the school level, SBDM councils were minor players (AEL, 2000). In most of the schools in the AEL study, decisions about curriculum and instruction were made by faculty committees. The AEL researchers concluded that SBDM councils were hampered by the requirement of parent involvement and the pressures of high stakes testing. Few parents were interested in serving and often did not have the knowledge or experience necessary to fully participate. The principal at Central described his experience with the council as extremely frustrating. "Since that first year, there has been an attrition of people (parents) willing to run. The best people are not running. There is no incentive….The focus is too often on school climate issues and not enough on changing instruction….The change process is slowed by SBDM. It's frustrating. It has exacerbated micropolitics in the building. There are more turf wars." The AEL study found that the pressure of high stakes testing resulted in educators feeling that the scope of their decisions was limited. Educators were less likely to take risks when they faced sanctions for not improving student performance (AEL, 2000). The result was that, in Central and around the state, school councils did not address issues of curriculum and instruction, thereby rendering ineffective the KERA mechanism that was meant to drive local decisions about curriculum and instruction.

Analysis of Central's school transformation plans of the same period suggests that school staff and the SBDM council were aware of the issues of equity (class placement, the achievement gap, and the need academic support for at-risk students) and the importance of providing equal educational opportunities for all students. However, the proposed actions to address the issue were, for the most part, superficial. The transformation plans did not include concrete plans for improving access to rigorous curriculum, ensuring teachers were familiar with appropriate instructional strategies, and ensuring access to adequate resources.

While Central established a site-based decision making council and underwent a school renewal process, the basic organization and structure of the school remained traditional. Central High School was a large comprehensive high school organized around academic departments

with graduation requirements based on Carnegie units, 50 minute classes, and counselors responsible for schedules of hundreds of students. The school report card even described the school as a "traditional academic high school."

The ESL Program

Organization

The district's ESL program was established in 1984 as a pullout program. Teachers traveled between schools to work with students for about one hour per day per student. In 1990, two ESL centers were established in the district: one at a middle school and one at Central High School. At that time, the majority of students enrolled in Central's ESL program were Asian, many were children of executives of a Japanese car manufacture and other related Japanese businesses in the area. However, over the next few years, Central's ESL population grew and diversified, reflecting demographic changes in the region. By 1994, students enrolled in the school's ESL program were from 19 countries and spoke 15 languages.

In 1990, two teachers were hired for each of the new centers. The two teachers assigned to the high school were both ESL tutors in the district prior to 1990. In 1994, an additional teacher was hired due to the growing LEP student population. In addition, a few instructors were hired for elementary grades.

During the first year of the ESL program at Central had about fifty students, two teachers and one classroom assigned to the program. The ESL teachers conducted two separate classes in one classroom for the first year. They reported that this first year was characterized by a great deal of confusion. Not only were the two teachers teaching in the same room, they did not receive any materials until December. By the 1991-92 school year, each teacher had a separate classroom. In 1994-95, a third teacher and a teacher's aide were added to the program. At the beginning of the 1994-95 school year, 79 students were enrolled in Central's ESL program. By 1995-96, that number grew to over 100.

The ESL program at Central included courses in English, Reading, and History. All other course work was done in mainstream classrooms. Two of the teachers taught only English courses while the other taught courses in Reading and World and American History. Each ESL

teacher was responsible for four ESL classes and one ESL study hall and was provided one planning period per day.

The ESL program was incorporated into the Foreign Language Department. However, the program was a part of the department essentially for administrative purposes only. The chair of the foreign language department, Mr. Garcia, concurred with the ESL teachers that the ESL teachers ran their program as they saw fit with little or no involvement from the chair or other foreign language department faculty.

The principal admitted limited understanding and no involvement with the program. While the principal quickly embraced the reform effort, he did not attempt to include the ESL program in his efforts to implement change within the school. He viewed the ESL program as separate, composed of students with different needs than mainstream students. The result was that the school administration did not provide pressure, encouragement, or incentive for the ESL teachers to align their program to state standards.

During the early years of KERA, the shifting role of the central office created some confusion and tension between the district ESL coordinator and the ESL teachers. The relationship had never been a positive one and KERA policies, placing control of school level concerns with the SBDM council and the principal, allowed the teachers to minimize the influence of the district coordinator over the school level program. Teachers reported that prior to KERA, they had problems with the district coordinator who tried to control the structure and focus of the program. The teachers felt that the coordinator had very limited knowledge of ESL strategies and they rarely followed her directives. This caused conflicts between the parties because, prior to KERA, the district coordinator was responsible for evaluating the ESL teachers.

Under KERA, principals were responsible for evaluating teachers. Following the passage of KERA, the ESL teachers encouraged the principal to explain to the district coordinator that the ESL teachers were now accountable to him. During the course of the study, Central had two principals. Each principal admitted ignorance of the issues affecting ESL students and appeared content to let the ESL program continue to operate as it had. Mr. Davis explained, "the teachers control it [the ESL program] completely…I don't have a clue how I could improve the ESL program." The result was that there was no systematic evaluation of the program or the teachers by anyone with knowledge of ESL education.

While it was recognized that the principal oversaw the ESL program, both principals admitted not only ignorance of the program, but a hands-off approach. For administrative purposes, the program was part of the foreign language department, but the chair of that department also admitted ignorance and a lack of involvement with the program. In essence, no one played a leadership role. Ms. Palmer attempted to voice concerns about the program and was willing to take on that role. However, neither the administration nor the ESL teachers supported her efforts. In fact, they created an environment discouraging individuals to step forward.

Also, Mr. Cox, the guidance counselor explained that he did not interact with ESL students, "I don't usually deal with them [ESL students]….Mr. Warner and Ms. Wojcik know them better and what they need. They understand their cultures." Ms. Newman, the ESL teachers' aide, relayed a story about a scheduling problem with a student. Luis needed one class to complete his schedule, so Ms. Newman took him to see Mr. Cox, the guidance counselor. Mr. Cox told Ms. Newman that she had to find Luis a class. This angered Ms. Newman and she took the issue to the principal. Mr. Davis, the principal, told her to tell the student to go to the counselor and demand a class. Ms. Newman responded, "Can you imagine an ESL student demanding anything." ESL students were often intimated, scared, embarrassed by their language skills, and lacked understanding of the system.

The administration's obvious lack of interest in ESL students' needs resulted in them seeking help from those who had shown compassion and understanding, the ESL teachers. The lack of attention by the administration and staff to ESL students pushed the ESL teachers to take on the tasks usually fulfilled by other staff. Students learned very quickly to take their problems to the ESL teachers first. And the ESL teachers, knowing that they were likely to receive little help from other staff would take the time out of their already busy schedules to help the students with their problems.

Yet, there were a handful of mainstream teachers who took responsibility for LEP students. These teachers viewed LEP students as a valuable resource and attempted to use students' experience and knowledge to enrich their lessons. They were also more willing to provide additional assistance to ESL students who needed it. Bev Johnson, a mainstream English teacher, talked about ESL students in her classes, "I don't like to see ESL students

separated [from mainstream students]. The teacher has to set the tone about interaction with American kids. Now that I have a mix [of ESL and native born American students] they are more open about their countries, their experiences…I hate that ESL students are not in classes with the best students, unless it's high-level math or science. All classrooms need the presence of these kids. This is the world. It enriches your life." Her classes were very interactive and discussion oriented. She worked to ensure that all students were included in the discussion. She explained that ESL students struggle with literature because of their limited language proficiency, but she felt that they were very motivated to learn and could learn the same content as other students only with more time and help. Where in most mainstream classes, ESL students rarely spoke, ESL students in Ms. Johnson's classes often actively participated in class discussions and activities.

Curriculum

The ESL program at Central had no formal curriculum and no plans to develop one. State documents identified what students should know and be able to do for each academic subject by the time they graduate. These standards were meant for all students, including LEP students. The state, district, nor the school developed comparable standards to guide curriculum and instruction in ESL classes. ESL teachers made no attempt to develop a curriculum aligned to state standards and the administration did not require it. ESL teachers at Central believed that the state standards were not appropriate for ESL high school students and saw no reason to use them as a basis for their curriculum. The ESL teachers described the standards as being based on assumptions that high school students were native English speakers and had attended American schools throughout their education. Since these assumptions did not fit their students, they dismissed the standards as inappropriate. Moreover, the ESL program did not use a common set of textbooks that could have served as a curriculum. With no formal curriculum and perceived inadequate standards, teachers were left to decide on their own what to teach in their courses.

The program had no mechanism for coordinating the efforts of the three ESL teachers. Each made decisions entirely on their own about what they would teach in their classes. Each teacher reported that their decisions about what to teach were based on experience, available materials, and perceived student needs. One teacher reported basing her courses on a set of

workbooks, *Practical English.* Another teacher reported developing a list of content items based on perceived student needs then sought out materials to match those items. The ESL history teacher used a textbook that was no longer used by other history teachers in the district and was out of print. He preferred this textbook because he believed that it was more appropriate for ESL students. The newer textbooks used by other history teachers in the district contained more detail that often overwhelmed ESL students.

Ms. Palmer explained how the lack of coordination affected her, "Because I teach ESL IV, it would be helpful to know what (Ms. Wojcik) is teaching in ESL I, II, and III. I find I have to go back to what I had assumed the kids had already learned because she (Ms. Wojcik) had not covered those things…..the only way I know what she (Ms. Wojcik) is doing is by what (Suda) tells me." Palmer said, "last year I had to teach ESL I, II, III, and IV all in ESL IV." The students did not come to ESL IV with the knowledge and skills that she believed were necessary for them to be learning what she planned to teach in ESL IV. She had to spend a great deal of time covering content that she assumed had been covered in the three preceding courses.

Ms. Palmer described the other teachers as unwilling to work together to develop a curriculum for the program. The two teachers readily admitted that they were comfortable with the way things were done in the program and saw no need for change. Mr. Warner and Ms. Wojcik had worked together for four years previous and expressed that they were aware of what the other was teaching and felt that there was a coherence among the courses. Ms. Palmer did not have the history of working with the other teachers and had no way of learning about what they taught in their classes other than direct communication. Her attempts at communication failed. Ms. Palmer reported that during a meeting with the other ESL teachers, she suggested that the program goal for the next year should be developing a curriculum. Ms. Wojcik said that they had already done that to which Ms. Palmer replied that she would like to see it. Ms. Wojcik's response was, "I know what I teach. It's all up here (points to her head)." Ms. Palmer reported that Mr. Warner agreed with her that they knew what was taught in each class and were comfortable with the way things were. Ms. Palmer's attempts to add more structure to the program were continually thwarted by a lack of leadership at the administrative level and a lack of cooperation among the ESL teachers. Ms. Palmer reported experiencing increased alienation

and frustration. She wanted to improve the program, but received no support from fellow teachers or the administration.

ESL teachers determined each year what they would teach in a particular course based on personal experience, availability of materials, and the perceived needs of students. There was no attempt to align the ESL curriculum to state standards and no process for developing a common understanding of ESL course content. When asked how they decided what to teach, no ESL teacher mentioned state standards or the state assessment as driving their decisions. None of the teachers had a copy of the curriculum frameworks and did not know where they might find one.

Central's ESL teachers felt that what they owed their students in terms of instruction was not compatible with the state expectations as expressed through the state standards. Teachers felt personally responsible for preparing their students for what awaited them after high school. For some students, that was acceptance to college. The teachers expressed that other students would not go to college and those students needed to be proficient enough in English to get a job and support themselves and their families. There was a strong feeling expressed among Central ESL teachers that they understood the needs of their students much better than the state or the district and that the goals that they held for their students were not always compatible with the state's goals.

Assessment

The program had no formal assessment process for monitoring student progress toward English proficiency or toward meeting KERA goals. Teachers reported that they used the TOEFL as a guide for instruction and student progress. However, I observed only one teacher administering a practice test to students in her ESL IV class, the highest level ESL course. Another teacher reported that she used the TOEFL vocabulary lists in her lessons. For the most part, ESL teachers relied on traditional pencil and paper tests and assignments to assess the progress of students.

Since ESL teachers did not believe the KERA standards were appropriate for ESL students, they did not align their classroom assessments to the standards and did not have any means of testing student progress toward those standards. Also, they did not have a formal process for assessing students' language proficiency. Teachers made decisions about what

courses were appropriate for students based on their interaction with the students. However, as Ms. Palmer described, students were falling through the cracks. With twenty or more students in an average ESL class, teachers had little time to devote to individual students.

The ESL teachers felt that two years were not sufficient to prepare students for the KIRIS exam. They believed that the TOEFL (Test of English as a Foreign Language) test was more important for many students' immediate futures. The teachers explained that LEP students would need to take TOEFL to get into a four year college in the U.S. For other students, their limited educational background put them at a disadvantage. As one teacher put it, "It's crazy to expect students who have had minimal education to improve enough in two years to be able to take the KIRIS test."

Therefore, the KIRIS test had little or no meaning for ESL teachers. And, given that students were not held accountable for their performance on the state assessment, the test held little meaning for the ESL students as well. The ESL teachers did not feel the same pressure as the mainstream teachers and did not put pressure on their students to perform well on the test. Both the ESL teachers and students were more concerned with student performance on the TOEFL. This test held meaning for them. The TOEFL test affected the students in a significant way, the KIRIS test did not.

The fact that the ESL program had no curriculum and no urgency to create one indicates that the ESL teachers and Central administrators did not see a need for aligning the curriculum and instruction of ESL students to KERA goals and academic expectations. The ESL teachers saw no benefit to their students participating fully in the reform effort. The law was not authoritative in terms of convincing Central's ESL teachers that their students would benefit from a curriculum and instructional strategies aligned with the learning goals and academic expectations. The result was that the ESL teachers at Central High School continued to make decisions about curriculum and instruction based on their own knowledge and experience with little or no concern for the state reform efforts.

The ESL Teachers

John Warner had been with Central's ESL program since it's inception in 1990. Prior to 1990 he worked for the district as an ESL tutor. Mr. Warner also spent a few years in Japan teaching English before coming to Darney County. Mr. Warner taught the ESL history classes and ESL reading classes. He was also the primary resource for ESL students interested in going to college. He helped students obtain information and college applications as well as assisted them in completing the applications. Mr. Warner was well-liked by the students. He was usually willing to help them with their homework, provide advice on school and personal matters, and give them a ride home if they needed it. Administratively, he deferred to Ms. Wojcik on issues concerning the ESL program.

Through the interviews with Mr. Warner, a theme emerged – his concern about and difficulties in creating a balanced environment for ESL students. He believed, on the one hand that the ESL students needed a safe, comfortable environment, an environment in which they felt comfortable practicing English and speaking openly about their experiences and feelings. On the other hand, he wanted the students to understand and follow the rules of the school and classroom and to behave appropriately. More times than not, his desire to create a comfortable environment resulted in lax rules in the classroom. Students were more talkative in his classrooms, but also more disruptive. A number of students complained that his classes were too loud and they had difficulty doing their work.

Mr. Warner was opposed to ESL students participating in KIRIS testing, but expressed a desire to learn more about the teaching strategies described in KERA documents. He believed that cooperative learning, subject integration, and real life application strategies would be beneficial to ESL students. However, he expressed a lack of understanding about these strategies and the ways they could be used with ESL students. He indicated that no training had been offered by the state or district to help teachers learn about these strategies and to incorporate them into their practice. He felt that he was expected to adopt such practices, but was not provided opportunities to learn about them.

Diane Wojcik also joined the ESL program in 1990 and also worked as a tutor in the district prior to that time. Ms. Wojcik grew up in a bilingual household, but was raised monolingual. Her parents spoke Polish to her grandparents, but spoke English to her and her

siblings. She never learned more than a few words of Polish. However, she felt that this experience helped her to understand her students better.

Ms. Wojcik believed that what her students needed, above all else, was emotional support, to be cared for. She was a very spiritual person and this came across in her teaching. Oftentimes her lessons focused on spiritual and emotional issues. The fact that she stressed values in her classroom caused a great deal of concern among some of the other teachers. The values she emphasized were clearly Christian. She also had strong opinions on the appropriate roles and behaviors of men and women and incorporated these into class discussions.

Ms. Wojcik often expressed strong feelings against KERA. She agreed with Mr. Warner about the problems of assessing ESL students with a test designed for native English speakers. However, she felt insulted by the state department's suggestions for appropriate teaching strategies. She felt that she and the other ESL teachers had always used the strategies being promoted by the department and felt strongly that people in the state department should not tell her how to teach.

Lynn Palmer joined the ESL program at the beginning of the 1994-95 school year, the first year of this study. Prior to joining the Central program, she worked as an ESL tutor in an elementary school in the district. During her first year at Central, Ms. Palmer expressed concern about the lack of structure and organization of the ESL program. While Ms. Palmer also was very concerned about her students' emotional well-being, she felt that the other ESL teachers put more emphasis on creating a comfortable environment where students felt welcome to the detriment of a supportive learning environment based on a rigorous academic program.

While the other two ESL classrooms tended to be loud and the teachers spent a great deal of time trying to control the students, Ms. Palmer's classroom was orderly. Students spent much more time on task in her room than in the other two ESL classrooms and Ms. Palmer spent more time than the other ESL teachers moving through the room ensuring that each student understood the assignment and was not having difficulties with the course work.

Ms. Palmer's concerns about the program were not well received by the other ESL teachers. Ms. Wojcik and Mr. Warner did not support her efforts to create more structure and cohesion within the program. Soon after Ms. Palmer's arrival, two distinct factions formed

within the program. Ms. Wojcik and Mr. Warner made up one faction and Ms. Palmer and the teachers' aide, Ms. Newman, constituted the other.

Suda Newman joined the staff in 1994-95 as a teacher's aide for Central's ESL program. She was from Iran, attended university in Iran, and moved to the U.S. as an adult and later married an American. Suda spoke Persian and English. She was hired to assist the three ESL teachers in any way they saw fit. Mostly, she performed clerical duties for the teachers and worked with new students whose level of English proficiency precluded them from enrolling in mainstream classes. Usually, she worked with these new students in a corner of Ms. Wojcik's room. Ms. Newman developed close relationships with a few of the Arab female students. She had strong feelings about Arab males and disapproved of their treatment of women. She expressed those feelings regularly and clearly. Ms. Newman also expressed concerns about the lack of academic rigor in the program and quickly became aligned with Ms. Palmer.

ESL Students

The ESL students of Central High School were characterized by diversity of native languages, cultural backgrounds, educational backgrounds, and reasons for coming to the United States. The largest group of ESL students was from Japan. These were primarily children of executives from a large car manufacturer and associated Japanese businesses in the region. These students generally were from affluent families and had strong academic backgrounds. They may or may not have studied English in their native country, however, the majority of these students had private tutors to help with their school work and many of them attended Japanese school on Saturdays.[9] Many of the students from former Soviet Republics, Bosnia, Haiti, and the Middle East countries fled war-torn countries and may or may not have spent time in refugee camps. Those students who did spend time in refugee camps did not attend school for up to two years. Some of the students from Vietnam and Mexico only had a few years of formal schooling and were far behind their American counterparts academically. Other students' families, a majority of the Chinese, were associated with the university.

[9] As part the incentive package provided by the state of Kentucky to the car manufacturer, the state agreed to provide funding for a Saturday Japanese school. The school is staffed by native Japanese now living in the area and includes elementary, middle and high school programs. Students attend classes in the major academic subjects that are taught in Japanese.

Table 4.3: Central ESL Students by Country of Origin 1994-95

Central ESL students by country of origin 1994-95	
Country	**Number of Students**
Japan	25
China	13
Former USSR	7
Vietnam	7
Mexico	5
Iran	3
Venezuela	3
Bosnia	2
Haiti	2
Indonesia	2
Kuwait	2
Philippines	2
Puerto Rico	1
Egypt	1
India	1
Libya	1
Poland	1
Total	79

The profiles that follow are an attempt to provide a picture of the variety of immigrant students enrolled at Central High School. Oftentimes, programs focus mostly on language and ignore other factors that are key to educational and life success. These profiles are meant to highlight the diversity of students in the program to provide a clearer picture of the challenges faced by ESL teachers.

Hadiya is from Kuwait. When Iraq invaded Kuwait, her family escaped to Jordan by sneaking across the border. Eventually they made their way the United States. Hadiya's family lost their home and most of their possessions, but were still quite wealthy. The family included her parents, an older sister already a high school graduate, and a brother in elementary school. At home the family spoke Arabic and Hadiya occasionally missed school to accompany her mother as translator to various appointments and meetings. Hadiya entered the ESL program in middle school and was junior at Central at the beginning of this study. The ESL teachers considered her an excellent student. She was very outgoing and personable. Hadiya joined the swim team and she made every effort to fit into her new environment, however, she often complained that American teenagers were not interested in getting to know people who were different. She was very frustrated with her inability to make friends with American students. She spent as much time as possible in the ESL classrooms and with the ESL teachers.

An-Mei, from China, was nineteen years old and a part-time student. She attended school in the morning and worked in the family restaurant in the afternoon. She did not attend school the first year she lived in the United States because her family needed her help in operating the family business. While ESL teachers allowed her flexibility in her schedule, many of the mainstream teachers were not comfortable with her part time status. The ESL teachers explained that they had difficulty convincing the school administration to allow An-Mei to attend school full-time. Given her obligations to her family and the family business, she could attend school only part-time or not at all. The ESL teachers said that the school administration and mainstream teachers expressed the opinion that An-Mei was taking advantage of the flexibility that had been given to her and that she thought the rules of the school did not apply to her. For example, she was out of school for a week when her parents took her to New York to a Chinese dentist. Her math teacher would not give her assignments in advance so that she could complete them before her trip. An-Mei was given a zero on all work assigned that week in her math class. The ESL teachers described An-Mei as a hard working student. She was quiet and socialized little with her peers at school. Her free time was spent mostly working on class assignments.

Antoine left Haiti at the age of 14. His grandfather worked for the Aristide administration and his mother and uncle were strong Aristide supporters.[10] When Aristide was overthrown, his grandfather disappeared and was presumed dead. His uncle was killed and his mother was beaten and imprisoned. Antoine's mother put him on boat headed for the United States that ended up in Guantanamo. From Guantanamo, Antoine was sent to the U.S. where he was placed in a home by Catholic Charities until his father was found. His father had left Haiti when Antoine was two years old and Antoine had not seen or heard from him since. Catholic Charities located his father in Kentucky and Antoine was sent to live with him. He entered Central High School as a freshman. At the beginning of this study he was a sophomore. Antoine's father did not believe that Antoine should be in school. He wanted Antoine to quit school and get a job so that he could contribute to household expenses. Antoine expressed a belief that in the U.S. a college education was extremely important for success and he expressed a strong desire to go to college. Antoine's high school years were characterized by numerous difficulties and confrontations with his father. He worked very hard in school, but was far behind his peers academically. Antoine stayed in high school for five years in an attempt to catch up.

Arjun was from India. His father was a music teacher and musician specializing in traditional Indian music. The family moved to Kentucky after learning that about the high demand among the state's Indian population for traditional music lessons and performances. The entire family participated in musical performances. Arjun planned to attend college in the United States and said that he would study computers because that was what his father wanted him to study. He was struggling in his mainstream English classes and failed freshman English as a sophomore. Arjun often was faced with conflicts between living as an American teenager and living up to his perceived expectations of his father. For example, he spent one day fretting over the fact that he ate pepperoni pizza for lunch and was fearful of what his father would do to him (the family is vegetarian). Arjun was an outgoing, highly likeable young man. He had many

[10] Jean Bertrand Aristide was part of a group of progressive priests who opposed the Duvalier dictatorship. Aristide was elected president of Haiti in 1990, but was overthrown in a bloody military coup in 1991 after only seven months in office.

friends among the ESL students. He worked hard in school, but struggled. He often expressed a desire to have all of his classes as ESL classes. He had great difficulty in mainstream classes.

Maria moved from Mexico with her family when she was 14. Her mother and sister worked in the housekeeping department of a local hotel. Maria was the only child from the family in school at the time of this study and was the only family member who spoke English. As with Hadiya, Maria often acted as translator for family members. Also, as the only family member not working, she had responsibility for the majority of the household chores. She expressed a desire to go to college, but did not feel that her English was good enough. She said that school was very frustrating. She knew that she could do the work, however, her limited English skills made it slow and difficult and oftentimes she was unable to complete her assignments on time. She dropped out of school after her junior year to get married.

Trong was from Vietnam. His father worked in a restaurant and his mother worked at a local underwear factory. He spoke no English when he arrived in Kentucky, the year before this study began. His parents did not speak English. Twelve family members lived in the area and Trong believed that the family would stay in the U.S. During school he rarely spoke to other students and usually only to other Vietnamese students. He worked at a local fast food restaurant four days a week. He expressed a desire to go to college, but no one had spoken to him about what he would need to do to prepare and to get into college. He was a sophomore his first year in the program. He often had difficulty explaining himself. When this happened he stopped talking. Teachers expressed frustration with their inability to get Trong to speak in class. Oftentimes, he would not respond when called on. He would just look at the teacher with a blank expression and say nothing.

Roberto was from Puerto Rico. His parents sent him to live in the U.S. with his uncle when his girlfriend became pregnant. He was very depressed during his first year. He spoke a lot about the fact that his parents did not want him so they sent him away. After his second year in the U.S. he decided that he would go to college to study criminal justice. He was frustrated with students in the school who got into fights and stole from other students. He wanted to become a police officer so that he could arrest them. During his second year he learned that his baby had died. He then decided to return to Puerto Rico after graduation. "I already lost a baby. I won't lose anything else." Roberto worked everyday after school. He said that his uncle did

not give him any money, so he had to work. Many days he came to school exhausted from working late the night before. His work schedule often interfered with his ability to complete assignments and he quickly fell behind in his classes.

Boris was from Azerbaijan. He came to the U.S. with his mother. She was a professional in Azerbaijan and now works for a janitorial service. Boris entered the program as a sophomore. He wanted to go to college, but was unaware of the requirements and procedures for being admitted. He said that when he went to the guidance counselor to discuss his class schedule, the counselor sent him back to Mr. Warner. During his second year in the program he said that he was not sure what his status was, sophomore or junior. He said that he could not get any information about his status from the counselor and did not know what courses he should take. Ms. Newman explained to him that if he wanted to go to college, he needed to take certain courses. Boris was under the impression that if he fulfilled the requirements for graduation that he would have no problem getting into college. It had not occurred to him, and he said that he had never been told, that he should do more than the minimum requirements in order to get into college. He tried very hard not to bring attention to the fact that he was an ESL student. He would rarely hang around the ESL classrooms or other ESL students. He wanted desperately to be viewed as just another American teenager. One of his teachers suggested that he draw on his experiences as an immigrant for his college application essay. Boris did not see this as appropriate for a college essay. He explained, "I just want to be like everybody else." Boris loved basketball. Everyday during lunch he played basketball with a group of native-born students. He was able to use his basketball skills to make many friends outside of the ESL program.

Anna was from Bosnia. She and her family spent two years in a refugee camp before settling in Kentucky. A local church sponsored the family and helped them find a place to live and a job for her father. She was an excellent student and planned to attend college in the United States. In her senior year, she received a scholarship to a small liberal arts college in Kentucky. She studied very hard and did not socialize much while in school and did not participate in extra-curricular activities. She became easily frustrated with the noise in the ESL classrooms and the apparent lack of seriousness of her fellow students. Many times she was observed telling students to be quiet, settle down, and stop disturbing her. She was well-liked by her teachers

who viewed her as an excellent student. She had the characteristics they admired and expected from all of their students – worked hard, was quiet, and followed the rules.

Takagi was from Japan. His father was a president of a locally based, Japanese owned, manufacturing company. The family planned to stay in the United States. Takagi planned to attend college in the United States. He had been in the U.S. for four years and had entered the ESL program in middle school. He had a bilingual tutor who worked with him after school with his assignments. The tutor also translated school documents for Takagi's parents. He had an electronic translation device that allowed him to type in the English word and receive the Japanese translation. He received very high grades and his teachers considered him to be an excellent student. At the time of this study, he was a senior and he no longer took ESL classes other than Study Skills. He took Study Skills so that he would be considered an ESL student. District policy dictates that a student no longer enrolled in ESL classes must attend their home school. Takagi spent three years at Central and did not want to leave for his senior year. He associated very little with other ESL students and was considered to be a snob by ESL students. His friends were all native born Americans. Takagi wanted to stay in the United States. He saw his future as an American and worked very hard to fit into American society. He made a conscious effort to make American friends. He did not attend Japanese school.

The students described above represent the diversity of Central's ESL program. They also represent the key factors affecting the educational experiences of immigrant LEP secondary students – the challenges associated with a new social, linguistic, and cultural environment: learning a new language while attempting to master subject area content in that language; poverty, trauma of war; separation from friends and family, etc. They are all learning English as well as the ins and outs of a new culture. Yet, they differ in important ways – language ability, educational background, economic status, immigration status, and the amount of trauma they experienced in their home country and in their move to the United States. These factors affect their ability to succeed in school and in American society in general as well as provide complex challenges to educators. These brief descriptions demonstrate the challenges faced by ESL teachers. Teachers must not only address differences in language ability and academic background, but the social and emotional factors that affect a student's academic performance.

Summary

After six years of reform at Central High School, the ESL program was still viewed as a compensatory program. The program focused on language acquisition and did not stress a need for rigorous academic curriculum for LEP students. Students were not expected to achieve the goals laid out by the reform legislation. The ESL program had no formal curriculum and no plans to develop one. Teachers made decisions on their own about what they would teach and how they would teach it based on personal experience, availability of materials, and the perceived needs of the students. The school had no mechanism in place to ensure that the ESL program developed curriculum and instructional strategies aligned with state standards. The lack of encouragement, incentive, or pressure from the state, district, and school administration allowed the ESL teachers ignore state reform efforts.

The ESL teachers' unwillingness to implement KERA reform strategies in the program stems from a complex mix of factors. Local factors contributing to teachers' decisions about curriculum and instruction include teacher beliefs about teaching and learning, program isolation, weak leadership, and limited cooperation and collaboration. Moreover, weak and fragmented state, district, and school policies did not encourage change in local conditions to support implementation of reform strategies.

The next chapter looks more deeply at local factors influencing the ESL teachers' decisions about curriculum and instruction and illustrates the limited impact the state policies had on creating school culture and teaching conditions supportive of the reform goals and of helping teachers to gain the competencies necessary to implement the reform. The case of Central High School raises important questions about the ability of state policy to affect classroom practice and the linkages between policy and practice. Chapter Six will provide a discussion of the missing links (policies and state developed instruments) that could connect Kentucky's education policies to the practice of teachers of LEP students.

Chapter Five

Culture, Conditions, and Competencies for Effective Teaching and Learning

The standards-based reform movement is based on the belief that an educational system focused on high standards for all is too important to be left to individual districts and schools. Individual states, as well as the federal government, have passed legislation and developed policies meant to ensure that all students are given the opportunity to achieve to high standards. Kentucky was one of the first states to implement a state-wide standards-based reform effort aimed at ensuring all students achieve to the same high standards.

The philosophical basis of KERA was the belief that all students can achieve high academic standards and all students should be held to the same high standards. Schools and districts were to develop curricula aligned with these standards, teachers were to align their instruction with the standards and curriculum, and the state assessment was meant to test students' progress toward these standards.

For change to happen in schools and classrooms, teachers must play a central role. Teacher background and preparation, societal factors, school policies, and curricula choices set parameters for teachers, but ultimately teachers choose instructional practices, administer assessment, and set standards for their students that determine the quality of instruction their students receive. Therefore, for standards-based reforms to be successful, they must focus not only on improving student performance, but also on increasing capacity throughout the system, and most importantly the capacity of teachers, to enable that performance (Cohen and Spillane, 1992; Smith and O'Day, 1992; O'Day and Smith, 1993). Research has shown that schools that have been effective in providing curriculum and instruction tied to high standards for LEP students have realized these changes through school-wide reform efforts that go beyond aligning standards, curriculum, and assessments to create a positive school climate characterized by high expectations for all students, staff collegiality, and a sense of caring and community within the school (Lucas, 1997; Mace-Matluck, 1998; McLaughlin & McLeod, 1996; Miramonte, 1997; Ruiz-de-Velasco & Fix, 2000). Proponents of standard-based reforms argue that for reforms to

be successful they must encourage and support the creation of a school climate focused on the high academic achievement of all students.

The case of Central High School and Darney County demonstrates that the system established by KERA was not adequate to ensure that teachers focus their curriculum and instruction on ensuring LEP students had access to rigorous academic content. The policies of KERA were inadequate because they did not address the most important factors influencing educator's decisions about what to teach, how to teach and to whom to teach it. As explained in Chapter 3, KERA policies did not require or encourage educators of LEP high school students to focus their classroom practice on student achievement of KERA goals. The policies lacked the power and authority to ensure that schools and ESL programs adopted or developed local policies and strategies consistent with reform goals.

The ESL teachers at Central made no attempts to implement the policies of KERA because they viewed the reform policies as inappropriate for ESL high school students. That these teachers could so easily dismiss the reform effort raises questions about the ability of state policy to ensure that educators adopt curriculum and instructional practices aimed at ensuring all students meet state standards.

Many education researchers have argued that successful change is local and depends on the will and capacity of teachers and others in the actual situation (Ayer, 1992; Fullan, 1991; McLaughlin, 1990); Wagner, 2002). Without adequate attention to local conditions and school culture, it is difficult to implement school-level change. Ayers (1992) described teachers as the "filters of reform." Within their classrooms, teachers are autonomous and powerful. In the absence of external influences, teachers make decisions based on their own convictions and experience. And while influence on teachers' decisions comes from a variety of sources, it is the teacher who filters this information through their own beliefs and experiences. In order for policies to have an affect on teacher's beliefs about teaching and learning, they must either change those beliefs or force teacher's to comply with their program.

The Change Leadership Group at the Harvard Graduate School of Education has developed a conceptual framework identifying the most crucial arenas for promoting learning (Wagner, 2002). These include organizational culture, conditions, and competencies. According

to the Harvard group, and consistent with standards-based reform, the challenges faced today by education are centered on teaching new competencies to all students. The economy has shifted from an industrial economy to one increasingly based on service, technology and knowledge. This means that for students to be successful in work, they must have more sophisticated skills than were required for jobs in an industrial economy. Students need the ability to work independently as well as in teams, understand complex written material, use information and technology to solve problems, and communicate effectively to diverse audiences. Reforms such as KERA were designed to provide all students with these kinds of skills, and the reform was based on the premise that in an increasingly diverse society, people must learn to be informed and engaged citizens and to think critically about complex issues. KERA goals were meant to address these needs. However, in order for the goals to be met, education practices must align with the goals. Wagner (2002) identifies three arenas of practice that must be addressed in order to align practice with the goals of standards-based reform. The three arenas are culture, conditions, and competencies. These are not separate and distinct arenas of practice. A dynamic relationship among them; each is dependent on the other and they often overlap.

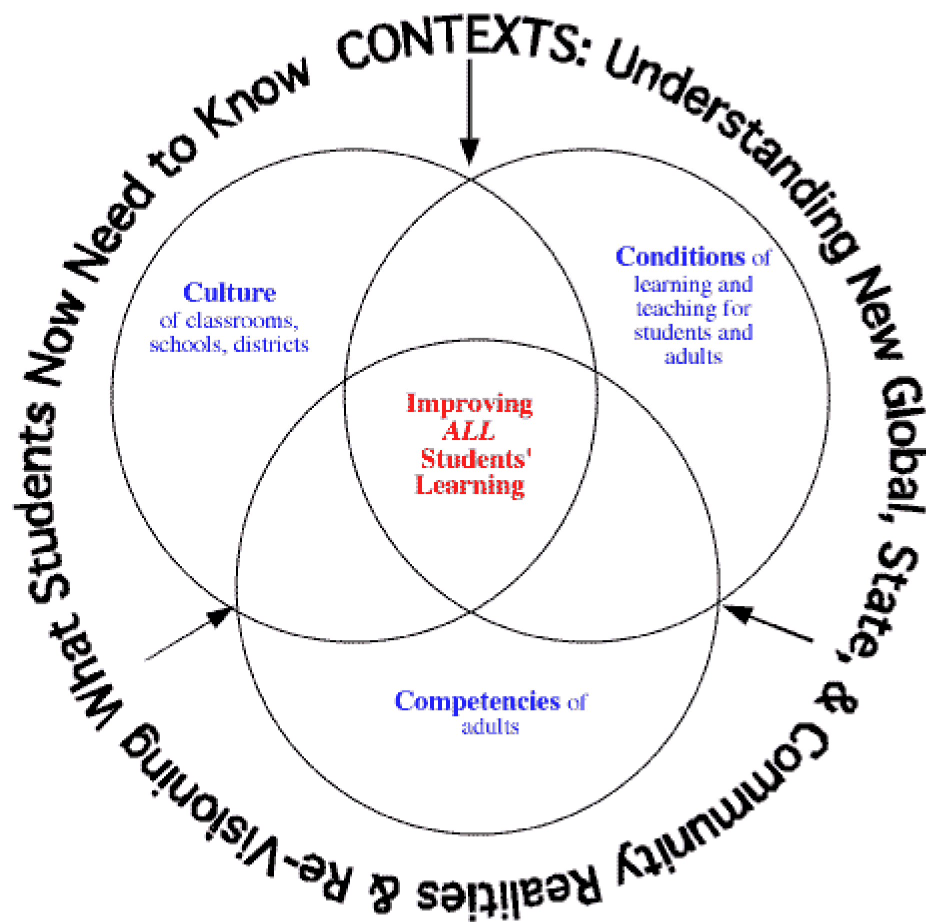

Figure 5.1: Arenas of Practice
Source: Change Leadership Group at the Harvard Graduate School of Education. http://www.clg.harvard.edu

The analysis and discussion of the previous chapters demonstrated that KERA policies were not likely to promote high levels of student and adult learning around English language learners because they were not directly aimed at these three arenas. Yet, that statement assumes that the desired conditions did not already exist in schools and classrooms around the state and therefore needed to be changed to promote the kinds of learning desired by the reformers. This chapter describes the culture, conditions, and competencies of Central's ESL program and its staff to evaluate the level of agreement between the conditions found in the school and the conditions believed to be conducive to successful implementation of standards-based reforms.

The case of the Central High ESL program shows how these three arenas affected educators' decisions about curriculum and instruction. Creating an environment conducive to all Central High ESL students achieving KERA goals was hindered by the limitations of the state policies, but more importantly, by the beliefs and attitudes of the school's administration and teaching staff about what these students were capable of learning. The expectations Central ESL teachers held for their students played a large role in the way they structured their classes through content, instructional practices, and relationships with their students.

The following sections demonstrate how, in the ESL program at Central High School, Wagner's three arenas have not been impacted by the reform in ways that facilitated the adoption of curriculum and instructional practices aimed at ensuring all students, and particularly LEP high school students, meet the goals of the reform.

Culture

The Change Leadership Group's model is based on the assumption that to meet the challenges of our society, educators should create a classroom, school, and district culture that generates new knowledge through collaborative inquiry with an explicit commitment to improving learning for all students. Creating such a culture requires a reexamination of assumptions about authority, relationships, and students' competencies for learning at high levels. Whether or not educators believe that all students can achieve to high levels greatly impacts what they teach and how they teach it (Wagner, 2002). Educators' beliefs about student capabilities and the expectations they hold for their students influence not only the content and strategies used by those educators, but also the relationships with the students.

The expectations that Central ESL teachers held for their students fell into two categories: academic and behavioral expectations. As will be shown, Central's ESL teachers did not hold high expectations for all of their students. Their perceptions about students' academic capabilities were heavily influenced by the student's cultural and educational background. The different expectations they held for their students could be seen in classroom interactions as well as student's academic programs.

Academic Expectations

Administrators, mainstream teachers, and ESL teachers at Central believed that most ESL students initially struggle to a great extent with English making it difficult to focus on academic content. They believed that until these students had acquired a certain level of English proficiency, they were unable to focus on other subject areas. The exception was mathematics. The prevailing assumption of Central school staff was that students required little language proficiency to study math. They expressed that numbers were the same in any language. Students, therefore, were able to see what the math teachers were talking about by what they wrote on the chalkboard.

It follows that even for those students who entered the high school program with sufficient academic background, performance on a state test conducted in English would be limited by their language. Therefore, the KIRIS test and the content standards were viewed as inappropriate as the basis of instruction for these students. The ESL teachers expressed that their primary goal was to ensure that the students had sufficient English skills to go on to college or to get a job immediately out of high school. As one teacher explained, “We cannot expect the students who have had only 3 or 4 years of schooling or who come from countries that do not have such a strong education system to achieve to our high levels in two or three years.” Teachers and administrators consistently expressed the belief that not all students can be expected to learn the same content, at the same rate, and at the same level. “Not every student will achieve to what the state defines as a high level, but can achieve to their potential and should have the opportunity to do so.” . Teacher beliefs about the appropriateness of the state assessment combined with their beliefs about what students were academically capable of based on their cultural and educational backgrounds worked to keep their academic expectations for many of their students low.

ESL teachers’ attitudes did not reflect the belief that some ESL students did not have the innate ability to achieve to high levels. Rather, teachers explained that many students’ circumstances had been such that they were not able to catch up to state expectations of high standards for high school students in the limited amount of time they had before graduation and the limited resources the school had to help them. Teachers believed that they must get students up to grade level on basic skills (reading and writing in English) before they could move on to

more intellectually challenging instruction in academic content areas that was implied in the state policy. They did not believe that it was possible to get students to grade level in basic reading and writing skills and ensure they had access to the challenging academic curricula implied in KERA in the limited amount of time students have before graduation.

Central ESL teachers expressed a strong belief that a student's ability to do challenging academic work in American schools was closely tied to their level of English proficiency and their academic and cultural background. However, students indicated in interviews, and through observed interactions with teachers, a desire for more challenging work. A number of students indicated that they felt that ESL classes and/or all classes were very easy. Sally described school in Iran as "much harder….nobody got an 'A.' A 'C' was good….school here is too easy…sometimes the teachers are too nice…sometimes they don't work because students are talking too much." Trong also explained that school was much harder in Vietnam and that school here was very easy. He said that his mother did not think he was a good student because he did not work enough on school work. He said that he did not have to work hard to do well in this school.

In addition, ESL teachers clearly held different expectations for their students' abilities to go to college based on the students' cultural and educational backgrounds. While many ESL students expressed an interest in going to college, only a few were encouraged and supported in pursuing that dream. Maria explained that she felt that she could do the work, but her limited English made it slow and difficult. This caused her a great deal of frustration. She expressed that she would like to go to college, but felt that her English was not good enough. She explained that she only spoke with the guidance counselor once for a few minutes to obtain a needed signature. ESL teachers did not talk with her about college either. Her teachers believed that it was highly unlikely that she would be able to go to college and that it would be "unfair" to build up her hopes for something that would not happen. Maria was the only member of her family who spoke English. When she was at home she cooked for the family and took care of the house. Her mother and sister worked in the housekeeping department for a local hotel. Outside of school, Maria had little time to spend on her school work or her language skills and this interfered with her performance at school. The year following this study, Maria dropped out of school to get married. Students such as Maria, who did not have strong educational

backgrounds and had limited financial resources, were not expected or encouraged to go on to college after graduation.

A number of factors combined to reinforce teacher beliefs about student capabilities and were reflected in teacher practice. These included a lack of training in ESL strategies and the beliefs and actions of the school administration. Mainstream teachers had not received training in appropriate strategies for teaching LEP students and were not encouraged by the administration to hold the same expectations for these students that they had for mainstream students. School staff outside of the ESL program did not view themselves as responsible for ESL students' learning and did little to ensure ESL students were learning to the same levels as mainstream students. The lack of training in ESL strategies made it easy to dismiss ESL students as incapable of doing mainstream work. However, the beliefs and attitudes of ESL teachers set the tone for others in the school. If those teachers who worked most closely with ESL students, and who were perceived as the most knowledgeable about the educational needs of ESL students, did not have high expectations for them, how could it be expected that other teachers would hold high expectations.

Behavioral Expectations

Oftentimes, teachers' interpretations of student behavior influenced their perceptions of the students' academic capabilities. Academic expectations and behavioral expectations were closely intertwined in the ESL program at Central High School. When asked to define the characteristics of a good student, teachers responded with words that described behavior more than academic achievement. They used such descriptors as "highly motivated," "hard working," and "completes assignments on time." Students who behaved in the expected ways were more likely to be labeled as "good students." For example, students who asked for help were seen as "motivated," while students who did not were seen as "lazy" and "unmotivated." Good students were also held to higher academic expectations.

Central teachers often complained about their students' behavior. Many explanations were provided including cultural background. However, more often than not, teachers explained that a student's behavior was the result of a lack of internal motivation or immaturity. The attitude was that if these students were only motivated, they would do much better in school.

Teachers were able to articulate that a student's cultural background could play a role in their difficulties in school, but in talking about specific students, they rarely employed this explanation. The ESL teachers believed that the behaviors they expected -- responsibility, motivation to do well, etc. -- were the results of maturity and not cultural background. On numerous occasions, when students did not live up to a teacher's expectations, the teacher's response was, "you're old enough to know better." It was like a mantra for these teachers. One of the best examples of the difference in beliefs about motivation between a student and an ESL teacher was demonstrated during a class discussion. Ms. Wojcik was conducting a lesson on personality types. Students were provided with a list of personality types with corresponding characteristics. The students were supposed to write the good and bad things about each characteristic.

> Ms. Wojcik: Antoine, number 10.
>
> Antoine: When…
>
> Ms. Wojcik: Number ten is also not a good thing. Is it good to have someone else motivate you?
>
> Antoine: Yes, my teacher can motivate me.
>
> Ms. Wojcik: But who has to do it? You must tell yourself inside. If someone else must tell you, this is not a good thing.

This exemplifies the teacher's beliefs about student motivation. According to Ms. Wojcik, motivation must be internal and she, as a teacher can do little or nothing to motivate the student. Moreover, not only did the ESL teachers hold different beliefs than their students about appropriate behavior, the teachers often imposed those beliefs on the students.

Most American educators assume that their students have followed a similar path to high school. They assume certain experiences and knowledge on the part of their students. This knowledge includes not only academic knowledge, but knowledge about appropriate behavior of students in an American classroom. Educators of immigrant students cannot make such assumptions about their students' readiness for high school in America. Central ESL teachers were aware that ESL students may not have had the same academic background as their native born peers, but they expected their students to abide by the behavioral norms and expectations of

the American high school without any direct instruction about those norms. Those norms and expectations were a point of much conflict and misunderstanding between students and teachers.

Teachers frequently cited students' inappropriate behavior (such as a perceived lack of respect for female teachers, unwillingness to speak out in class, talking to their friends in their native language, etc.) as obstacles to teaching and learning. While teachers claimed to understand that a student's background influenced the academic knowledge and skills they brought to school, they did not express an understanding that a student's cultural background influenced their overall study habits or the way they approached school work. The ESL teachers believed that good students worked individually and asked for help when they needed it. Good students did not ask their friends for help with their school work. There was a strong belief among teachers that if students would just work hard, they would succeed and that hard work was a direct result of internal motivation.

An example that demonstrates not only the emphasis placed on internal motivation, but also the role of cultural misunderstandings and student frustration in teachers-student relationships is an interchange that took place between Ms. Newman and Jose, a student from Mexico. Ms. Newman saw Jose copying his homework from another student's paper. Jose responded, "It's hard, I don't understand. I have to guess." Ms. Newman said, "You have to work harder. You have to do your own work if you are going to learn anything." At this point Jose grew extremely angry, apparently from frustration, "I'm not like your son. I don't look down when you talk to me." Ms. Newman was confused by this statement and said, "What do you mean? Tell me before I get mad." Jose, even more angry, "I don't look down (he looked down at the floor) like your son. I'm not scared of anyone."

Ms. Newman walked away shaking her head. Later, she told me that she had been on his back about working harder and studying more. As Jose expressed, he was having difficulties understanding the assignments. However, no offer was made to help him overcome those difficulties. He was expressing his frustration by showing Ms. Newman that he was not intimidated by her and would not look down, a sign of deference in many cultures. Instead he would look her right in the eye, a sign of defiance. Ms. Newman interpreted his outburst as bad behavior. She said that he was lazy and did not want to do his work. During the first year of this study, Jose struggled with his course work. His English skills were poor and he had difficulty

following the lessons. He often turned to his friends for help. He rarely asked the ESL teachers for help.

This interchange demonstrates how teachers sometimes misinterpret the behaviors of students because they do not understand their cultures. Fillmore (1983) explained that there are differences among children according to whether they orient their activities in the classroom toward adults or peers. In Fillmore's (1983) study, Chinese children tended to be more concerned with the expectations and opinions of adults while the Spanish-speaking children were more attuned to their peers. Spanish-speaking students seemed to turn more to peers for ideas and directions than to their teachers. This pattern was often observed in Central ESL classes. When Jose turned to his peers, he was accused of cheating and of being lazy. Yet he was not receiving help from his teachers and could not do the work on his own. Oftentimes, during the course of this research, Spanish-speaking students were observed asking their peers for clarification when they did not understand a teacher's directions or a particular assignment. Teachers often interpreted this behavior as cheating. Working individually was strongly valued by Central ESL teachers and students could not be working individually if they were talking to each other.

Delpit (1995) explained that the work of schools is guided by the *culture of power,* the unwritten rules that govern schools. Delpit argued that power plays a critical role in our education system and that the worldview of those with privileged positions is taken as the only reality, and the worldviews of those less powerful are dismissed as inconsequential. Those with power determine how those without power should act and be judged. This was played out in Central ESL classes everyday. The culture of the teachers valued individual responsibility, working independently, asking for help when one needs help, etc. and those values formed the basis for judgments of student behavior. "Good students" behaved in this way. Students who did not behave in this way were described as unmotivated, lazy, disruptive, etc.

Those with power, the teachers and administrators, were often critical of students who did not abide by the "rules" and they questioned these students' capacity to do "high level" academic work. More often than not, the students who were viewed by the ESL teachers as incapable of doing high level academic work were from specific cultural groups. Ms. Wojcik expressed that she pushed her Hispanic and Vietnamese students to vocational school so that

they could get a job after graduation. Not only was she making judgments about students' abilities to do high level academic work, she was using her power over them to determine their course of study. When Jose was a sophomore, Ms. Wojcik told him that he had to go to vocational school because he would not be ready to go to college when he graduated from high school. She told him that he needed to learn a trade. He explained to me that he wanted to go to college and not to vocational school. He felt powerless to stand up to Ms. Wojcik and thought that he had to do what she told him to do. The cultural background of the students played a large role in how they were perceived by the ESL teachers and these perceptions influenced the educational opportunities available to the students.

Overall, ESL students expressed high level of desire to learn English and to learn about American culture. ESL students often talked about their confusion over behaviors of American students or teachers or over the expectations of teachers and/or American students. At times they would ask questions about things they did not understand. These questions, if asked to a teacher, were usually addressed quickly and superficially and did not involve the entire class. On these occasions, opportunities were missed to engage the students in a conversation about American culture. I did not observe any overt discussion of the school's or teacher's expectations of students and never an attempt to help students learn more about American culture. Classroom discussions of American culture primarily addressed topics such as holidays and food.

The confusion experienced by the students had negative consequences that could have been avoided with a few words of explanation. For example, Antoine was late for Mr. Warner's class. He explained that he realized that he had forgotten his notebook and had to go back to his locker because he needed it for class. Mr. Warner gave him detention. He told Antoine that he should have come to the class first, asked for a hall pass and then gone to get his notebook. This made no sense to Antoine. He thought it much easier just to go get the notebook. The discussion took place in front of the class for all to hear. While the conversation was only between Mr. Warner and Antoine, the entire class was listening and could have been as confused as Antoine. Antoine expressed that he thought having his book when he got to class was more important than getting there on time. Mr. Warner's reaction demonstrated the value placed on punctuality in American society. This instance provided an excellent opportunity to discuss that aspect of American culture. However, Antoine remained confused and continued to be late to

class for a variety of reasons, all of which he believed were valid reasons. The teachers continued to voice frustration over his tardiness, continued to talk about his “third world mentality” and occasionally punished him. After one such incident he asked, “Why does Mr. Warner treat me this way?” He did not understand the “rule” and did not understand why he was being punished.

Another example of teachers’ behavior toward students who broke the “rules” and the resulting confusion had to do with two of the ESL classrooms which were separated by a partition. Students often walked between the classes, opening and closing the partition. They did this at any time, between classes and during class. Most of the time, the teachers ignored them. However, when the teachers got fed up with what they saw as disruptive behavior, they spoke harshly or assigned detention to the offending students. The students knew that most of the time it was alright for them to move between the classrooms. When a teacher did get upset, the students appeared to be confused as to what they did wrong and no reasons were offered as to why the teachers found this behavior problematic. The teachers had a set of “rules” that were not articulated to the students. When students broke these rules, they were seen as immature and irresponsible. The students were not aware that they had broken the rules and continued to do so, and continued to be seen as immature and irresponsible by the teachers. Those students whose understanding of appropriate behavior more closely matched the teachers were seen as mature, responsible, and good students.

Standards-based reforms were intended to clearly define academic standards for all students to be judged by and to ensure that all students have access to the same rigorous curriculum and instruction that will allow them to achieve those standards. However, these policies can do little to address the “culture of power” within the school and classroom that forms the basis for teacher-student interactions. Delpit (1988) argued that educators must teach students the explicit and implicit rules of the school culture, the "culture of power" that exists in society in general and in the educational environment in particular. The culture of power refers to issues of power enacted in classrooms and the codes or rules for participating in power. Those rules are a reflection of the rules of the culture of those who have power and relate to linguistic forms, communicative strategies, and presentation of self; i.e. ways of talking, writing, dressing and interacting. Success in school hinges on the acquisition of this culture of power. Some

children come to school equipped with more of the trappings of the culture of power or with more "cultural capital" (Apple 1979). Others have less. Parents who do not function within the culture of power want the school to provide their children with discourse patterns, interaction styles, and spoken and written language codes that will allow for their success in the larger society (Krasnick, 1983; Nieto,1992; Zanger,1993; and Met,1994). American high school students are more likely to be aware of the rules of the school due to a process of socialization in American schools that has taken place over a number of years. To many immigrant students, these rules were not apparent and they were difficult to discern.

As a society, we have long viewed developing citizenship skills as an important goal of education, preparing young people to be citizens in a democratic society. ESL students take courses in American history that focus on government's structures and operations. However, if immigrant students are to become participants in this society, they need much more than knowledge of governmental structures. They need to understand the values, attitudes and beliefs that underlay the structures and processes of American society. Students need an understanding of school culture, but also of American culture in general to participate in school life and to prepare them for participation in the larger society after graduation. The two are, of course, related. Students need to understand that being on time is a valued behavior, not only by their teachers, but by employers as well.

By discussing aspects of American culture and society with their students, teachers would inevitably learn a great deal about the students. Students are grappling with a wide array of cultural differences and being able to talk openly about these differences would help them to understand expectations of school and work as well as to understand that one is not better than the other. Through this mutual understanding, teachers and students could negotiate a common understanding of appropriate behavior and alleviate the barriers to learning created by cultural misunderstandings.

School culture – the values, beliefs, behaviors and norms – plays an important role in teachers' decisions about how to structure their classes. If teachers do not believe that all students can achieve high standards, and the school culture and organization does not support this belief, it is unlikely that they will implement strategies aimed at ensuring that all students achieve to those standards. The culture of the ESL program was based on values and beliefs

about student capabilities, authority, and relationships that inhibit change in a direction supportive of the goals of the reform. The ESL teachers believed that the majority of their students were incapable of achieving the KERA standards. The explanations provided by the teachers included language proficiency, educational background, and individual capabilities. The teachers believed that the limitations of the students required different sets of standards for ESL students, and different sets of standards for specific groups of students. The teachers felt that they, and not the state or the students, were in a position to best determine the appropriate educational program for their students based on their knowledge and experience. In the absence of school policies or school level leadership encouraging the development of conditions supporting the belief that a rigorous academic curriculum is appropriate for all students, including ESL students, the educational opportunities available to students is largely determined by the beliefs and attitudes of teachers.

Conditions

Wagner (2002) argues that education leaders should create the conditions supportive of a school culture focused on effective teaching and learning. In addition, the importance of the social aspect of learning requires that careful attention be paid to nurturing and sustaining relationships built on mutual trust and respect. As summarized in Chapter One, effective schools are characterized by environments in which teachers and students are treated with respect and relationships are based on mutual trust.

Fullan (1991) described the American educational system as fundamentally conservative, more likely to retain the status quo than change. To expect that introducing reforms into a situation that is not organized to engage in changes is unrealistic. He argued that the educational system should become a learning organization with generative capacities that can anticipate and rise to the occasions of change as they occur. Teachers should become agents of change. Fullan argued that the goal of greater change capacity should become explicit and its pursuit must become all out and sustained. Characteristics of a learning organization include support and encouragement of educators as inquirers into what they do and how to do it better; educators as consumers, critics, and producers of knowledge; educators engaging in discourse and action to

improve conditions, activities and outcomes; educators participating in pedagogical matters of fundamental importance – what are schools for and how can teaching and learning be aligned with this vision.

In order to create a learning organization, conditions should be created that enable people to consider shared visions and develop skills over time (Fullan, 1991). Ownership cannot be achieved in advance of learning something new and deep ownership comes through learning that arises from full engagement in solving problems. Yet, as the previous section explains, the culture of Central High School and particularly of the ESL program, did not provide a basis for the development of the kind of learning environment consistent with achieving KERA goals.

In the absence of state, district, or school administration involvement in the ESL program, the ESL teachers' beliefs about their students, their capabilities and appropriate curriculum and instruction for ESL students largely determined the learning environment of the program and inhibited efforts at change. The learning environment of the Central High School ESL program was characterized by isolation of teachers and students, lack of emphasis on challenging academic content, a lack of respect of students' language and culture, and limited resources and materials.

Isolation

The ESL program operated essentially in isolation from the rest of the school and the ESL teachers operated in relative isolation from each other. Professional isolation limits educators' access to new ideas. Therefore, isolation is more likely to result in conservatism and resistance to innovation (Lortie, 1975). The isolated environment made it easy for the teachers to resist change. Factors contributing to this isolation included the lack of involvement of the administration and mainstream teachers, the location of the ESL classrooms, the actions of ESL teachers toward their students, the lack of cooperation among the ESL teachers, and ESL teachers' fear of losing autonomy over their program.

The lack of involvement of the administration and other teachers with the ESL program meant that decisions affecting ESL students in terms of class schedules, curriculum, and instruction were made only by the ESL teachers without consideration for the larger vision and goals of the school. Chapter 4 described how the relationships among the program, the school

administration and mainstream teachers contributed to this isolation. Neither the administration nor the teachers attempted to coordinate the ESL program with the broader school wide programs.

The location of the ESL classrooms was also a factor in the program's isolation. The school was a sprawling two-story building – basement and ground floor – with academic departments occupying portions of the wings. The ESL classrooms were in the basement on the outside edge of one wing, next to an outside door. Students could go in and out through this door and not walk through the building to get to the ESL classes. Students were often seen in this area before school and during lunchtime. Many of the ESL students spent much of their day in and around these classrooms. During the course of this study, school administrators proposed spreading the three ESL classrooms throughout the building as a way of encouraging more integration of ESL students with mainstream students. This was another example of the administration paying lip service to integration. None of the proposals addressed integration in terms of academics. All of the proposals put forth by the administration involved integrating students in non-academic settings.

The close proximity of the three ESL classrooms provided students with a comfortable area in which to congregate. While other students were mingling in the halls before the first bell, the ESL students were usually in the ESL classrooms. Their friends were there, they felt comfortable, and the ESL teachers were available to help them with their school work. Hadiya usually arrived at school an hour before classes began so that Mr. Warner could help her with her assignments. Mr. Warner appeared willing to help her, but one time after Hadiya left the room he said, "She needs to be more independent. She can't continue to rely on me for help." Yet, he continued to help her each morning. As Mr. Warner expressed, he was conflicted over how much support he should provide to ESL students. He wanted to create an environment in which students felt comfortable and safe, but he was concerned that they had become dependent on his help and were not learning to take care of themselves. On a typical morning or lunch period, Mr. Warner could be observed helping students with assignments from a variety of subject areas such as English literature, biology, and algebra. Students rarely went to the mainstream teachers for help and Mr. Warner rarely turned them away. After suffering much frustration over this issue, Mr. Warner banned the students from the ESL classrooms during the lunch period. The ESL

teachers felt that many of the students would spend all of their free time in these rooms if they were allowed. They felt this was counterproductive to becoming part of the school and American society in general. Their hope was that by not allowing them to hang out in the ESL classrooms the students would be more likely to interact with other students. However, they just hung around in the hallway outside the ESL rooms. Few roamed far from those three classrooms.

The ESL teachers provided numerous other opportunities for the students to seek the comfort of the ESL classrooms. The principal reported that ESL students would sometimes skip classes and stay in the ESL room. He believed the students would feign illness because they didn't have their homework done. While the principal explained that the ESL teachers allowed this behavior, he did not attempt to do anything to stop it. This type of behavior was observed on numerous occasions, but the reasons students stayed in the ESL room were more complex. Sometimes it was because they didn't have their homework finished. Other times they did not want to participate in scheduled activities in a particular class. Oftentimes, they were tired and frustrated with their inability to understand and just wanted a break. As one student said, "I get tired from too much English."

ESL teachers also contributed to ESL students' isolation by limiting their access to information and activities. During morning announcements, students in the ESL classrooms continued with their conversations, speaking loudly over the sound of the PA system. The teachers did not try to quiet the students. If teachers perceived any of the announcements to be of importance to the students, they would provide the information to the students at a later time. Also, unless an assembly was mandatory, ESL students were not encouraged, and at times were discouraged from attending. As one ESL teacher put it, "They won't understand it, so why go?"

The administration and other faculty were aware of the segregation of ESL students, but for the most part, did not express concern. Ms. Wilson, the principal during the 1995-96 school year, described student interaction, "ESL students keep to themselves a lot. During lunch, the ESL students have their own soccer game. Others don't try to get involved. American kids have their own football game."

The lack of involvement of the administration and their unwillingness to integrate classes combined with the location of the ESL classrooms and the accommodating behavior of the ESL

teachers to create a segregated school environment in which ESL students had minimal contact with native born American students.

The ESL teachers were also isolated from each other. Little communication existed among the ESL teachers at Central, between ESL teachers and other school staff, or among ESL teachers in the district. The ESL teachers had no formal or informal means of communicating to each other what they were teaching, particular issues they faced with students, etc. According to Ms. Wojcik, it was clear (at least to her), what was to be taught in each of the ESL classes. She and Mr. Warner worked this out between them during their first four years working together. When Ms. Palmer joined the staff in 1994, she had no clear sense of the curriculum or instructional practices of the other two teachers and felt that they had no desire to work with her in developing a curriculum for the program. Ms. Palmer wanted to create a more cooperative, collaborative environment, but was dismissed by the other two teachers. Mr. Warner and Ms. Wojcik did not hide their hostility toward Ms. Palmer. The two regularly ate lunch together in Ms. Wojcik's classroom and would talk about their classes and their students. They had been doing this for four years and felt they had a good working relationship and a good understanding of what the other was doing in terms of teaching. When Ms. Palmer became aware of these meetings, she tried to join in. She described her first attempt, "I took my lunch in there to join them, and you know what they did? They got up and left without saying a word to me, not a word. That was the last time I did that." Throughout the course of this study, I repeatedly observed similar instances of this kind of behavior on the part of Mr. Warner and Ms. Wojcik.

A possible explanation for their behavior lies in the climate created out of the relationship of the ESL program to the school. The relationships among the ESL teachers and between mainstream teachers and district and school level administration were strained. There was a high level of mistrust on the part of ESL teachers toward the administration. The ESL teachers valued their autonomy and any intrusion on their program was a threat to that autonomy. Ms. Palmer understood this. When she wanted to meet with the principal to voice some of her concerns about the program she suggested they meet after hours at a local restaurant. She was concerned about how her ESL colleagues would respond to her meeting with the principal. Her fear of negative backlash led her to sneaking around to meet with her principal.

In addition, the view of ESL teachers as experts contributed to the isolation and this perception was perpetuated by the ESL teachers themselves. ESL teachers had complete autonomy for four years. According to Mr. Warner and Ms. Wojcik, the program operated smoothly during this time. The ESL teachers were viewed, by the rest of the school, as the "experts" on LEP issues. During the 1994-95 school year, a number of factors threatened this autonomy and authority. First, the proposal to move the program to another school created a climate of fear. The teachers did not want to draw any negative attention to the program. Second, Ms. Palmer joined the program and began questioning the way it operated. Not only could her concerns be interpreted as a criticism of the program designed and operated by the other two teachers, Ms. Palmer's desire for more training and materials meant a request for more money and more involvement of people outside of the program. Mr. Warner and Ms. Wojcik were content in their isolation. They had no desire to change that.

Early in the study, the ESL teachers explained that the district and school administration were considering moving the ESL program to another district high school. The ESL teachers suggested that this proposal was the result of complaining on the part of school administrators that the ESL students were having a negative affect on the school's test scores. The ESL teachers sent a letter to the principal and the district ESL coordinator explaining their opposition to this plan. In this letter they explained their attempts over the past four years to develop relationships with faculty and other school staff. They argued that if the program were moved to another school, they would have to start from scratch in developing new relationships to support their work with ESL students. Given the fact that the ESL teachers had little cooperation from other teachers or staff, it is more likely that the ESL teachers feared a loss of control of their program if it was moved to another school.

The program was not moved, but a feeling of fear developed among the ESL teachers that it could happen at any time. Teachers brought this up throughout the course of the study as an explanation about the limitations placed on them. They felt that they could not bring any attention to the program that could be construed as negative because the administration might use it against them. Ms. Palmer seemed to feel the threat more than the others. During her first year at Central, Ms. Palmer attempted to talk with school administrators about how to improve the program. She described these conversations with school administrators as ending with what she

interpreted as threats to the future of the program. Palmer described one conversation with an administrator where she asked the administrator what could be done to improve the program. Palmer reported that the administrator replied, "nothing, because nobody cares." Palmer explained that the administrator meant that nobody with any influence cares, so nothing will get done. The principal reported that the school had received no complaints from parents of ESL students in the four years of the program. He interpreted this to mean that they were satisfied with the program and therefore did not complain. However, Ms. Palmer reported that a number of parents expressed dissatisfaction with the program. These parents were primarily the parents of high achieving Japanese students. The parents did not feel that the program was academically rigorous enough to prepare their children for college. A number of these parents took their children out of the ESL program and enrolled them in their home school where they received no ESL assistance. Ms. Palmer, who had close relationships with many of the Japanese families in the area, explained that these parents felt that mainstreaming their children was preferable to the limitations of the ESL program.

The organization and structure of the school and the ESL program combined with the attitudes and values of the administration and staff did not facilitate cooperation and the ESL teachers did not make efforts to cooperate or collaborate with each other or mainstream teachers. Nor did the organization and culture of the school and program facilitate the inclusion of ESL students as part of the reform efforts of the school. ESL students were perceived having educational needs different from other students and those needs could be met only minimally by mainstream teachers and other school staff. Mainstream teachers and school staff relied heavily on ESL teachers to assist ESL students with their course work in academic content areas. The limited involvement of mainstream teachers and other school staff with ESL students kept them relatively isolated with the ESL program.

Lack of emphasis on challenging academic content

Evidence from successful schools demonstrates that high expectations for students, despite their background, can create a self-fulfilling prophecy (Education Trust, 1999; Newmann & Taylor, 1995; Taylor, 1992). If teachers believe their students can achieve, the students will put forth their best efforts and will believe they can achieve. Yet, teachers' beliefs

must be translated into practices if those beliefs are to benefit the students. As was described in the previous section, Central teachers did not hold high expectations for ESL students and those expectations were expressed in obvious and subtle ways through the organization of the program and in their classroom practice.

ESL teachers' beliefs about student capabilities resulted in students being denied access to challenging coursework. ESL students often were placed in undemanding courses, and at times, courses they had already taken in their home country. In effect, many students were doing remedial work, for a year or more, while improving their language proficiency. Because more challenging courses require students to have taken specific introductory courses or to have a certain level of English proficiency, students never had the opportunity to take those courses before they graduated. Even if students had the academic background, if their English language skills were not perceived to be adequate for high level course work, they were placed in courses that they had already taken in their home country. Maria's conflict with Ms. Newman is a good example. With another student interpreting, Maria told Ms. Newman that she was in the tenth grade and, therefore, should not be taking ninth grade classes. Ms. Newman responded, "The placement has nothing to do with grade level. Tell her she does not speak English well enough and lower level classes are a better environment for learning English." They were discussing math and science classes. Maria continued to protest for about ten minutes before she got disgusted and walked away. She was not going to win this argument.

Because teachers believed that ESL students must master English before tackling demanding academic courses, and that not all ESL students would be able to master challenging academic content, students often were steered into undemanding courses. Students perceived to be incapable of completing academically rigorous coursework were steered toward the vocational education program. Each year Central's sophomore class visited the vocational school. Ms. Wojcik explained that it was important for all ESL students to understand what the vocational school had to offer. She explained that for students whose academic background had put them at a disadvantage in American high school and had very little chance of attending college, vocational schools provided valuable skills that would enable them to get a job when they graduated from high school. Ms.Wojcik prepared her students for their visit: "This is a good thing. Reading well is not essential because you learn by doing and being shown instead of

reading books." Ms. Wojcik then provided some examples of former students who went to the vocational school and got good jobs in auto mechanics. She stressed that it was possible to get good jobs without going to college.

Certain groups of students were encouraged or pushed into vocational school, particularly Mexicans and Vietnamese. Yet, not all students went willingly. Antoine, from Haiti, told me that Ms. Wojcik told him that he had to go to vocational school because he would not be ready to go to college when he graduated. She told him that he needed to learn a trade. Antoine desperately wanted to go to college, not to vocational school. He told me that he had no one to speak up for him. His father spoke very little English and he was unable to communicate with the school about what he felt would be best for Antoine. Antoine was very concerned about making Ms. Wojcik angry. He spent one year in vocational school. After that year, he felt more confident in telling Ms. Wojcik that he tried it, but did not like it and wanted to take all of his classes at Central. However, during his year at vocational school he missed out on academic courses that he would need to go to college. He ended up spending an additional year at Central to catch up.

Ms. Wojcik expressed that she pushed her Hispanic and Vietnamese students to vocational school so that they could get a job after graduation. Students who came from cultural backgrounds she associated with high academic achievement were not pushed to vocational school, even if they were performing poorly in academic classes. During the course of this research two Japanese students, children of executives, were failing the majority of their classes. No one suggested that they attend vocational school. Their problems were attributed to depression or general unhappiness with being in the U.S. and the ESL teachers communicated regularly with the students' parents to help ensure the students' performance improved.

In addition, students were not always aware of the courses they needed to get accepted to college. During an informal conversation over lunch one day, a student told me that he would like to go to college, but did not know what he had to do. He didn't know that the courses he took were important. He assumed that because he had fulfilled his requirements for graduation he could go to college. He said that he did not know anything about the SAT, ACT or TOEFL tests. He wasn't even sure which grade he was in. He tried to talk with the guidance counselor about this, but the counselor sent him back to Mr. Warner. ESL students relied on ESL teachers

to provide them with the information that they need. However, they were not aware of what they needed to know and did not know what to ask or to whom to ask it. The ESL teachers were expected to not only teach their classes, work with students to schedule their classes, but also to provide the students with the information and assistance they needed to apply to college. In this context, it is easy to understand how students got overlooked. The ESL teachers expected students who were interested in attending college to come to them for information or advice.

During the two years of this study, the ESL teachers did not address issues relating to college preparation, application, of financing expect in conversations with individual students. Discussion of college was not part of the ESL program and the teachers did not discuss these issues with their classes. The teachers expected the students to take responsibility for obtaining information about college or asking for help. Even then, if a particular student was perceived to be academically unprepared for college, Mr. Warner and Ms. Wojcik would steer them in another direction.

Additional academic support was available for ESL students through an afterschool tutoring program two days a week for two hours. Other tutoring programs were available school wide, but ESL students were not encouraged to take advantage of them. Other teachers and staff were not comfortable assisting ESL students. The ESL teachers were aware of this and did not encourage student participation in these programs. Also, ESL students felt much more comfortable with ESL teachers. When an ESL teacher suggested that a student seek help through one of these programs or from a mainstream teacher, the student would either ignore the comment or respond that they wanted the ESL teacher's help because ESL teachers were much easier to work with.

Ms. Wojcik staffed the ESL afterschool program. In 1994, only ten students participated in the program. Although all of the ESL students needed the extra help, few could participate. Many students worked after school or had no transportation. The program was meant to provide students with more individualized attention. However, Ms. Wojcik was usually able to provide help to only two or three students during each session. Mr. Warner occasionally would stay after school with the seniors to help them with their college applications. Again, he would only be able to help one or two students at a time.

The ESL classes were large, about 25 students in the larger classes. In the large classes students rarely received much individual attention and were often frustrated with their inability to understand and complete their assignments. Usually, the difficulties arose from their lack of English proficiency. In addition, the large class sizes made it difficult for the teachers to keep track of the progress of individual students. ESL students were often observed expressing a great deal of frustration over their inability to understand or complete an assignment. Ms. Palmer had been working with a new Ukranian student. He was very interested in reading and in learning English and would borrow a different book each day. He was working very hard, independently, to improve his English. Ms. Palmer explained that he was not yet at the point of writing paragraphs when Ms. Wojcik assigned him a six page paper. The student was almost in tears at the prospect of having to complete a six page paper in English. The student was taking responsibility for his own learning and being rewarded with an inappropriate assignment. Other students did occasionally burst into tears or have some other kind of outburst. Maria broke down and cried one day because she had been unable to complete her assignment. Another student, when he was unable to answer the questions on his history test, handed in his test with only 2 of 25 questions answered. When Ms. Newman offered to help him, he ripped up the paper and handed it to Mr. Warner. Ms. Newman told the student if he behaved like that again, she would call his father. This was the most common response to Japanese students who misbehaved. Students were so afraid of losing face, an important aspect of Japanese culture, that they would usually behave as the teachers wanted them to. No attempt was made to make the student feel better about the situation or to provide him with the help that he needed to do better next time. The focus was solely on his behavior. This was a common response to student outbursts. The teachers expected the students to ask for help before they were to take a test or complete a homework assignment. Yet, the large class size and limited opportunities for individual attention made this difficult.

Lack of respect for students' language and culture

While the research indicates that an important characteristic of effective schools for English language learners is a respectful environment toward ESL students, their languages, and cultures, little of this kind of respect was observed in Central's ESL program. Observations of

ESL classrooms indicated that some teachers often had clear expectations for responses to their questions and did not allow for alternative interpretations, thereby devaluing a students' perspective on the lesson. It is important to note here that this behavior was observed to a much greater extent in Ms. Wojcik's classroom than in Ms. Palmer's or Mr. Warner's classes. While Ms. Palmer and Mr. Warner did not structure their classes to incorporate student experiences, backgrounds, and perspectives, they were more open to it when it arose.

An example of Ms. Wojcik's lack of respect for student's perspectives follows. Ms. Wojcik distributed a series of statements to students. The students were to describe in their own words what the statements meant. One of the statements was, "I hate to waste my energy on doing things." The student's response was, "I like to get benefit from doing things." Ms. Wojick responded, "No, I look for the easiest way to do things." Where the student was interpreting the statement to mean that they did not want to waste their time doing things that provided no benefit, Ms. Wojcik interpreted the statement to mean the author did not want to do anything. No discussion followed this interchange. The student responded by hanging his head and looking at the floor, obviously dejected.

Another example of Ms. Wojcik's cultural domination of class discussions involved a discussion of the concepts 'masculine' and 'feminine.' In talking to the class, Wojcik described feminine as tender, loving, nurturing and masculine as dominate and macho. She asked, "What is machismo? Do you want a father who is macho? Most women, healthy women, do not choose macho men because that is choosing someone who will hurt you. We want fathers to be kind, loving. Mothers need to be strong. We need gentle fathers. We need to be masculine and feminine inside. We need both qualities." She then asked students if they agreed. No student responded. She continued, "women don't want a tough man. They want someone who is gentle, tender, and loving. Men want women who are not so dependent, who can get the job done."

Also, there were examples of perceived cultural differences that resulted in behavior teachers viewed as inappropriate. Teachers were unwilling to discuss the differences with the students and would not tolerate behavior seen as stemming from these beliefs. An ongoing conflict between teachers and students involved the female teachers and male students of particular cultural backgrounds – Arab and Japanese – that the teachers perceived to exhibit little

or no respect for women in positions of authority. When a female teacher experienced a problem with one of these male students, more often than not, it was explained as resulting from that student's lack of respect for women. The teachers insisted that these attitudes were not acceptable and that the students must learn to treat women with respect, particularly women in positions of authority. The relationships between the female teachers and a number of Arab and Japanese males were strained and the underlying tension created numerous problems.

In describing problems teachers face in dealing with students of different cultural backgrounds, Ms. Palmer made the following comment about Japanese males, "Males appear arrogant. This is from their dominant role in Japanese society. By the time they are in high school, they have incorporated this feeling of superiority."

Beliefs held by ESL teachers about how students learn also affected the way they structured their classes. Teachers often expressed that students must speak English in school in order to develop fluency. They assumed that speaking in the native language interferes with a student's ability to learn the second language. Students often were not permitted to speak to each other in their native languages. ESL teachers expressed contradictory beliefs about language use. While they expressed that students needed to speak English to develop proficiency, they rarely provided opportunities for extended dialogue. The teachers seemed very uncomfortable with cooperative learning situations that would provide such opportunities. Teachers complained that students were more likely to goof off or cheat when working together. Also, when students were speaking in their native language, the teachers and other school staff assumed the students were cheating or swearing. Students would often ask each other for help or clarification on an assignment using their native language because they could more effectively communicate that way. An example of the contradiction that played out on a daily basis is demonstrated through the interactions between Ms. Newman, the teachers' aide, and Iranian students. Ms. Newman was often heard to say, "How can they learn English this way?" More often than not, she was referring to the Spanish speaking students speaking to each other in Spanish. Yet, when Iranian students would come to her for help, she would speak with them in Farsi because they could more easily understand her.

The teachers had a variety of methods to engage students in the classroom. Ms. Wojcik relied on a system of rewards and punishments to motivate students. Ms. Wojcik explained that

the Japanese students had a difficult time with the culture of American schools. They were expected to actively participate. This was new to them. It went against what they were taught was appropriate classroom behavior. Ms. Wojcik said that she told them that participation was an essential part of their grade. By tying it to grades, she said it motivated the Japanese students. "It usually takes them a while, sometimes, as little as one semester, but they seem to become more comfortable. Some will raise their hands, but most will still just sit there." Yet, often she would try to force students to participate. One day as she was passing back a student writing assignment, she singled out one of the Japanese students as having written an excellent piece. She asked him to read it to the class. He refused. She asked him a second time and he refused again. At that point, she took the paper from him and read it to the class. The student stared down at his desk for the remainder of the class period.

Ms. Palmer preferred to appeal to a student's interests. Trong was very withdrawn, did not participate in class and did not do any of his assignments. Through a discussion with Trong's mother, Ms. Palmer learned that Trong loved computers. She had a computer in her room, but knew little about how to use it. She began to ask Trong to help her. Through the computer, Ms. Palmer was able to establish a relationship with Trong. He slowly became more engaged in the classroom after he began working with her on the computer.

Yet, students were not encouraged to pursue their own interests in academic work. Moreover, students rarely had an opportunity to incorporate their own experiences into their school work or to apply what they were learning in school to their own experiences. They rarely wrote or spoke about personal experiences, in their home country or the U.S. nor were they encouraged to do so. Respect for students' cultures is most obvious through incorporation of student experiences and knowledge into course work. Central ESL teachers rarely did this and when they did it was through writing assignments that were only read by the teacher. Students were periodically encouraged to write about personal experiences, but these assignments were rarely used as a basis for class discussion or brought into discussions to help students relate personal experiences to subject matter. Literature and film used in class were almost always American. Films were used as listening exercises for students and therefore always in English.

Students were allowed little input or self-direction about what they would learn or how they would learn it, but were expected to be motivated to work on their own. Teachers believed

that to address students' behavioral and motivational problems, they had to maintain tight control of the classroom and limit student-to-student interaction. To maintain control and to ensure that students were doing their own work, assignments primarily were structured to be completed individually. These practices reflected not only the low expectations and low level of trust that teachers have for students.

Central teachers often expressed that while many ESL students lacked the skills and experiences valued in school, this was a problem that could be overcome if they would only take more responsibility for themselves. Another interaction with Antoine provides an example. During lunch period, Antoine entered the classroom where Mr. Warner, Ms. Wojcik, and I were talking. He said that he would miss a few days of school because he was going to Virginia (he lived in Virginia for two years before moving to Kentucky). Mr. Warner told him that he could not miss school and he could not go to Virginia. Antoine left without saying anything else. When Antoine had left the room, Warner turned to us and said, "He has that Third World mentality. He thinks he can leave whenever he wants." This interaction provided an opportunity for Mr. Warner and Ms. Wojcik to talk with Antoine about what was expected from him in school and the consequences of his missing those days, but they did not take advantage of the opportunity. Not only was Antoine perceived to be immature and unwilling to adapt to American ways, his culture was viewed as a negative influence on his behavior. The teachers and administrators, were often critical of students who did not abide by the "rules" and they questioned these students' capacity to do "high level" academic work.

Teachers also exhibited little respect for students' lives outside of school. Many ESL students had family responsibilities that, at times, interfered with their ability to complete assignments on time. Some students were responsible for caring for younger siblings. Others helped out in the family business. While others often t acted as interpreter for their parents and went with them to the doctor, on shopping trips, etc. Yet, teachers often interpreted a student's explanation for late work as an excuse for "laziness," lack of "hard work," or lack of "commitment."

Many of the ESL students went through difficult periods of adjustment in their first years in the United States. ESL students often felt overwhelmed, frustrated, and alone. They missed their home, their family and their friends. A student explained the problems another student

was having adjusting the life in the U.S. He said, “I know what she’s going through. I was like that last year. You’re a big person in your country and come here and you’re nobody. It’s hard.” Another student expressed it this way, “I want to go home today (referring to Mexico). Some days I want to be here. Some days I want to go home when people here are so mean. At home, you are popular, have friends. I miss my friends.”

When another student’s father left from a visit to the US to return to Iran, she began to act up at school. She would mouth off to other students and to the teachers, walk around the classroom as she pleased, etc. The teachers ignored her behavior and left her alone. She was an excellent student and the teachers liked her very much. They were aware of her family situation and attributed her behavior to that. Yet, in each of these situations, no effort was made on the part of school staff to provide support to the students to help them through these difficult times or to even acknowledge that they were having difficulties.

Hadiya explained that American students are often mean. “I would like American friends, but they don’t want to be friends with us (ESL students).” While ESL students want American friends and want to “fit in”, they also expressed a strong desire to maintain their cultural identify. Roberto had been in fights. Students periodically would call him names such as wetback, dirty Mexican, etc. and tell him to go back to Mexico. When these people kept on him, he would, at times, lash out and hit them. He had been in Kentucky three years. His English was very good and he did well in school. “People don’t understand that inside I am Mexican. I act American, but my emotions are Mexican [he was trying to say that he identified culturally as a Mexican even though he appeared to many to look and behave like an American]. Maintaining his Mexican identify was very important to him. At times, to have other students insult him, his culture, was more than he could take and he would lash out.

Trying to balance their attempts to maintain their cultural identify, make new friends, and succeed in school created stressful situations for ESL students. While the ESL teachers and other school staff appeared to understand the stress these students face, they made no attempt to develop support structures to help them adjust to their circumstances. The ESL teachers at Central expressed that they were trying to create an environment in which the students felt comfortable and safe, where they felt that they could freely express themselves and an environment conducive to learning. The beliefs and attitudes of the teachers toward the students’

experiences, cultures, and language, as well as their beliefs about what the students were capable of achieving inhibited the development of such an environment. The students were more talkative in the ESL classes, but mostly in complaining about assignments or socializing with other students. The students were rarely engaged in conversation around academic subjects.

Students often complained to me about the environment of the ESL program. The students explained that they were used to very controlled environments in their home country schools and they saw a teacher's lack of control as a lack of respect for the teacher on the part of the students. A student who was in her last year in the ESL program explained that she was happy to be getting out of the program. She said that ESL classes were loud and it was difficult to get work done. She also said that the ESL teachers were not as hard as the other teachers. They were too easy. She did not have to work hard to get a good grade.

A respectful environment is difficult if not impossible to create if relationships based on mutual trust do not exist. Mainstream teachers took little responsibility for ESL students' learning. Therefore, mainstream teachers and students had not established relationships in which students felt comfortable speaking up in class or asking for help. Students' behavior in ESL classes compared to mainstream classes made this apparent. While most ESL students would speak out in ESL classes, they tended to sit in the back of mainstream classrooms and not actively participate. Mainstream teachers contributed to this behavior by not encouraging their participation. Some mainstream teachers indicated that they felt their behavior to be an appropriate strategy for dealing with ESL students. They explained that if the students were not comfortable speaking, they should not be forced to. ESL students were often observed sleeping undisturbed in mainstream classes. On the other hand, little student talk in ESL classrooms was focused on academics. For the most part, teachers allowed students to talk, no matter what the nature of the conversation, because they wanted ESL students to feel comfortable speaking English. The result was that a great deal of class time was spent trying to quiet the students or on non-school related topics. Students learned quickly how to distract teachers from focusing on the work at hand.

Teacher/student relationships were characterized by low expectations, program and student isolation, a lack of mutual respect and trust, and teacher as authority. The conditions surrounding teaching and learning in Central's ESL program were not supportive of the ideas of

reform included in KERA. The lack of respect shown to students' background and experience, the emphasis on teacher as the authority in the classroom, and low expectations and the consequences for students' opportunities to learn did not support the belief that all students can learn to high levels.

Limited Resources/Materials

Teachers reported that in the early years of the ESL program, they had no instructional materials other than what they were able to photocopy. They did not have textbooks, workbooks, etc. The teachers had to pull together whatever material they could find and make photocopies for their students. By 1994, the situation had improved, but not much.

Mr. Warner, the ESL history teacher, had only enough textbooks for one class. The students could not take the books home with them. Having access to those books for only 50 minutes a day made it difficult for students to learn the material. Moreover, there were not enough dictionaries available in the classes for each student to have one. During vocabulary lessons there was a mad rush for the few available dictionaries. Students without had to share or wait for other students to finish.

At the time of this study, the majority of instructional materials used were still what the teachers could pull together on their own and photocopy for their students. The books they did have did not address the different English proficiency levels and different educational backgrounds of their students. More often than not, teachers would use the same materials for students with widely varying levels of language proficiency.

ESL teachers indicated that what they needed most of all were materials for a high school audience with limited English proficiency. Much of the reading material was more appropriate for elementary students. In addition, Central teachers did not have access to primary language materials. The lack of appropriate materials meant that the teachers spent a great deal of time searching for resources that were appropriate to the diverse needs and abilities of their students. For the most part, teachers tried to find materials that were varied, of high quality, and interesting. But with no curriculum to guide them, the task was more difficult. Overall, ESL teachers had access to limited instructional materials and none that were aligned with KERA content standards.

In addition, the ESL teachers had few resource personnel they could rely on for support. The role of the district coordinator was to provide support to the schools and ESL teachers. Her responsibilities included assessing the English proficiency of new students and providing resources and information to ESL teachers. The teachers reported receiving no help from the coordinator in terms of curriculum development, professional development, information, resources, or instructional materials. The lack of support from the school administration has already been described. The teachers were on their own in terms of developing curriculum, finding appropriate instructional materials, learning about effective instructional strategies, and locating people or organizations to help students with non-academic problems. While ESL teachers identified mainstream teachers willing to provide accommodations to ESL students, more often than not, this resulted in more work for the ESL teachers. There was an understanding that if ESL students needed extra help, the ESL teachers would provide it. While the ESL teachers were successful in convincing a number of mainstream teachers that ESL students often need more time and individual attention, the mainstream teachers felt that they did not have the knowledge to provide additional help. The ESL teachers, aware that if they did not provide the additional help their students were unlikely to get it, spent a great deal of time before and after school or during their planning periods helping students with their assignments in all subject areas.

A teachers' aide joined the program staff in the 1994-95 school year. In terms of human resources, she was the sole support to the ESL teachers. The only school staff with experience or knowledge of ESL were the ESL teachers and the teachers' aide. Not only did the majority of school staff not have knowledge of issues pertaining to LEP students, they exhibited little interest in obtaining that knowledge. Moreover, the tension among the ESL teachers inhibited cooperation. Not only did the ESL teachers not have support from administrators and other school staff, they did not have the support of each other.

Competencies

Creating a culture and conditions conducive to change cannot be effective if teachers do not have the knowledge and skills to implement the new strategies and if there is not a clear understanding of what students are to learn. Under Wagner's (2002) change model, leaders

should identify and develop critical competencies that must be learned at every level for individual and organizational growth. This means competencies for students as well as educators. Ongoing programs should be created that help individuals master the skills needed to improve student and adult learning. Cohen and Hill (2001), in their study of California's mathematics reform, found that professional learning formed the crucial connection between elements of state instructional policy. Teachers who participated in extended professional development opportunities aligned with instructional policy and grounded in practice reported more innovative classroom practices. Through these opportunities teachers gained the knowledge and skills they needed to incorporate the strategies into their practice.

Student and teacher competencies

As was explained in previous chapters, the Kentucky Department of Education did not develop guidelines or standards for ESL programs. There was no commonly expressed understanding at the state level about what constitutes an effective ESL program and what educators should know and be able to do to ensure that LEP students achieve KERA goals. At the district and school level, there was also no stated understanding of what teachers need to know and be able to do to work with LEP students. Moreover, there was no strategic plan for ensuring that educators were provided the training and support they need to effectively teach LEP students. While student competencies were defined at the state level by KERA learning goals and academic expectations, Central ESL teachers did not agree that these standards were appropriate for ESL high school students. Yet school staff had not defined alternative learning goals for ESL students. Central High School had no clearly defined goals for ESL students or teachers and therefore no strategies for achieving goals.

Implementation of reforms must enable educators to truly make the reforms their own. For teachers to effectively implement new strategies, the change must have meaning for them (Evans, 1996). Learning comes before change. Educators must have sufficient opportunity to learn about the new policies, become familiar with policy instruments such as curriculum frameworks and assessments, to try out the new strategies, and to talk with others about them. To influence educators' beliefs about teaching and learning, educators must have sufficient understanding of the requested changes to determine their appropriateness for their students.

The general attitude among the Central staff was that the ESL teachers knew those students the best. Yet, the knowledge and skills necessary to work effectively with LEP students was not defined. There was no mechanism in place to come to a shared understanding of what the critical competencies for ESL teachers were or how to evaluate the level of competency of ESL teachers. The ESL teachers believed that they knew what they needed to know and how to work with their students. The result was that the ESL teachers had to fill many roles: teacher, tutor, counselor, and nurse. The isolation of the ESL program and ESL students contributed to a situation where teachers outside of the program did not take responsibility for the learning of ESL students. Mainstream teachers did not perceive a need to develop competencies to effectively teach ESL students and ESL teachers were overwhelmed with trying to deal with all aspects of ESL students' educational experience. The new ideas introduced through KERA were not sufficiently elaborated on through curriculum documents or training for the teachers to see the potential to improve their work with LEP students.

Evaluation

Goodlad (1984) proposed that the most serious obstacle to understanding or improving schools is the inadequate measures we use to evaluate their effectiveness. We use test scores as if they will tell us something about the condition of our schools.

For the ESL program at Central, there were not even test scores available to evaluate the program. While there was a process at the school for evaluating individual teacher's practice (observations by the principal), it was not adequate for the needs of the ESL program because of the lack of knowledge on the part of the principal to ESL education and ESL students. At Central, all teacher evaluations were conducted by the principal. By their own admission, both principals knew little or nothing about ESL instructional strategies. Structures were not in place to monitor and adapt practices and programs for ESL students. Not only was there not a shared understanding of the desired competencies for ESL teachers, there was no encouragement or incentive by the state, district, or school administration to develop that understanding.

The program lacked clear goals for students and teachers, had no system of support to ensure teachers had adequate training and support, and had no system of evaluation to monitor teacher practice and program effectiveness. State, district, or school staff had not identified

student or educator competencies necessary for adequately addressing the needs of both teachers and students.

Summary

The response of the ESL teachers to the charge that they were responsible for ensuring that their students have mastered the core content by the time they take the KIRIS test, and were able to express that mastery in English, was reasonable. The ESL teachers were caring individuals who focused their efforts on trying to provide a sound instructional program for students in their classrooms in the face of many obstacles. Problems faced by Central's ESL teachers included limited meaningful communication between teachers and administrators, inadequate opportunities for skill development, lack of clear schoolwide and program wide goals, and limited availability of resources and materials. Teacher beliefs about what students needed and were capable of were also important factors contributing to the learning opportunities of the ESL students. The culture, conditions, and competencies characterizing the ESL program did not support the kinds of change consistent with the reform and the reform policies did not encourage or support change in those arenas.

ESL classes were comprised of students with a wide range of educational backgrounds and English proficiency. While local flexibility in creating a curriculum adapted to the specific social and cultural context of the school appears well suited to the needs of schools such as Central that are experiencing an increase in LEP students, in this case practice did not follow theory. Teachers were not equipped to deal with such diversity. They did not have the resources to address the needs of students with limited educational backgrounds and limited English proficiency or students with extensive educational backgrounds, but limited English proficiency.

In addition, within the large school community, the ESL teachers were silent, passive, and powerless. The felt alienated and detached. Yet, their fear of losing autonomy with their own program led them to perpetuate this isolation. The only power and authority they had stemmed form their position as the LEP "experts" and complete control over their own classrooms. Threats to that autonomy were perceived as threats to what little power they had.

The case of Central High School illustrates what can happen when standards-based reform policies are directed toward schools that include a population of LEP students with skill levels well below the policy goal, where there is little organizational capacity, incentive, or support for a coherent response to the policies.

The ESL program at Central High School lacked the most essential components identified in the research for successful programs: clearly articulated goals, high expectations, respectful environment, and regular assessment. The organization, structure, and belief system of Central High School operated to protect ESL students from a more challenging curriculum aligned to KERA goals and thereby defeating the very purpose of the reforms. Nothing about the way in which KERA reforms were designed or implemented at the local level challenged the underlying belief systems about what LEP students could achieve. The culture of the school and the program did not encourage collegiality among ESL teachers and among ESL and mainstream teachers. The value system of the school (beliefs about the capabilities of some LEP students and about who can teach them, about how a school ought to work, and about the individual responsibilities of the students) acted as a constraint on teacher action.

The state charged teachers with ensuring that their students, entering the school system in high school, master the same content as students who have been through the system beginning in kindergarten or elementary school and to ensure that they demonstrate that knowledge in English. However, the school and the district leadership did not expect them to fulfill this charge. Given the circumstances, their lack of focus on test preparation is understandable and even reasonable. However, including ESL students in the state assessment only affects the way in which student performance is measured. It does not affect the conditions under which students learn – teacher competency, school organization, school and classroom culture. It is unlikely that state policies such as those of KERA will affect local decisions about school organization that would benefit all students. Not all school contexts are the same. Therefore, districts and schools must be allowed some leeway in developing local policies and programs that address local needs and concerns. However, schools must be supported in obtaining the knowledge and skill necessary to develop appropriate curriculum and instructional strategies to meet the needs of their students. The next chapter attempts to identify the missing links of

KERA, those policies or programs that could connect the state reform policies to teacher practice.

Chapter Six
Conclusions and Recommendations

Conclusions

The standards-based reform movement was an attempt to ensure that all children have access to a challenging and rigorous curriculum based on high standards, and that they are provided with the supports they need to meet those standards. The rhetoric of the reform movement holds much promise for immigrant students. Accountability systems, by focusing on the achievement levels of specific groups of students, may help to address the achievement gap between students of diverse ethnic, language, and socioeconomic backgrounds by reporting on the nature of the gap and creating incentives for educators to address those differences. According to standards-based proponents, for these policies to work all students must be assessed on the content of a standards-based curriculum, scores must be reported and disaggregated, scores must be included in the accountability measures, and the assessments must generate valid information about their students' knowledge and skills (Goertz, 2001). In order for accountability systems to close the achievement gap, they must also address inequities in students' opportunities to learn to high standards. It is not sufficient to report on the gaps, but states and districts will need to provide the guidance and support schools need to develop their capacity to meet the needs of all students.

KERA, and the standards-based reform movement in general, was about changing educator practices and ultimately the underlying belief systems that drive those practices. The standards-based reform movement was based on the belief that *all* students can achieve to high levels. Successful implementation of the policies requires educators to believe all students can achieve to high levels and for educators to take responsibility for students' opportunities to learn. The success of KERA policies depends on their ability to drive changes in educator beliefs about students' capabilities and to drive the creation of local conditions supportive of practices consistent with achieving KERA goals.

Yet, as the case study of Central High School demonstrates, Kentucky's reform policies provided little in the way of incentive or guidance to change local school culture and conditions in ways that would support the adoption of curriculum and instructional practice focused on helping immigrant high school students achieve the academic standards laid out in the reform. Educators who worked with immigrant students were making great efforts to provide them with quality educational opportunities. Yet, their good intentions did not always translate into effective services as defined by KERA. The absence of English language learners in state policy and their low visibility at the district level relegates the responsibility for their education to the good intentions and coping strategies of schools and educators. The limited capacity of Darney County and Central High School administrators and teachers inhibited change.

Strategies for serving immigrant students continued, for the most part, to be viewed by the state and district as service delivery and were not framed as comprehensive or coherent policy, and they were not linked to the broader reform efforts of schools and districts. As Glenn (1997) has pointed out, "The existence of a unit concerned with a target population tends to function as a license for everyone else to ignore that population." This was the case in Darney County and Central High School. The district and school organization, leadership, and beliefs and attitudes about ESL students' capacity for achievement were obstacles to changing instructional practice aimed at ESL students and KERA policies had limited capacity to address these obstacles.

A basic assumption of systemic or standards-based reform proponents is that real change results from nurturing school improvement efforts in particular contexts – local autonomy with state guidance. Kentucky's state reform framework included rigorous goals and expectations that all Kentucky students were to achieve. Support systems were put in place to provide assistance to students to help them reach those goals. The testing and accountability system was to monitor whether students were reaching those goals. School councils were given the autonomy to decide how to ensure that the students in their school met state goals. Yet, this case study demonstrated the concerns of many researchers and advocates that rigorous content standards and assessments are not sufficient to improve teaching and learning for all students. The reforms of KERA had not yet fulfilled the promise of ensuring that all students, including English language learners, achieve high standards. LEP students at Central High School have

been excluded, for the most part, from the accountability system, denied access to a rigorous academic curriculum and adequate support services, and held to lower expectations than other students.

However, the solution to the problem of ensuring LEP high school students access to a rigorous academic curriculum does not lie solely in their inclusion in the state assessment and accountability system. Strengthening state policies to ensure the inclusion of LEP high school students in the reform efforts requires attention to two issues: the appropriateness of the assessment and accountability system for LEP high school students and the capacity of districts and schools to create the conditions conducive to high academic expectations for all students.

Assessment and Accountability

Recent research suggests that the performance of at-risk students can be substantially improved when educators are provided with appropriate incentives to focus on these students and are held accountable for student performance (Grissmer and Flanagan, 1998). Characteristics common to effective schools for all students and effective schools for English language learners include high expectations for all students and regular assessment of student progress toward high academic standards. Yet, requiring that LEP students be included in the state assessment and disaggregating the data by LEP status is not sufficient. However, an accountability and assessment system that takes into account the specific issues facing LEP students and the educators of LEP students would strengthen the authority of the system and improve the likelihood of influencing local change in the desired directions.

Developing alternative ways of assessing what LEP students know and know how to do such as portfolios, projects, and English proficiency tests would hold more authority with educators of LEP students. Moreover, holding districts and schools accountable for LEP student performance on alternative assessments would help to focus local attention and resources on those students. Schools such as Central Park East in Harlem have developed performance-based systems, or what Tony Wagner refers to as a 'merit badge approach' (Fliegel, 1994; Wagner, 2002). Students graduate only when they demonstrate mastery in different domains by documenting their work in portfolios. For example, at Central Park East, students must demonstrate mastery in fourteen categories including a postgraduate plan, autobiography,

school/community service, ethics and social issues, fine arts and aesthetics, mass media, practical skills, geography, second language and/or dual language, science and technology, mathematics, literature, history, and physical challenge (Wagner, 2002). This type of approach to accountability is both meaningful to students and accountable for results. While the program at Central Park East was not designed to specifically address only English language learners, it was designed to provide a meaningful educational experience to at-risk students, including English language learners and provides a model for developing an assessment and accountability program that is meaningful to educators and students.

As they are currently designed, KERA policies essentially exclude LEP high school students from the assessment and accountability systems. Without the pressure that an accountability system provides, we must rely on the good intentions of local education agencies and schools to include LEP high school students in their reform efforts. Yet, the current assessments were not designed to test the knowledge of students whose first language is not English and, therefore, cannot provide an adequate profile of their skills and knowledge. Administering a state assessment designed for students who have been in system throughout their education to LEP immigrant high school students will not ensure that they are provided an education that prepares them for post-secondary education or the workplace. On the other hand, if students are not included in the assessment, students may be denied equity of access to the full range of educational options provided by the schools. Alternative assessments that are more appropriate for assessing the knowledge and skill of LEP students will yield information more helpful in addressing the needs of LEP students and will be more likely to drive the creation of learning environments designed to address those needs.

Yet, the pressure from accountability will have limited success unless it is combined with support and guidance to develop local capacity to create conditions supportive of LEP students achieving high standards.

Local Capacity

Research has demonstrated that successful implementation of policy requires a combination of pressure and support (David & Shields, 2001; Elmore & McLaughlin, 1982; Fullan, 1986; Montjoy & O'Toole, 1979). Pressure is needed to focus attention on an objective;

support is needed to enable implementation (McLaughlin, 1987). Too often pressure is not followed by support. Implementation is often driven by strategies of compliance and control such as legislation, inspection, and linking funding to performance (Hargreaves, 2001). Yet, the sustainability of reform depends on the capacity of individuals and to schools to sustain reform efforts over time (O'Day, Goertz & Floden, 1995; Fullan, 2000; Stoll, 1999). As the case study of Central High School demonstrated, the limited capacity of the district, school, and educators inhibited the creation of a school culture and conditions necessary for translating high standards into effective instruction for LEP students and strong academic student performance.

Historically, because the costs and potential benefits from immigration have fallen predominantly on a few states and districts, the rest of the country has had little incentive to concern itself with the education of immigrants. This has been the case in Kentucky. The quality of schooling that immigrant students receive largely depends on the capacity of the local community (McDonnell and Hill, 1993). Most districts and schools lack the resources to provide a high quality education to students, whether immigrant or native born. And few schools and districts have access to the education, health, and social service supports needed by poor and/or LEP students. Kentucky's reforms included resources to address the obstacles posed by poverty, but not for those posed by language and culture.

Kentucky's reform program has now been in place for fourteen years. This ambitious and complex effort to change the state's system of public education has made progress, but still has far to go to ensure that all students achieve the KERA goals. The basic structures and processes already exist that could change teaching and learning for all children, including LEP students, but deliberate efforts need to be made to connect those policies and structures to classroom practice. School reform measures hold as much promise for English language learners as for others students – but not without continuous, explicit attention to how these students' language skills, cultural backgrounds, and experiences uniquely shape teaching and learning.

While many reform efforts have been criticized for their "one-size fits all" approach, the designers of KERA went to the other extreme and created an approach sufficiently vague to include a variety of approaches to suit a variety of contexts, yet failed to provide sufficient guidance and support to ensure local capacity to develop an adequate approach to meet the reform's goals. The previous chapters demonstrated that while state policies provided the

framework and minimal standards that schools and districts must meet, these policies were not sufficient to ensure that schools and teachers developed rigorous curricula for LEP students allowing them equal access to educational opportunities to achieve state standards. The broad and vague curriculum framework, combined with educator's lack of training and experience in developing curricula, created circumstances under which it was unlikely that schools and districts would develop curricula and instructional strategies to ensure that all students had access to the same challenging curriculum.

Yet, local control and flexibility are important elements in a system designed to meet the needs of diverse students. Districts and schools must adopt policies and programs that are best suited to the local conditions and diverse populations. State policies can provide the broad framework for these policies, but it falls to the district and schools to ensure that all of their students have access to a quality education. Without the appropriate resources and guidance focused on developing local capacity to implement reform, the development of effective comprehensive programs for LEP students is unlikely. The case of Central High School highlights the obstacles faced by states and school districts to providing high quality education to immigrant students. These obstacles include the diversity and complexity of student needs; lack of support services; shortage of trained teachers; inadequate assessment of students' native language and content area skills; lack of cohesive, comprehensive program planning; insufficient offerings of content courses; and a lack of instructional materials.

To improve the overall capacity of school systems to address the needs of immigrant students, there are needs that are beyond the capacity of local districts and schools such as recruitment and training of ESL and bilingual teachers, investment in instructional support – textbooks, curriculum frameworks, assessment – adult education programs, and coordinated delivery of health and social services.

Research on educational change has demonstrated that educators must have prolonged, sustained contact with the ideas, beliefs, values, and norms associated with the practices being promoted by the reform in order for reform policies to affect their practice (Cohen and Hill, 2001; David and Shields, 2001). In addition, researchers have stressed that, if educators are to change their practice to meet the goals of standards-based reform, the culture of schools must change to support the goals (Cohen and Hill, 2001; Fullan, 1991; Hargreaves et al, 2001;

Wagner, 2002). Reforms cannot succeed if they do not address the culture of the school in a way that creates an environment supportive of change.

Recent work in anthropological theory discusses culture as 'emergent' and 'derived' (Eisenhart, 1989; Moore, 1999). Culture emerges from previously existing meanings, but is negotiated anew among interacting groups. New cultures are created through the interactions and negotiations of the interacting groups. Much has been made about the persistence of beliefs, values, behaviors, and norms within schools. The isolation of teachers ensures that they maintain a degree of discretion to follow their own beliefs, values, and convictions within their classroom. They teach what they have taught before, what they feel is appropriate for their students, and what they are comfortable with. In the absence of exposure to new ideas and strategies that would cause them to question their practice, they continue along the same road. Policies can attempt to override teacher beliefs, but are likely to be unsuccessful in the long term.

Studies that have documented success in changing teacher practice emphasize the importance of extensive learning opportunities for educators (Cohen and Hill, 2001; David and Shields, 2001). Teachers who had opportunities to become immersed in new ways of teaching and in the ways students learn were more likely to change their practice to align with the reform policies. These learning opportunities included examples of good practice, help trying out new strategies, and time to talk about and reflect on practice with colleagues. In order for teachers to incorporate new beliefs and behaviors into their practice, they must have extensive contact with the new ideas to enable them to see the appropriateness of those ideas for their students.

These kinds of extensive learning opportunities are essential for teachers to learn about new ideas and ways to incorporate them into their practice, but it is equally important that school organization and culture support change (Hargreaves et al, 2001). Education leaders must create and maintain supportive conditions in which teachers can teach in the desired ways. Leaders and policymakers must ensure that teachers are supported, that the changes can be sustained over time, and that the changes can be generalized beyond a few teachers in a few schools (Hargreaves et al, 2001).

The following recommendations focus on ways to improve the pressure on schools to include LEP students in the reform efforts and ways to build the capacity of teachers and schools to sustain those efforts over time.

Recommendations

Recommendation 1: Explore ways to incorporate LEP students more fully into the state accountability system.

The state has taken steps toward inclusion by disaggregating test scores by LEP status as was required under the 1994 reauthorization of Title I. Kentucky began disaggregating state test scores by LEP status beginning with the 2000 test score data. However, Kentucky's practice of excluding LEP students from the statewide assessment for two years means that those students are excluded from the accountability system as well for two years. For high school students, this means they may never participate in the state assessment system. If students are excluded from the state accountability system, it raises issues of civil rights. To the extent that large-scale assessments may result in educational benefit – quality instruction and other resources to meet challenging standards – the exclusion of LEP students may qualify as discrimination on the basis of race, color, or national origin under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

The 1994 reauthorization of Title I specified that LEP students were to be included and assessed "to the extent practicable in the language and form most likely to yield accurate and reliable information on what such students know and can do, to determine such students' mastery of skills in subjects other than English" (1111(b)(3); 34 C.F.R. 200.4(b)(7)). Under Title VI, if LEP students are excluded from assessments or accommodations are not provided, districts are obliged to collect comparable information about LEP students' progress.

Yet, the technical problems of including LEP students in statewide assessments are great, particularly for a state like KY that has a small, very diverse LEP student population. The problems with including LEP students in the statewide assessment are that the test was not constructed to assess LEP students' knowledge and, therefore, cannot provide an adequate profile of their skills and knowledge. On the other hand, if students are not included in the assessment, students may be denied equity of access to the full range of educational options provided by the schools. If these issues are not carefully addressed, assessments will not likely yield information that would be helpful in addressing the needs of LEP students.

The state, district, and school should explore alternative ways of assessing what LEP students know and know how to do. Possibilities include such things as portfolios, projects, and

English proficiency tests. The state should minimally administer an English proficiency test annually to those students not yet eligible for inclusion in the state test and publicly report those scores. This would, at least, provide teachers, administrators and the public with knowledge about students' progress toward English proficiency.

Moreover, some form of assessment is needed to evaluate whether ESL programs are delivering services effectively and whether students enrolled in those programs are learning the content specified in the state's content standards. The results must be reliable over time and for all students and they must be valid, accurately measuring what they say they will measure for each student.

Researchers agree that exclusion of LEP students from regular testing oftentimes results in these students being excluded from the benefits of the standards movement (August and Hakuta, 1997). To benefit from standards-based reforms, LEP students must be included in a state's regular testing and be provided with the quality teaching and other educational resources they need to meet challenging standards. The issues are complex and challenging.

Including LEP students in state assessments does not necessarily mean testing in the student's home language. Many experts agree that it is advisable to test in the language of instruction (August and Hakuta, 1997). Translations from English to a student's dominant language assume a certain degree of literacy in the home language that may not exist. At the same time, other students who are literate in their home language may better be served by being tested in that language. Until validity data are available which specify what the tests are measuring for LEP students, the results should be used tentatively and triangulated with other data whenever possible. Until the state and/or district has the capability to assess language ability as well as content knowledge, multiple measures should be used to evaluate the adequacy of services provided to English language learners.

Recommendation 2: Develop/adapt/adopt a curriculum that gives LEP students access to rigorous coursework.

Standards and assessments alone do little or nothing about issues associated with equalizing educational opportunities, such as improving curricula to ensure that poor, minority and LEP students can meet the standards. KERA did not address how students who do not speak

English are to access the curriculum that would allow them to reach the standards set by the state. Nor was there any mechanism to prepare teachers to adapt their curricula to the needs of a diverse student body. Research points to the importance of curricular access and academic content in shaping student achievement (Smith and O'Day, 1991). Limited curricular access is most detrimental to older immigrant students who often have the ability and preparation to take college preparatory courses, but lack English proficiency. Providing "basic" or "fundamental" variations of the academic curriculum does not benefit these students. ESL programs need to develop curriculum and adopt instructional strategies that allow LEP students to keep pace with mainstream students while developing proficiency in English. Oftentimes, students who lack proficiency in English are placed in remedial classes, thereby effectively denying students from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds the opportunity to work toward the same high standards as other students.

Minicucci and Olsen (1992) found that students who entered secondary schools without sufficient English to be mainstreamed were at great risk of being tracked into courses that often did not yield credit for university admittance, and would not even count toward high school graduation. Remediation only increases performance gaps by watering down the curriculum and slowing the pace of instruction. At the secondary level, students do not have the time to delay studying content while concentrating on learning English. The scheduling practices described in Chapter 4 demonstrate how this happens at Central.

Kentucky educators need to develop or adapt/adopt a curriculum or curriculum replacement units that give all students access to rigorous coursework and an educational experience that is integrated across subject areas and balanced between the academic and practical. For example, California has recently developed a reading and language arts curriculum. The curriculum and accompanying instructional materials are aligned to state standards to allow students to work simultaneously toward English proficiency and mastery of state standards (Chavez, 2002).

Given the emphasis KERA placed on development of local curricula, ESL teachers in Kentucky require a systemic, monitored approach to curriculum planning that includes direct guidelines for program development across grade levels. Currently, no organizational and program guidelines exist for Kentucky teachers for developing curricula aligned with standards

for ESL students.

Brisk (1998) argued that schools should consider the following policies when planning and implementing curricula appropriate to language minority students:

- The curriculum should be cross-cultural. This means that students' native cultures are included, personal experiences are tapped, and American culture is explicitly taught, not assumed. Teachers can use literature to reflect the culture of their students, their beliefs and concerns. Language arts, history, geography, political science, and social studies abound with possibilities.
- All LEP students should participate in a comprehensive and quality curriculum. This means that all content areas are covered; content, language and culture are integrated, thinking and study skills are explicitly taught, and ESL students are given equal access to high quality resources. Content classes taught through modified instructional approaches by trained teachers can offer some access to the curriculum for LEP students with some proficiency in English.

To ensure that ESL students have access to the same rigorous academic content as other students, comprehensive curricula with a clear plan are needed. There is a strong need for a meaningful curriculum that makes connections across disciplines, builds in real-life applications, is related to student experiences, and emphasizes depth of understanding rather than breadth of knowledge. The ESL program needs to be part of the whole school agenda and all personnel must expect ESL students to reach the desired outcomes. In addition, educators should make cultural assumptions clear to students, so that all students are aware of the expectations and rules for behavior in the school and classroom. Once cultural assumptions are made clear, students and teachers then have a better opportunity to openly discuss and negotiate the rules.

Recommendation 3: The state should develop standards for effective ESL programs and establish a program quality review process to determine whether or not they meet the standards for an effective program.

Standards for effective ESL programs should be collaboratively developed with the state Department of Education, teachers, institutions of higher education, and professional

associations. The process should include the collection, analysis and reporting of data on all students, by subgroup. Periodic examination of data on student achievement, courses taken, graduation rates, etc. will help the school and district monitor the progress of all students and programs.

To ensure schools and districts are meeting program standards, a system of monitoring and evaluation needs to be established. Teams of educators could be formed from around the state to visit schools with ESL programs. The review process should be part of maintaining accreditation. ESL programs would be rated and ratings would be publicly reported along with other school accountability information. A number of models exist such as the School Quality Review Program developed by New York state based on the British system (Ruff, Smith & Miller, 2000; Wagner, 2002).

The School Quality Review Process (SQR) involves three key elements: a set of common principles; process and inquiry tools adaptable to each school's unique context; and a network of critical friends. SQR emphasizes the development of local assessment systems, organizational capacity to support and sustain change, and an expanded teacher repertoire in instruction and assessment (Ruff, Smith & Miller, 2000). By examining both student achievement and teacher practice, schools are able to make informed decisions about curriculum and instruction. The process provides for demonstrating improvement in student learning, change in teacher assessment practices, and evaluation through peer review and feedback.

The state should examine ways to include such a review process into the accountability process and to provide assistance to schools who are experiencing difficulties in developing adequate assessment practices for LEP students

Recommendation 4: The state should implement plans for recruiting and training ESL teachers and other school personnel with the knowledge and skills necessary to ensure that immigrant students receive the support they need to succeed.

The Kentucky State Department of Education should implement plans for recruiting and training of qualified school personnel. Schools not only need ESL teachers, but content area teachers trained in ESL strategies, aides, administrators and counselors trained to work with LEP students. Through financial incentives such as tuition reimbursements, signing bonuses, etc., the

state could provide training opportunities for district and school staff working in districts with LEP students.

Recommendation 5: Develop professional development opportunities focused on assisting *all* educators in developing strategies for helping diverse learners achieve high standards.

High standards and regular assessment do not necessarily translate into appropriate or adequate services. Clear goals, incentives, and training are necessary to motivate teachers to focus their instruction on helping students meet achievement goals. A clear vision and goals is critical, but not sufficient. Teacher motivation is also influenced by district and school level conditions such as professional development and structured teacher collaboration (Kelley et al, 2000). Educators need on-going professional development for all teachers that focuses on strategies for dealing with diverse populations, including English language learners. Educators need training, resources and materials to develop appropriated curricula and deliver a high quality education to immigrant students.

The problem faced by states is how to ensure that these conditions exist. The Consortium for Policy Research in Education's research on capacity-building activities has identified some promising strategies (Goertz, 2001). At the state level, these include creating decentralized support systems involving individuals and organizations that work directly with schools, nurturing professional networks of teachers and other educational experts, and developing professional development and training standards. District level strategies include enhancing teacher professionalism and data-driven decision making.

Staff development should be provided learning opportunities that are explicitly designed to help teachers and other staff serve LEP students more effectively. All staff, not just ESL teachers, should be encouraged to become knowledgeable and skillful in working with English language learners. Professional development needs to be on-going, comprehensive and include methodology in sheltered content teaching and instructional practices that actively involve students. Teachers, ESL and mainstream, as well as administrators need training in creating a supportive social environment in schools.

Staff in effective schools convey the message that students' languages and cultures are valued and respected (Lucas, Henze, and Donato, 1990). The value and respect goes deeper than

the holiday and food celebrations and displays of student art work that function as the only recognition of non-European cultures at Central. Teachers need training that would allow them to construct lessons in ways that value students' home-community cultures and language, take advantage of students' cognitive experiences, and allow students opportunities to engage in behaviors conducive to achievement.

Teachers should explicitly communicate high expectations to students and constantly re-evaluate their instructional practice to ensure that they are doing their best to help students meet those expectations. Teachers of immigrant students require experiences that help them believe that all students can achieve at high levels. Using a variety of instructional strategies is likely to reach more students and students of diverse backgrounds. In addition, teachers need opportunities to learn how and when to adapt these strategies to address the needs of the students. Adequate staff development, modeling, and coaching are important for helping teachers develop confidence in using the new strategies.

Numerous studies have documented the persistence of teacher-centered classrooms (Chaudron 1988; Long and Porter 1985; Mehan 1979; Nunan 1989) and the recurring implementation of a transmission model (Barnes 1976; Cummins 1986; Freire 1970). To successfully implement standards-based reform practices to address the needs of diverse students, teachers also need to learn about ways to organize their classrooms in ways that improve student learning opportunities. Research indicates that the use of individualized instruction and small-group cooperative settings stimulate more active engagement and create an environment for English language and academic development. Cooperative learning strategies are particularly effective with LEP students because they provide opportunities for students to produce language in a setting that is less threatening than speaking before the entire class (National Center for Research on Cultural Diversity and Second Language Learning, 1995). A cooperative learning situation requires students to engage in meaningful communication, the optimal context for learning a language. Cooperative learning also has benefits for a wide range of students. Students can learn from a peer who has already mastered the knowledge and skills and the "master" benefits from organizing and explaining what they know. Through discussion of their ideas, students can come to a more complex understanding than if they had worked on a problem alone.

A teacher's familiarity with effective strategies for LEP students benefits other students as well. The differences in language and cultural backgrounds force educators to look at students as individuals and to find creative and diverse ways to convey knowledge. Native English speaking students benefit as well from educators abilities to find diverse ways to convey knowledge and from learning to collaborate with individuals of different language and cultural groups. This helps to prepare them for a society characterized by diversity.

Recommendation 6: The state should organize a statewide network of educators who work with immigrant students.

Bill Honig described networking as:

> A large-scale attempt to link significant numbers of schools through support networks organized around powerful visions or themes for improvement. This approach was designed to extend reform to those schools that were willing to change but were stymied without some organized assistance (cited in Fullan, 1996).

This approach would seem a logical choice for the Kentucky school districts facing increasing diversity in their student populations. Small pockets of LEP students are found all around Kentucky. Individually, the school districts in which these students are found do not have the resources to provide adequate support to teachers around LEP issues. Connecting teachers across districts through networks would provide opportunities for on-going support for teachers who would otherwise be isolated from other teachers of LEP students. These networks should include:

- Ongoing, systematic, multilevel staff development (usually involving identified teacher leaders within each school and external staff developers).
- Multiple ways to share ideas, including telecommunications, cross-visitation, and workshops.
- Integration with school-wide and district-wide priorities and mechanisms, including leadership of school principals, collective actions by the majority of teachers, community development, and school improvement plans.

- A commitment to and a preoccupation with inquiry, assessment of progress, and continuous improvement (Fullan, 1996).

Networks could provide opportunities for teacher training, development of instructional materials and classroom assessment tools as well as information sharing and moral support. In addition, the network could provide a cadre of educators for the program review process.

Recommendation 7: Districts and schools should explore new decision making structures that involve the entire school community.

In recent years, the African American community of Darney County has publicly expressed concern over the low academic performance of African American students, the overrepresentation of African American students in special education, minority representation at the district level, and other equity issues. Recently, the local African American community has made attempts to work with the Hispanic community and parents of students with disabilities to put pressure on the school system to address issues of equity. The district has responded by establishing a diversity committee and holding public meetings, but did not open the decision-making process to include wide representation from the community. The discussions have been antagonistic and confrontational. It is clear from this situation that community members have a desire to be more involved in decision making about educational issues in the district. The district and schools should explore ways to create a more open environment and actively include community members in the schools.

Research indicates that parent involvement in education is directly related to significant increased in student achievement (Bloom, 1985; Clark, 1983; Dornbush & Ritter, 1988; Kagan 1985). Effective schools are "parent friendly" and welcome parents in innovative ways (NCCDSLL, 1995). Site-based decision making councils were meant to provide parents an opportunity to become involved in the decision making process. However, at Central, the needs of LEP students are seen as add-ons and peripheral to the functioning of the school and are not addressed by the decision-making council. Central should explore other avenues for actively including parents of all students and community members in the work of the school. However, this is more difficult for the parents of ESL students due to language and cultural differences.

Possibilities for bringing in parents of ESL students include bringing health care, dental care, counseling, language classes, and social services onto the campus to serve families of the students. Expanded educational opportunities for adult immigrants are also a way to assist immigrant children by improving the economic status of their families and giving parents skills that will enable them to help their children do well in school. Parents and community members could be involved in the classroom through sharing cultural and career experiences in classroom presentations and volunteering as aides or as interpreters. Other community members can be involved through collaborations with charitable organizations, churches, neighborhood centers, and business and industry. Classroom learning may also be enriched by field trips and the use of community resources such as museums, businesses and community centers.

Service learning projects could provide ESL students an opportunity to learn work related skills, become more involved in the community, and apply skills and knowledge they are learning in school. These projects could form the basis of performance-based assessments where students to demonstrate what they learned through their experience.

These recommendations are consistent with approaches to culturally relevant pedagogy advocated by others and can be applied to cross-cultural and multi-ethnic settings (Henze and Lucas 1993; Ladson-Billings 1990; Peronne 1991). However, they are not meant to be limited solely to ESL classrooms. Increasing services to all students will create environments where students and teachers can devote their time and energy to learning.

Recommendation 8: Districts and schools should explore organizational mechanisms that are best suited for addressing increasing diversity.

Reform policies have given little attention to organizational mechanisms that might respond equitably to increasing diversity, instead, aspects of the restructuring movement (site-based management, teacher empowerment, etc) can exacerbate inequities by neglecting to address the issue directly (Newmann, 1992). Schools that have been successful with English language learners allow for flexibility in scheduling, support and encourage collaboration among educators, and provide support services to students (McLeod, 1996). Also, total school

involvement increases the chances that the needs of these students will be met, and that resources will be utilized effectively to support their academic achievement.

The structure and culture of the school needs to change to favor collaboration, new uses of time, continuous teacher development, and stronger links with health and social services. Researchers argue that collegiality and collaboration are too important to be left to chance and should be treated as imperatives through scheduling, a reward system, and professional development (Brooks, 2000). In order for collaborative networking to be effective, there must be changes in the roles, structures, and other mechanisms that will enable the development of values, norms, and beliefs conducive to change. Central's failure to coordinate services for LEP students resulted in an organizational structure and culture where the ESL teachers were the only people available to help struggling LEP students, even though these teachers may have no specific training in working with students with learning, emotional, or other problems.

Schools also should provide opportunities for teacher reflection. It is important for all educators to examine their actions, evaluate the results, devise new strategies, and try them out, setting in motion another round of reflection (Whitford and Jones, 2000). This cyclical pattern is at the heart of an effectively evolving organization (Senge, 2000; Wheelock; 2000; Shelor, 2000; Ruff et al, 2000). System or rewards should support this reflection (Corbett, 2000).

Teachers should be encouraged to learn from one another and be given time to develop programs. They should be encouraged and supported in efforts to seek assistance from external partners in curriculum development and professional development. Also, teachers should be encouraged to develop relationships with resource people in state and central offices and to work closely with family resource and youth services centers. The state should examine the possibility of expanding the criteria for eligibility for family resource and youth services centers to include the existence of a significant LEP student population. Immigrant students experience multiple stresses including cultural and language differences, discrimination, and separation from family members. Family Resource and Youth Services Centers are a logical mechanism for organizing support services for immigrant students and their families.

The increased level of immigration to the United States over the past 20 years has resulted in historic levels of enrollment of immigrant students in public schools. These students are a vital resource for this country's future. Yet, their diverse cultural and linguistic

backgrounds present difficult challenges to our school system. As our schools continue to diversify, we can no longer ignore the unmet needs of LEP students. The challenges of educating limited English proficient students are no longer just the problem of states such as California, Texas, and New York. Smaller cities and rural areas are increasingly affected by the latest wave of immigration. While Kentucky does not have the large LEP population of those states, the numbers are growing.

In the current service economy, schools are being called on to prepare a much higher proportion of students for jobs that require higher levels of literacy and critical thinking. Schools are making changes in their approaches to curriculum and instruction in an attempt to hold all students to high standards. Yet, accommodating diversity in a manner that can benefit all students is a challenge. The issues are complex and solutions are not easy. However, across the nation, innovative responses to the growing LEP student population as well as at-risk students in general are being developed. There is much to be learned from those successes that can be adapted to meet the needs of Kentucky schools and students. Research points to the importance of focusing on enhancing the overall capacity of school systems as the most effective ways to improve schooling for disadvantaged students, including LEP students. Only when these students are viewed as the responsibility of all members of the school community will schools be able to institutionalize the kinds of changes necessary to ensure that all students achieve to high standards.

Epilogue

During the 1990s, standards-based reform emerged as the predominant education policy approach of states and districts across the country. Kentucky was the first state to implement a statewide standards-based reform effort. And, with the 1994 reauthorization of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA), the standards-based framework became the cornerstone of federal education policy. In 1994, the reauthorization of the ESEA required all states to develop content and performance standards; assessments aligned with those standards; and an accountability system for rewarding successful schools and identifying and assisting schools failing to make progress. The 1994 reauthorization also required states to disaggregate assessment data by students groups, including LEP students. The law required that states include students with disabilities and LEP students in state assessment programs. However, there were no specific guidelines in terms of how many years LEP could be excluded before gaining sufficient English language proficiency to participate in the assessments. This was left to the states. Kentucky required LEP students who had been in the United States for two or more years to participate in the state's testing system and accommodations were allowed.

At the time of the 1994 reauthorization, the Kentucky Education Reform Act had been in place for four years. KERA was a massive reform package consistent with the standards-based reform movement and included almost all of the requirements of the 1994 reauthorization of ESEA -- a set of standards that *all* students must attain; assessment and accountability systems; and assistance for low performing schools. The 1994 reauthorization also required states to disaggregate assessment data by student groups, including LEP students. In 1994, Kentucky did not disaggregate student data by LEP status. While students who had been in the United States for two years were included in the assessment, there was no data on their performance because the data was not disaggregated by LEP status.

States were to have implemented the requirements of the 1994 federal legislation by the 2001-2002 academic year. By 2001, only sixteen states had fully approved standards and assessment systems. Thirty had been granted waivers allowing them one to three additional years to comply fully with the law (Robelen, 2001).

A criticism of the 1994 reauthorization was that billions of dollars in federal aid was distributed to states whether or not they implemented the requirements of the law (Robelen, 2001). Jim Kohlmoos, deputy assistant secretary for elementary and secondary education in the late 1990s explained that the emphasis was not on compliance, but on support and technical assistance (Robelen, 2001). Others have argued that standards, assigned assessments, and accountability systems were new concepts and would take time to develop and implement. At the time the 1994 law was passed, many states did not have academic standards, much less assessments aligned with those standards. The law also required state testing programs to include students with disabilities and LEP students. These were immense changes and would take time to develop and implement (Robelen, 2001).

A 1999 report by the Citizens' Commission on Civil Rights described the Clinton administration as suffering a "massive failure of will and nerve" on standards-based reform. By 2001, three years past the deadline, only 28 states had performance standards that had received federal approval. By January 2001, the Education Department had not reviewed states' final accountability systems. With the change of political leadership in January 2001, the new administration focused on reauthorizing the legislation with more "teeth" to hold states accountable for implementing standards, assessment, and accountability systems.

The 2002 reauthorization of ESEA, the No Child Left Behind Act continued the emphasis on assessments and accountability systems, but was much more specific in terms of the inclusion of LEP students in state assessment and accountability systems. However, the federal legislation continued to ignore issues of the capacity of schools and district to implement reforms.

Under NCLB, English-language learners must participate in the reading and math components of the state assessment as soon as they enroll in U.S. schools. For states that provide tests in languages other than English, students are not required to be tested in English until they have been in the country for three years. The majority of states provide assessments only in English. Therefore, most LEP students are tested in English in reading and math in their first year in American schools. The United State Department of Education explained that many states had neglected to teach immigrant children academic English, and the hope is that the new accountability for such children under the No Child Left Behind Act will eventually change that (Zehr, 2003). Under NCLB, all students, including LEP students must make adequate yearly

progress (AYP). The goal for AYP is that all students achieve the "proficient" rating on state assessments by the end of the 2013-2014 academic year. Now, states can lose part of their Title I funding, which supports programs for disadvantaged students, if they don't show that English-language learners are making AYP, or if they fail to test at least 95 percent of LEP students. States must also annually assess the English proficiency of all LEP students beginning in 2002-2003 academic year and LEP students must also reach AYP goals. States that fail to meet the new goals for English proficiency could eventually lose some of their Title III funds.

By early 2004, the outcry against NCLB was widespread. As of February 2004, fifteen state legislatures had introduced bills that would allow the states to reject parts of No Child Left Behind, opt out of its provisions, have or requested waivers from the Education Department (Dobbs, 2004). Of major concern to states are the lack of funding to implement the requirements, and the inclusion of LEP students and students with disabilities in state testing programs.

Advocacy groups have also been critical of NCLB. A recent report by the Civil Rights Project at Harvard University claimed that the federal accountability requirements have derailed state education reforms and assessment strategies. The report contends that the law's sanctions fall especially hard on minority and integrated schools. The authors concluded that the federal requirements have complicated state efforts to build their own coherent accountability systems (Sunderland & Kim, 2004).

In response to growing criticism, the state department agreed to changes in the way students with disabilities and LEP students are to be tested. Under the new requirements, states will be permitted to grant a one-year transition period for LEP students in their first year in US public schools. These students will be excluded from the school's tests during that year. Also, after LEP students reach "proficiency" on the state's language proficiency assessment, they will continue to be counted as members of the LEP subgroup for two years (Dobbs, 2004).

State Policy

Under NCLB, States were required to annually assess English proficiency for all LEP students by 2002-2003. By January 2004, Kentucky had not formally adopted English proficiency performance standards or implemented a state wide testing program for English

proficiency. According to the Kentucky Department of Education, Kentucky was part of a state consortium organized through the Council of Chief State School Officers that was designing a new English language development assessment. They planned to have the assessment operational by the 2004-2005 academic year. Standards setting would occur after the test is finalized, and state standards were meant to be finalized after that. The state was also in the process of designing instructional companions for the standards for each of the domains for each of four grade clusters (k-2, 3-5, 6-8, 9-12). In addition, proposed changes to the state's assessment regulations were being developed by the State Board of Education to be sent to legislative committee. The regulations included guidance on identification, English language proficiency assessment, and instructional assessment accommodations and modifications. It appears that the requirements of NCLB pushed the Kentucky Department of Education to focus greater attention on the assessment of LEP students and to work toward including them in the accountability system. Yet, at time this report was completed, the standards and assessment were still being developed and had little affect on district and school level policies and practices in regard to LEP students.

In addition to developing standards and assessments for LEP students, the state was offering training opportunities focused on LEP students that included mainstream teachers and administrators as well as ESL teachers. Three LEP Academies were included in the 2004 Kentucky Teaching and Learning Conference. Academy participants included teams of three: mainstream teacher, ESL teacher, and school or district administrator. Areas of study included basics of second language acquisition and English language learners, research-based instructional strategies, and developing school plans. Kentucky also designed and implemented an online course on the basics of limited English proficiency offered through ECollege and the Kentucky Virtual High School professional development academy. This course was designed for administrators and teachers and includes basics of federal and state legislation and regulations, designing individual student Program Services Plans, designing a district program and plan, instructional strategies, parental notification, standards, etc. These opportunities provide much needed training to administrators and mainstream teachers on issues and strategies related to LEP students. However, they are too new to make any determinations as to their effectiveness.

To help schools communicate more effectively with LEP students and parents, the state contracted with a communications firm for the MyNCLB.org product that included online password-protected access to a translation library of over 100 school documents translated into 23 languages. This service was offered free to all Kentucky school districts to use in communicating with parents and students.

District Policy

In early 2004, Darney school district reported that they had no state assessment data for LEP students. The data on student demographics was also minimal. The district reported that the LEP population, as of January 2004, was 1,380.

In Darney County, as of 2004, there were still no requirements pertaining to ESL curriculum. However, the district reported that they would begin working during the 2004-2005 school year, with the ESL teachers, to develop an ESL curriculum. In terms of testing language proficiency, the state gave districts the option of two tests from which to choose. Darney school district chose the Language Assessment Scales (LAS) to assess each student annually to measure yearly progress. The district provided high school ESL teachers substitutes for a three day period to allow them to assess students and complete the required paperwork.

No systematic, coordinated, district-wide training was currently available in 2004 for non-ESL teachers. The ESL teachers, however, were invited to participate in monthly workshops conducted by the ESL department of the district central office. The district also employed three ESL resource personnel who support schools through in-class observations of students and teachers, instructional materials, and technical support. The ESL teachers reported that the resources persons have been helpful, but did not have experience with high schools and therefore their expertise was limited.

The district developed a Newcomer program at one of the district elementary schools. The district plans to extend the program to four other elementary schools and one middle school, but had no plans to expand the program to include the district's high schools. To date, the schools' Youth Services Centers, serving the districts high schools, have not been assigned a specific role in the provision of ESL services. However, the district was working with the

Family Resource Centers, serving elementary schools, to provide ESL services to parents of ESL students at the elementary schools.

District policy in Darney County continues to ignore LEP students, particularly high school LEP students. The county has implemented annual testing of the LEP students language proficiency, at the direction of the state Department of Education. They have not developed policies to ensure that ESL programs have curricula aligned with the state or district goals, or that they have a curriculum at all. In addition, the programs that have been developed focus solely on elementary schools with ESL programs.

Current problems/obstacles surrounding ESL education in Darney County that were identified by the district ESL coordinator include developing an ESL curriculum, funding for ESL staffing, and a negative backlash toward ESL students because of testing. The district hoped to complete an ESL curriculum by 2005 that will standardize instruction across the district and will help align the ESL curriculum with the curriculum of other teachers.

The LEP student population of Darney County continues to grow, and funding has not kept pace with the growth. With limited funding it is difficult to individualize instruction or to provide intensive services to newly arrived non-English speaking students. Limited funding also has resulted in the limited availability of community-wide services to ESL families, such as adult literacy classes and health and social services.

Central High School

The LEP student population at Central High has changed over the past eight years. The school enrolls fewer Asian students and more from Eastern European and Spanish-speaking countries. By 2004, the ESL student population was approximately 25 percent Latino, 25 percent Eastern European (Bosnian/Croatian/Ukranian), and fifty percent a mix of 15 other language/nationality groups.

Since 1996, Darney County has created ESL programs at two other high schools, resulting in fewer ESL students at Central High School. The Central High School ESL population went from 100 students in 1996 to 45 students in 2004. In 2004, the ESL program had three teachers, the same as in 1996. While class size decreased in the ESL program, teachers

at Central reported an increase in record-keeping and testing for the ESL program as a result of NCLB. The district was responsible for testing each new LEP student. However, the ESL teachers were responsible for all other testing and paper work. ESL teachers must file, copy, maintain and update the Home Language Survey. They were responsible for scheduling, parental notification , exit, release, database input, as well as testing all ESL students each spring in English language proficiency. Teachers reported being "constantly behind" on paperwork, and therefore out of compliance with the federal regulations.

Teachers reported that the state policy change of most impact on the ESL program was the decrease in the exemption-from-testing-period-of-attendance from two years to one year implemented in 1998. This change took place in 2002 and required that all LEP students participate in the state assessment, in English, after one year of attendance in a Kentucky school. Teachers had previously expressed that two years was not sufficient for LEP students to achieve at, or near, grade-level proficiency. As one teacher put it, "One year is totally inadequate." However, the changes brought Kentucky policy in line with the NCLB requirements.

In 2003, the district hired a new ESL coordinator as well as three ESL resource teachers. All of these individuals came from an elementary school background. The ESL teachers at Central expressed that while the resource teachers were well-meaning, they lacked experience in the classroom or at the high school level. One teacher described the suggestions of the resource teachers this way, "the suggestions are useful, but have not, as a rule, been anything I have not heard of before." The ESL teachers explained that they were not in need of ideas about how to teacher, but in need of more time. The teachers identified the greatest obstacle facing them as a lack of time to prepare and implement new things, not a lack of ideas. Central High School ESL teachers continued to express their belief that they know what is best for their students. They saw little value in what the district resource personnel were offering and they continued to insist that KERA was not relevant to their students. Mr. Warner's comment made that clear, "I, as a teacher, am more concerned about seeing the students in my classes be successful on a variety of personal and education goals which I have set for them."

School leadership changed again in 2000-2001 school year. The new principal, Dr. Smith, appeared to be well-liked by the teachers. The ESL teachers reported that he did much to create a "very accepting, supportive atmosphere" at Central. He emphasized "ownership" of the

school by the school staff. By this he meant that teachers should identify first as Central High teachers, and second as a specific subject area teacher. Teachers were to take responsibility for students' overall learning and not just for their specific subject area. The ESL reported that they were beginning to see more teachers take some responsibility for the ESL students. However, Dr. Smith announced his retirement in June 2004. There was a great deal of apprehension and uncertainty among the school staff about another change in leadership. Central High School had three principals in the ten year period between 1994 and 2004.

Conclusion

While the No Child Left Behind Act of 2002 pushed states to include LEP students in their assessment and accountability systems, important questions about the appropriateness of the assessments remain unanswered. More importantly, federal legislation continues to ignore the role of local capacity for effective reform.

As was explained in Chapter One, research has demonstrated that higher standards and stronger data collection systems do not, alone, ensure change. Where NCLB required states to include all students in their testing and accountability systems and holds them accountable for student performance, the law did not address the issue of developing local capacity to enable that performance. Under NCLB, low performing schools are punished instead of being provided assistance aimed at building their capacity to ensure that all students are provided access to a rigorous curriculum.

As a result of NCLB, Kentucky is developing English language proficiency standards and assessments, instruments aimed at helping schools and teachers develop curriculum, and training opportunities for ESL and non-ESL educators. However, it is unclear at this time how these instruments will be used, how effective the training will be, and how many educators will be able to take advantage of that training. The LEP Academies are a step in the right direction, but their impact on teacher practice is not yet known.

If policies are to be effective drivers of change in classrooms, those policies must be clearly linked to teacher practice. Teachers must have extended learning opportunities focused on the state and district developed policy instruments to explore new ideas and to develop the

confidence and competence to put those ideas into practice. It is unclear whether Kentucky will provide those opportunities with the instruments currently being developed. Therefore, the recommendations outlined in the previous chapter are still relevant. The promise of standards-based reform will not be fulfilled until federal, state, and local policies focus as much attention on local capacity building as they currently do on testing and accountability.

Appendix A
Characteristics of Students Interviewed

Student	Gender		Language Group	Socio-economic status*	
	Male	Female		Low	High
Arjun	X		Hindi		X
Takagi	X		Japanese		X
Trong	X		Vietnamese	X	
Boris	X		Russian		X
Maria		X	Spanish	X	
Antoine	X		Creole	X	
Hadiya		X	Persian		X
Roberto	X		Spanish	X	
Anna		X	Bosnian		X
An-Mei		X	Chinese	X	

*Students who qualify for free/reduced lunch were categorized as Low SES. All other students were classified as High SES

Appendix B
Interview Questions

Interview Questions/Topics for Students

1. Why did you/your family come to the U.S.? Why did you come to Kentucky?

2. How long have you been in the U.S.? in Kentucky?

3. How is life different in the U.S.? Any problems adjusting?

4. How many family members are living in Kentucky? in the U.S.?
How many work? What do they do?

5. What do you do when you are not in school?

6. Who are you closest friends? American students, other ESL students?

7. Describe schools and education in your home country. How is school different in the U.S.?

8. Describe your general impressions and feelings about this school.
What do you like about school? What do you not like about school?

9. What classes are you taking? Are they easy or hard? What is easy? What is hard? How did you decide which classes to take?

10. What do you hope to gain from school?

11. Describe your relationships with ESL teachers, other teachers, other ESL students, American students.

12. What is the extent of your parents involvement in your education? do they help you with your homework? Do they ever come to school? talk with your teachers? participate in school activities?

13. What are your plans for the future?

Interview Questions\Topics for Teachers and Administrators

27. General description of the structure of the ESL program.
    How are decisions made concerning the program?
    How is the program funded?

28. How long has the program existed?
    How has it changed during that time?

29. What is your background?
    How long have you been involved in ESL?

30. Characterize the relationship between the ESL program and the administration? with other teachers?

31. How is teaching ESL different than other courses? What are the specific issues you face as an ESL teacher?

32. What are the problems currently facing ESL education in Kentucky? in this school?

33. Describe the procedures used to evaluate ESL students.

34. What sort of discipline problems arise with ESL students?

35. How are student's schedules determined?

Appendix C
Data Collection

Number of Interviews

Central Office	3
Principal	2 (2 principals, 1 interview each)
Assistant Principals	2
Counselors	1
ESL teachers	3
Other teachers	3
Students	10
Community	5
Total	**27**

Appendix D
Coding Categories

1. Demographics
   - 1.1 position
     - 1.1.1 student
     - 1.1.2 ESL teacher
     - 1.1.3 mainstream teacher
     - 1.1.4 principal
     - 1.1.5 associate principal
     - 1.1.6 district administrator
     - 1.1.7 state administrator
     - 1.1.8 staff
     - 1.1.9 other
   - 1.2 context
     - 1.2.1 ESL classroom one
     - 1.2.2 ESL classroom two
     - 1.2.3 ESL classroom three
     - 1.2.4 mainstream classroom
     - 1.2.5 other school areas
     - 1.2.6 district/state offices
     - 1.2.7 other
   - 1.3 Gender
     - 1.3.1 male
     - 1.3.2 female
   - 1.4 Country of origin
     - 1.4.1 Asian
       - 1.4.1.1 Japanese
       - 1.4.1.2 Chinese
       - 1.4.1.3 Vietnamese
       - 1.4.1.4 Korean
       - 1.4.1.5 Indonesia
       - 1.4.1.6 Indian
       - 1.4.1.7 Philippines

- 1.4.2 Former USSR
- 1.4.3 Middle East
  - 1.4.3.1 Iran
  - 1.4.3.2 Kuwait
  - 1.4.3.4 Egypt
  - 1.4.3.5 Libya
- 1.4.4 Europe
  - 1.4.4.1 Bosnia
  - 1.4.4.2 Poland
- 1.4.5 Central/South America/Caribbean
  - 1.4.5.1 Mexico
  - 1.4.5.2 Venezuela
  - 1.4.5.3 Puerto Rico
  - 1.4.5.4 Haiti

2. Data type
   - 2.1 Interview
     - 2.1.1 student
     - 2.1.2 parent/guardian
     - 2.1.3 ESL teacher
     - 2.1.4 mainstream teacher
     - 2.1.5 administrator
     - 2.1.6 other

   - 2.2 Observation

   - 2.3 School documents
     - 2.3.1 STP
     - 2.3.2 PD plan
     - 2.3.3 curriculum guide
     - 2.3.4 parent communication

   - 2.4 teacher documents
     - 2.4.1 lesson plan
     - 2.4.2 assignment
     - 2.4.3 test
     - 2.4.4 schedule
     - 2.4.5 parent communication

3. Teaching Organization:

3.1 class contact:	whole class lesson or activity
3.2 group contact:	small group working with teacher
3.3 cooperative activity:	groups working on cooperative task
3.4 individual activity:	does not involve class or group work

3.5 no directed activity:	no organized activity
3.6 resource	use of resource persons - staff, parents, etc.

4. Methods
   4.1 closed

4.1.1 information giving:	lecture, demonstration, directions, etc.
4.1.2 mastery:	drill or practice
4.1.3 problem-solving:	only one answer through process

   4.2 open

4.2.1 clarification:	student to express own opinions and perceptions
4.2.2 inquiry:	focus on process rather than solution
4.2.3 dialogue:	emphasis on exploration, no response rejected or criticized

5. Curriculum Content:

5.1 reading	
5.2 writing	
5.3 other:	related to literacy but does not involve reading or writing i.e. oral vocabulary, spelling, drama, etc.
5.4 English	
5.5 History	
5.6 Science	
5.7 Math	
5.8 special - PE, music, art, etc.	
5.9 other	
5.10 non-curriculum:	i.e. registration, classroom organization

6. Cultural Content:
   6.1 American
   6.2 Other

7. Student Activity:

7.1 work:	working directly on a curriculum task
7.2 work related	getting materials, waiting for teacher, etc.
7.3 other work:	school work not related to this task
7.4 distracted:	not engaged
7.5 aggression to person:	physical or verbal
7.6 aggression to property:	damaging school or individual property
7.7 class business:	activities associated with classroom organization
7.8 other:	no directed activity

8. Student-Teacher Talk:
    - 8.1 stating
    - 8.2 explaining
    - 8.3 quoting
    - 8.4 interpreting
    - 8.5 elaborating
    - 8.6 inferring
    - 8.7 opining
9. Student-Teacher Interaction
    - 9.1 Teacher
        - 9.1.1discipline
        - 9.1.2 praise
        - 9.1.3 corrects answer
        - 9.1.4 informs
        - 9.1.5 criticize
        - 9.1.6 narrow question
        - 9.1.7 broad question

    - 9.2 Student
        - 9.2.1answers question
        - 9.2.2 defends self
        - 9.2.3 seeks information
        - 9.2.4 seeks clarification
        - 9.2.5 social
        - 9.2.6 hostile
        - 9.2.7 indifferent

    - 9.3 Content
        - 9.3.1 instructional
        - 9.3.2 administrative
        - 9.3.3 disciplinary
        - 9.3.4 personal

10. Values emphasized by teachers
    - 10.1 working hard
    - 10.2 being on time
    - 10.3 completing assignments on time
    - 10.4 demonstrating a desire to learn
    - 10.5 working on one's own
    - 10.6 doing extra work
    - 10.7 taking responsibility for one's self
    - 10.8 seeking help when needed
    - 10.9 speaking English

10.10 not talking unless specified by teacher
10.11 talking softly
10.12 not fighting
10.13 no horseplay
10.14 not cheating/copying another's work

11. Student results
    11.1 KIRIS
    11.2 classroom tests
    11.3 grades

12. Decision-making - about curriculum/practice

13. Beliefs about schooling
    13.1 teachers
    13.2 administrators
    13.3 students

14. Beliefs about students' home cultures
    14.1 teachers
    14.2 administrators
    14.3 students
    14.4 parents

15. student factors
    15.1 teachers/administrator perspectives
        15.1.1 achievement
        15.1.2 attitude
        15.1.3 health
    15.2 parents perspectives
        15.2.1 achievement
        15.2.2 attitude
        15.2.3 health
    15.3 students' perspectives
        15.3.1 achievement
        15.3.2 attitude
        15.3.3 health

16. school leadership

17. news - newspaper articles

18. PD - professional development

19. Influences on students
    19.1 school factors
        19.1.1 school culture
        19.1.2 staff
        19.1.3 ESS - extended school services
        19.1.4 extra-curricular activities
    19.2 non-school factors
        19.2.1 family
        19.2.2 culture
        19.2.3 peers

20. KERA - attitudes toward

Appendix E
Academic Expectations

"The expectations for students are set forth as the six learning goals of KERA. These goals led to the development of the academic expectations that characterize student achievement of the goals. All Kentucky students are expected to achieve the goals and academic expectations" (Kentucky Department of Education, 1993).

1. Students are able to use basic communication and mathematics skills for purposes and situations they will encounter throughout their lives.

1.1	Students use reference tools such as dictionaries, almanacs, encyclopedias, and computer reference programs and research tools such as interviews and surveys to find the information they need to meet specific demands, explore interests, or solve specific problems.
1.2	Students make sense of the variety of materials they read.
1.3	Students make sense of the various things they observe.
1.4	Students make sense of the various messages to which they listen.
1.5-1.9	Students use mathematical ideas and procedures to communicate, reason, and solve problems.
1.10	Students organize information through development and use of classification rules and systems.
1.11	Students write using appropriate forms, conventions, and styles to communicate ideas and information to different audiences for different purposes.
1.12	Students speak using appropriate forms, conventions, and styles to communicate ideas and information to different audiences for different purposes.
1.13	Students make sense of ideas and communicate ideas with the visual arts.
1.14	Students make sense of ideas and communicate ideas with music.
1.15	Students make sense of and communicate ideas with movement.
1.16	Students use computers and other kinds of technology to collect, organize, and communicate information and ideas.

2. Students shall develop their abilities to apply core concepts and principles from mathematics, the sciences, the arts, the humanities, social studies, practical living studies, and vocational studies to what they will encounter throughout their lives.

Science

- 2.1 Students understand scientific ways of thinking and working and use those methods to solve real-life problems.
- 2.2 Students identify, analyze, and use patterns such as cycles and trends to understand past and present events and predict possible future events.
- 2.3 Students identify and analyze systems and the ways their components work together or affect each other.
- 2.4 Students use the concept of scale and scientific models to explain the organization and functioning of living and nonliving things and predict other characteristics that might be observed.
- 2.5 Students understand that under certain conditions nature tends to remain the same or move toward a balance.
- 2.6 Students understand how living and nonliving things change over time and the factors that influence the changes.

Mathematics

- 2.7 Students understand number concepts and use numbers appropriately and accurately.
- 2.8 Students understand various mathematical procedures and use them appropriately and accurately.
- 2.9 Students understand space and dimensionality concepts and use them appropriately and accurately.
- 2.10 Students understand measurement concepts and use measurements appropriately and accurately.
- 2.11 Students understand mathematical change concepts and use them appropriately and accurately.
- 2.12 Students understand mathematical structure concepts including the properties and logic of various mathematical systems.
- 2.13 Students understand and appropriately use statistics and probability.

Social Studies

2.14 Students understand the democratic principles of justice, equality, responsibility, and freedom and apply them to real-life situations.

2.15 Students can accurately describe various forms of government and analyze issues that relate to the rights and responsibilities of citizens in a democracy.

2.16 Students observe, analyze, and interpret human behaviors, social groupings, and institutions to better understand people and the relationships among individuals and among groups.

2.17 Students interact effectively and work cooperatively with the many ethnic and cultural groups of our nation and world.

2.18 Students understand economic principles and are able to make economic decisions that have consequences in daily living.

2.19 Students recognize and understand the relationship between people and geography and apply their knowledge in real-life situations.

2.20 Students understand, analyze, and interpret historical events, conditions, trends, and issues to develop historical perspective.

2.21 (Incorporated into 2.16)

Arts and Humanities

2.22 Students create works of art and make presentations to convey a point of view.

2.23 Students analyze their own and others' artistic products and performances using accepted standards.

2.24 Students have knowledge of major works of art, music, and literature and appreciate creativity and the contributions of the arts and humanities.

2.25 In the products they make and the performances they present, students show that they understand how time, place, and society influence the arts and humanities such as languages, literature, and history.

2.26 Through the arts and humanities, student recognize that although people are different, they share some common experiences and attitudes.

2.27 Students recognize and understand the similarities and differences among languages.

2.28 Students understand and communicate in a second language.

Practical Living

2.29 Students demonstrate skills that promote individual well-being and healthy family relationships.

2.30 Students evaluate consumer products and services and make effective consumer decisions.

2.31 Students demonstrate the knowledge and skills they need to remain physically healthy and to accept responsibility for their own physical well-being.

2.32 Students demonstrate strategies for becoming and remaining mentally and emotionally healthy.

2.33 Students demonstrate the skills to evaluate and use services and resources available in their community.

2.34 Students perform physical movement skills effectively in a variety of settings.

2.35 Students demonstrate knowledge and skills that promote physical activity and involvement in physical activity throughout lives.

Vocational Studies

2.36 Students use strategies for choosing and preparing for a career.

2.37 Students demonstrate skills and work habits that lead to success in future schooling and work.

2.38 Students demonstrate skills such as interviewing, writing resumes, and completing applications that are needed to be accepted into college or other postsecondary training or to get a job.

3. Students shall develop their abilities to become self-sufficient individuals.*

3.1 Students demonstrate positive growth in self-concept through appropriate tasks or projects

3.2 Students demonstrate the ability to maintain a healthy lifestyle.

3.3 Students demonstrate the ability to be adaptable and flexible through appropriate tasks or projects.

3.4 Students demonstrate the ability to be resourceful and creative.

3.5 Students demonstrate self-control and self discipline.

3.6 Students demonstrate the ability to make decisions based on ethical values.

3.7 Students demonstrate the ability to learn on one's own.

4. Students shall develop their abilities to become responsible members of a family, work group, or community, including demonstrating effectiveness in community service.*

4.1 Students effectively use interpersonal skills.

4.2 Students use productive team membership skills.

4.3 Students individually demonstrate consistent, responsive, and caring behavior.

4.4 Students demonstrate the ability to accept the rights and responsibilities for self and others.

4.5 Students demonstrate an understanding of, appreciation for, and sensitivity to a multi-cultural and world view.

4.6 Students demonstrate an open mind to alternative perspectives.

***Goals 3 and 4 are included in Kentucky statute as learning goals, but they are not included in the state's academic assessment program.**

5. Students shall develop their abilities to think and solve problems in school situations and in a variety of situations they will encounter in life.

5.1 Students use critical thinking skills such as analyzing, prioritizing, categorizing, evaluating, and comparing to solve a variety of problems in real-life situations.

5.2 Students use creative thinking skills to develop or invent novel, constructive ideas or products.

5.3 Students organize information to develop or change their understanding of a concept.

5.4 Students use a decision-making process to make informed decisions among options.

5.5 Students use problem-solving processes to develop solutions to relatively complex problems.

6. Students shall develop their abilities to connect and integrate experiences and new knowledge from all subject matter fields with what they have previously learned

and build on past learning experiences to acquire new information through various media sources.

6.1 Students connect knowledge and experiences from different subject areas.

6.2 Students use what they already know to acquire new knowledge, develop new skills, or interpret new experiences.

6.3 Students expand their understanding of existing knowledge by making connections with new knowledge, skills, and experiences.

Appendix F
DISTRICT LEP POPULATION 1993-94

LANGUAGE	PRIMARY	4-5	6-8	9-12	TOTAL
Arabic	27	6	7	5	45
Armenian			1		1
Bengali	1			1	2
Bulgarian	2		1		3
Chinese	35	6	8	17	66
Creole			1		1
Farsi				1	1
Finnish				1	1
French		1			1
German	2				2
Gujarati	2				2
Hebrew	4		3	2	9
Hindi	1				1
Indonesian	4	1	2	4	11
Japanese	69	26	50	42	187
Korean	7	2	3		12
Persian	1		3		4
Polish	1		2	1	4
Portugese	1		2	2	5
Russian	5	2	3	4	14
Sengalese			1		1
Spanish	14	6	6	3	29
Tagalog				1	1
Taiwanese	1				1
Thai			1		1
Thumal	2				2
Ukrainian	2	2	2	2	8
Urdu	2				2

Vietnamese	3	4	6	16	29
Total	**186**	**56**	**102**	**102**	**446**

Kentucky State Department of Education

Central High Enrollment – August 1994

Country	**Total**	**Male**	**Female**
Japan	25	14	11
China	13	7	6
USSR	7	4	3
Vietnam	7	3	4
Mexico	5	3	2
Iran	3	1	2
Venezuela	3	2	1
Bosnia	2	1	1
Haiti	2	1	1
Indonesia	2	1	1
Kuwait	2	0	2
Philippines	2	0	2
Puerto Rico	1	0	1
Egypt	1	0	1
India	1	1	0
Libya	1	1	0
Poland	1	0	1
Total	**79**	39	40

DISTRICT LEP POPULATION 2002-2003

Language	Total	Percent
Albanian	28	2%
Arabic	40	3%
Armenian	1	<1%
Bengali	3	<1%
Bulgarian	9	1%
Cambodian	6	<1%
Chinese	35	3%
Creole	13	1%
Farsi	5	<1%
French	6	<1%
Gujarti	7	<1%
Hindi	3	<1%
Indonesian	12	1%
Japanese	145	12%
Korean	19	2%
Lingala	7	1%
Other	2	<1%
Panjabi	1	<1%
Polish	2	<1%
Portuguese	2	<1%
Romanian	2	<1%
Russian	2	<1%
Serbo-Croatian	6	<1%
Spanish	840	68%
Swahili	7	1%
Tagalog	4	<1%
Tamil	1	<1%
Telugu	2	<1%
Thai	1	<1%
Ukranian	11	1%

Vietnamese	7	1%
Total	**1230**	

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Curriculum Vita

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Date of Birth: March 28, 1963

Place of Birth: Baltimore, Maryland

Education

- M.A., University of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky, 1993
  Development Anthropology
- M.A., Patterson School of Diplomacy and International Commerce, Lexington, Kentucky, 1988
  Economic Development, Latin American Studies
- B.A., DePauw University, Greencastle, Indiana, 1985
  Major: Political Science
  Minor: Psychology, Sociology

Honors and Awards

- Golden Quill Award, AEL
- Dissertation grant, Joint Center for the Study of Education Policy, University of Kentucky/University of Louisville
- Patterson School Fellowship, Patterson School of Diplomacy and International Commerce

- Dean's List, DePauw University.

Professional Positions

- **Consultant**

  Challenge West Virginia, Charleston, WV. 2002 to 2004

  North Central Regional Educational Laboratory 2002

  AEL, Inc., Charleston, WV. 2002

- **Senior Project Associate**,

  Initiative to Improve Achievement In High Poverty Schools 2000 to 2002

  Council of Chief State School Officers,

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- **Staff Associate**

  AEL, Inc., Charleston, WV 1997 to 2000

- **Research Assistant**

  AEL, Inc., Charleston, WV 1997

- **Research Assistant**

  University of Kentucky 1996

- **Research Assistant**

  University of Kentucky 1992-1995

  Office of Dean of Undergraduate Studies and Office of International Affairs

- **Senior Research Assistant**

  University of Kentucky, College Allied Health Professionals 1990-1991

- **Teaching Assistant**

  University of Kentucky 1994-1996

- **Part-Time Faculty**

  Transylvania University 1 1991-1994

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  Lexington Community College, 1990-1991

Publications

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  Naperville, IL: North Central Regional Educational Laboratory. November, 2002.
- "State Support to Low Performing Schools." Washington, DC: Council of Chief State School Officers.
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- "The Impact of Standards and Accountability on Teaching and Learning in Kentucky. Patricia J. Kannapel, Lola Aagaard, Pamelia Coe, and Cynthia A. Reeves. In *From the Capitol to the Classroom: Standards-based Reform in the States*. One Hundredth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education. Susan H. Fuhrman, ed. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press. 2001.
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