Secondary English Learner *Curricular Streams*, Opportunity to Learn, and Academic Outcomes

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Abstract

I investigated secondary English learner (EL) curricular placement, classroom composition, opportunity to learn (OTL), and high school outcomes in two districts with comparative, mixed-methods involving policy documents; staff interviews and surveys; multiyear cross-sectional data; and longitudinal data for one cohort. Results demonstrate how OTL is created within the EL *Curricular Streams* that districts and schools devise to meet the dual mandates of English language development and core content instruction. ELs were isolated in courses primarily with other ELs, former ELs, and low-performing peers. In both districts, secondary ELs faced diminished OTL and obtained the least number of core and advanced credits; the most intervention credits; and the least total credits compared to other language status groups. Of the grade 9 EL cohort who remained EL, 26% graduated versus 75% of those who reclassified. Achieving 4-year college eligibility was elusive for both groups. I discuss the policy, practice, and research implications of allowing the EL label to function as curricular placement destiny.

Keywords: English learners; curricular placement; opportunity to learn; classroom composition; academic outcomes; educational policy; mixed-methods; multi-site

Secondary English Learner *Curricular Streams*, Opportunity to Learn, and Academic Outcomes

Throughout history separate has rarely, if ever, meant equal, particularly when the separated embody a deficit label. Despite multiple court cases and federal and state guidelines (e.g., California Department of Education [CDE], 2015a; Mendez v. Westminister School District, 1946; USDOJ/USDOE, 2015) emphasizing the need to integrate English learner students (ELs) with non-ELs, and lack of evidence supporting its efficacy, secondary EL curricular segregation persists. Such policies and practices are implicated in opportunity to learn (OTL) inequities and outcome inequalities for ELs (e.g., Estrada, Wang, & Farkas, 2017/2018; Olsen, 2010; 2014; Thompson, 2017; Umansky, 2016)—students with a home language other than English who at school entry do not score English language proficient (ELP) on state tests. Outcome inequalities for ELs, the majority of whom are US-born and Spanish-speaking, include content standards performance (National Center for Education Statistics 2018a; 2018b); high school graduation (e.g., CDE, 2014b; Ruiz-de-Velasco & Fix, 2000); and college readiness (CDE, 2018). These differences are in great part an artifact of excluding from the EL group higher performing former ELs who have reclassified as fluent English proficient (RFEP) (Saunders & Marceletti, 2013). Yet, significant numbers of ELs do not reclassify after 7-9 years of US schooling (Flores et al., 2009; Umansky & Reardon, 2014), becoming labeled "long-term" ELs (LTELs) at, or just prior to, secondary school entry. Nationwide, LTELs comprise the vast majority of grade 6-12 ELs (e.g., 74% in California; Californians Together, 2015).

I assert that such segregation persists due to a confluence of sociopolitical and socioinstitutional factors that act on both educators and ELs, along with scarce evidence for guiding policy. One problematic factor is the deficit EL definition (failing an English proficiency test at school entry). In a society valuing monolingual English fluency with concerns about the

changing racial/ethnic composition (e.g., Pennycook, 2007), EL is a deviance label (Estrada,

Park, & Farkas, 2018; Ruiz, 1984; Umansky, 2016). Relatedly, the meager definition obscures

EL school-relevant competencies and confounds EL status with performance because, to

reclassify, ELs must pass English language, and often, content standards performance criteria

(Estrada & Wang, 2018; Wolf et al., 2008). These factors, coupled with legal mandates to

provide language services, core content access, and attendant accountabilities, often give rise to

policy makers and practitioners perceiving ELs through a "language deficit" lens, particularly for

placement. Within this context, districts often turn to the notion that curricular segregation for all

or significant portions of the day for "specialized" instruction will meet requirements and reduce

inequality. Yet doing so amplifies inequities, concentrating in classrooms: (a) ELs not meeting

performance standards for reclassifying—most for 6 years or more; and (b) barriers to success

the majority of ELs experience including poverty and residing in and attending schools in

ethnically and linguistically segregated communities (Arias, 2007; National Academies of

Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine [NASEM], 2017; Orfield & Lee, 2004).

Yet for guiding policy and developing theory, EL-specific research is limited regarding

the kinds of curricular structures that are likely to increase EL OTL and improve outcomes

(NASEM, 2017). Needed is in-depth investigation of: (a) the secondary curricular structures

districts devise to meet legal mandates for language services and accountabilities, analyses of

their affordances for OTL, and the processes through which they may influence OTL; and (b) the

associated patterns of EL classroom composition, course taking, and high school outcomes. I

conducted such a mixed-methods investigation in two districts using policy documents; staff

interviews and surveys; 2 years of cross-sectional middle and high school data; and longitudinal

data for one grade 9 cohort in one district.

Conceptual Framework

To examine curricular placement structures and their affordances for OTL, construed

here as access to English language development (ELD), core content, the full curriculum, and

higher performing non-EL peers, (Guiton & Oakes, 1995), I use Estrada's (2014) concept of

Curricular Streams (CSs). *CSs* comprise the whole of the patterned sets of ELD, content, and

intervention courses, EL and non-EL peer participation in these courses, and the policies and

practices regarding entry, placement, and exit criteria and the provision of access to core

content—a powerful descriptive and analytic tool. Conceived to represent the complexity of EL

programs, *CSs* comprise the structure for delivering an ostensibly coherent set of curricular and

instructional experiences, instantiating staff decisions about how to meet legal mandates and

assist ELs to achieve the dual goals of attaining English proficiency and grade-level content

achievement. Thus, the concept builds on the notion of tracking, which focuses on assigning

students to sets of courses based on ability in one or more content areas (cf. Oakes, 1990).

Descriptions of *CSs* simultaneously portray not only the sets of courses, but also other key

elements (e.g., entry, placement, and exit criteria), hence revealing schools' programmatic

emphases, including extent of EL academic, linguistic, and peer integration, and exposing them

to analysis. Thus, *CSs* help us discern how schools increase or diminish OTL for ELs.

In particular, *CS* features drive EL curricular, instructional, and social experience by

determining whether staff enroll ELs in: (a) designated ELD courses or content courses

providing integrated ELD instruction or both; (b) sheltered or mainstream content courses; (c)

the full complement of core courses; (e) interventions that supplant the core; (f) the full

curriculum; and (g) courses with non-EL peers. These features have implications for OTL. For

example, designated ELD may replace English language arts (ELA); sheltered and mainstream

content courses may not be equally rigorous. In addition, by specifying the performance levels

and/or language status (e.g., EL, RFEP, English only [EO]) of EL classroom peers, *CSs* often

determine EL classroom composition.

Sociocultural, second language acquisition (SLA), and labeling theories suggest that

classroom composition plays a key role in EL educational outcomes by affording or constraining

OTL, language and literacy development, and stigmatization. From both sociocultural and SLA

perspectives, English-speaking and higher performing peers afford OTL: Effective instruction

and learning involve teachers shouldering moderate to major levels of assisted performance in

the Zone of Proximal Development and harnessing peer interaction for learni*ng* (Tharp, Estrada,

Dalton, & Yamauchi, 2000; Tharp & Gallimore, 1988; Vygotsky, 1978). Relatedly, self-

determination theory argues that children internalize the motivations of others (Ryan & Deci,

2000), providing yet another argument for the importance of EL interactions with higher

performing peers. English-speaking peers are also essential for gaining the English proficiency

requisite for engaging in schooled discourse, reading, and understanding (Arias, 2007; August &

Shanahan, 2006; Saunders & Goldenberg, 2010; Tharp & Gallimore, 1988; Valdes, 2001). In

contrast, labeling theory indicates that policies emphasizing EL deficits and segregation are

precisely the kinds of actions that foster stigmatization, which is related to poor educational and

psychological outcomes (Estrada et al., 2018; Link & Phelan, 2001). Among the many levers that

EL *CSs* manipulate, classroom composition is powerful precisely because it largely determines

the pool of eligible teachers and peers for instruction, learning, language interactions, and

relationships (see Tharp et al., 2000). Segregation, for example, denies ELs English proficient,

higher performing peer resources for collaboration and discourse; language learning; and social

capital (Burton & Welsh, 2015) and promotes stigmatization (e.g., Estrada et al., 2018; Dabach,

2014). Thus, who is in the classroom matters. Notably, recommended EL instructional practices for language and content learning emphasize opportunities for collaborating and interacting with English-proficient peers and peer-assisted learning within integrated classrooms, along with rigorous instruction (Castellon et al., 2015; Cisco & Padron, 2012; NASEM, 2017; Olsen, 2014).

Literature Review

The little we know about the district and school curricular structures and processes that limit or increase OTL for ELs comes from a handful of case studies. In a step in this direction Estrada (2014) developed the concept of *CSs* for describing EL curricular programs in four middle schools and analyzing placement and affordances for ELD instruction, access to core content, and integration with non-EL peers. She identified features of EL *CSs* implicated in increasing or diminishing OTL, which included the relative emphasis on: (a) ELP as a vehicle for accessing core content rather than an end to itself and a prerequisite for access; (b) acceleration versus remediation; (c) integration versus isolation of ELs; and (d) mainstreaming relatively high-performing ELs versus using reclassification to FEP as a gateway to the mainstream core and more advanced streams. Local definitions of EL status exacerbated (or lowered) barriers for EL core access and integration. In the face of curricular inadequacies, insufficient support, and policy limitations, school staff often bootstrapped to meet legal mandates and accountability policies, often resulting in the use of additive interventions—multiple interventions each reducing EL access to the core further.

Likewise, we have little information from classrooms or teachers regarding how or why EL curricular placement and increased EL concentration appear to diminish OTL. A few case studies indicate that placement in ELD language courses can decrease access to core ELA and that sheltered core content courses do not have the same content coverage and exposure of

mainstream core courses. Teachers in Estrada's (2014) study reported that 2-period ELD blocks

precluded enrollment in core ELA. Although the curriculum was aligned with ELD standards, it

was below grade level and unaligned with ELA standards. Moreover, two of the four middle

schools decelerated the standard pacing of the ELD curriculum. In another school, teachers

reported that reliance on multi-rostered, (ELs, lower-performing English only [EOs], and special

education students) sheltered content courses for delivering access to the core and integrating

ELs resulted in lack of good language, study-habit, and achievement models, and limited

opportunities for participation in the full curriculum. Such placement also isolated and

stigmatized both ELs and their teachers. Similarly, teachers in Dabach's study (2009) reported

core curricular omissions, reductions, modifications, additions, and use of alternative curricula in

their sheltered versus mainstream social studies classes. Teachers in three other studies also

reported that sheltered courses were stigmatized spaces, perceived as "easier" and signifying less

intelligence (Dabach, 2014; Estrada et al., 2018; Thompson, 2015).

The relatively few studies investigating secondary EL OTL and achievement show

similar patterns as the general research, which indicates that placing lower performing students

in lower tracks decreases OTL, learning, and outcomes (e.g., Gamoran 2010; Oakes, 2005). In

contrast, higher performing peers positively and cumulatively influence individual student

achievement (e.g., Gottfried, 2014; Hanushek, Kain, Markman, & Rivkin, 2003; Hoxby, 2000)

and they are associated with more positive student academic and socioemotional outcomes (e.g.,

Epstein, 1983; Ryan & Deci, 2000). For example, Wang and Goldschmidt (1999) found that

middle school ELs were overrepresented in standard and lower tier (e.g., minimum standards)

math courses and underrepresented in higher tier math courses (e.g., algebra, honors). Higher

level course taking predicted higher math achievement after taking into account student

descriptive characteristics, English proficiency, immigrant status, and SES. Similarly, Mosqueda

(2012) found that, on average, for each additional higher level math course students took, math

performance on a national test increased by a third of a standard deviation for high school

language minority students. Callahan (2005) also found that track placement was a better

predictor of outcomes than was English proficiency level. In a series of studies using national

longitudinal linguistic minority high school student samples, Callahan and her colleagues found

that ESL curricular placement (involving ELD and/or sheltered content courses) compared to

mainstream placement, had a negative effect on college preparatory course taking and

achievement, particularly for LTELs (Callahan & Shifrer, 2012). In four of the five studies these

researchers controlled for a number of covariates of achievement. Likewise, Umansky (2016)

found that both leveled and exclusionary tracking reduced access to middle school core content

and that EL status reduced enrollment in core ELA and a full academic course load. A single

published secondary (grade 8) EL study that also took into account classroom composition found

higher EL concentration was associated with lower OTL (content coverage) and lower math

scores; ELs reported receiving lower content coverage compared with non-ELs; and higher

content coverage predicted higher math achievement (Abedi & Herman, 2010). Finally, a rare

study found that peer-led collaborative reasoning discussions among EL and non-EL peers

increased comprehension and enhanced ELs' interest, engagement, and valuing of learning

(Zhang et al., 2013). Taken together, this small but accumulating body of research indicates that:

(a) secondary-level ELs are often concentrated in lower tracks and experience diminished OTL

such as lower content coverage and lower exposure to higher performing peers; and (b) lower

OTL is implicated in lower EL achievement. It also points to the possibility that high EL

concentration classrooms provide lower levels of OTL.

In sum, although the available research points to multiple factors likely involved in diminishing OTL for secondary ELs, we have few descriptions of the curricular structures involved and how and why these patterns occur. In addition, no EL research to my knowledge has examined multiple dimensions of OTL, simultaneously comparing by language status: (a) classroom composition; (b) average peer classroom performance; (c) both middle school and high school course taking; and (d) high school outcomes. Our knowledge is also very limited about the extent to which sheltered core courses are as rigorous as their mainstream counterparts and the extent to which EL status acts as a gatekeeper to OTL. Needed, then, is a more robust view situating EL curricular experiences within the context of district EL curricular policies and implementation of *CSs* at both middle and high school levels. Describing these placement structures; analyzing their affordances for access to ELD, mainstream core content, the full curriculum, and higher performing non-EL peers; and describing the associated patterns of EL classroom composition, course taking, and high school outcomes is critical for understanding the conditions that increase or diminish EL OTL. This investigation begins to fill these gaps.

Research Questions

I tackle the issue of access for secondary ELs with the following questions:

1. What types of EL *CSs* do districts devise and schools implement to deliver both ELD and content instruction, and to what extent do they: (a) afford access to ELD, (b) mainstream core content, the full curriculum, and higher performing non-EL peers; and (c) use reclassification to FEP as a gateway to these opportunities to learn?

2. To what extent are sheltered and mainstream content courses equivalent in terms of rigor, pacing, depth, and content?

3. What is the classroom composition, defined as peer language status and mean classroom performance, for ELs and LTELs compared to other language status groups (e.g., RFEP).

4. What are the course credit-earning patterns of ELs and LTELs compared with other language status groups?

5. What are the high school outcomes for ELs and RFEP students?

Methods

In this mixed methods, comparative study, a combination of qualitative and quantitative data provided multiple views and evidence for understanding the complexity of interrelations among the phenomena under study in two districts (see Table 1). Multiple years of district policy documents combined with district and school staff interviews and surveys allowed me to construct *CSs* representing multilayered placement policies and thereby analyze their affordances for OTL. The expertise and experience of staff provided insider lenses on these topics as well as on sheltered versus mainstream core courses. With multiple years of cross-sectional student administrative data, I investigated the associated patterns of EL classroom composition and course taking/course credit earning—additional measures of OTL. Longitudinal student administrative data for one grade 9 cohort revealed co-occurring academic outcomes. This study was part of a larger 4-year research project focused on ELs.

Sample

Districts. Both District 1 and 2 are high poverty urban districts. Roughly three-quarters of students are free- and reduced-price lunch eligible, compared to about half of all California students. District 1 has higher concentrations of ELs (32% vs. 24%), Latinos (73% vs. 49%), and Spanish speaking ELs (94% vs. 85%) than the state. Compared to the state, District 2 has a similar percentage of ELs (25%), but lower concentrations of Latinos (33% vs. 49%) and

Spanish speaking ELs (56% vs. 85%), and a substantial proportion of Hmong speaking ELs

(21%). District 2 ceased participating in 2013-14. At the time of the study, bilingual education

was not permitted in California except by waiver; therefore, in both districts the vast majority of

ELs were in Structured English Immersion programs.

Student Analytic Samples. Comprising the cross-sectional sample were all District 1

students in grades 6-11 in 2012-13 and grades 6-12 in 2013-14 and all District 2 students in

grades 7 to 9 in 2010-11 and in grades 7 to 10 in 2011-12 with relevant language status, course

taking, classroom, special education, and state test data (see Table 2). One District 1 grade 9

cohort comprised the longitudinal sample. In both districts students were poor; LTELS

comprised most secondary ELs and more than three quarters were US born (see Table 3). In

District 1 Spanish was overwhelmingly students' home language except for EOs. In District 2,

Spanish was the home language for the majority of ELs, but for nearly a quarter it was Hmong

(see Table 3). Overall, reclassified and IFEP demographics tended to mirror those of ELs.

School Samples for Interviews. In each district, school selection involved stratified

random sampling. Restricting the pool to schools with greater than 10% ELs and more than 100

ELs yielded a target pool containing 94% and 85% of District 1 and 2 ELs, respectively. It also

bore the schools where most ELs enrolled and EL subgroup outcome data were available. I

excluded charter schools due to lack of data availability. Stratification variables were

reclassification rate (high/low) and EL-Academic Performance Index (EL-API) (high/low) (see

CDE, 2015b for an explication of this school performance measure). The cut-off for *high* was the

highest of three medians: the state, District 1, and District 2; similarly, the cut-off for *low* was the

lowest of the three medians (available from the first author). This approach avoided a crossover

effect in high/low categorization (e.g., high in one district is low in the other). Eight of 8 invited

District 1 schools participated (though the number participating each year varied) and 4 of 6

District 2 schools did so.

Staff Samples for Interviews and Surveys. In both districts interviews included two to

four district administrators and coordinators involved in EL policy development and

implementation and/or accountability. At schools, interviews included six to eight staff, typically

the principal or the academic vice principal, the English language coordinator (ELC) or staff

member functioning in that role, and four teachers whose students included ELs (see Table 2 for

staff sample sizes). Teachers typically taught ELD, ELA, math, and science and occasionally

social studies. Sheltered content teachers were of special interest. Overall, staff in both districts

were seasoned educators with many years of experience with ELs (means ranged from 10 to 23

years across teaching and nonteaching staff). With the exception of district staff who tended to

be recent to their positions, school staff tended to have been in their positions 6 years or more.

Interview and survey samples were the same during 2012-13 and 2012-14.

EL Policy Documents and Staff Interviews and Surveys

Policy document "interviews," staff interviews, and surveys probed a common set of

analytic categories to gather data on (a) *CSs*; (b) OTL (access to ELD, mainstream core content,

the full curriculum, and higher performing peers); and (c) classroom composition. Annually, I

applied a master set of queries to the EL Master Plans focusing on the nature of curricular

placement and classroom composition policies. Using the policy knowledge gained, I tailored

interviews for district and school staff in different roles (e.g., administrator, teacher). Piloting in

non-participating districts followed, along with revisions. Finally, for more in-depth

understanding of policies, implementation, and consequences (e.g., for student learning), I

interviewed district staff first, wrote debriefings summarizing responses for each analytic

category, and further revised school staff protocols.

Based on the districts' EL master plans I constructed and graphically represented the recommended EL *CSs* for secondary levels. During interviews, researchers asked each staff member to describe and hand annotate the graphic to produce the EL *CSs* at their site, including EL-specific, mainstream, intervention, honors, and others specific to their schools and the extent to which reclassifying acted as the gateway to the mainstream and other streams. For each stream, researchers gathered information regarding: (a) number of ELs; (b) criteria for entry, placement, and exit (e.g., ELP levels, CST scores; number of years in EL status; reclassifying); (c) ELD, content, and intervention courses; (d) extent of EL and non-EL student participation; (e) the extent to which placement separated or integrated ELs; (f) language status and performance levels of classroom peers; and (g) how access to core content was provided.

Interviews (60-90 minutes for nonteaching staff; 50 minutes for teachers for three years in District 1 and 2 years in District 2; see Table 1) began with solicitation of demographics, roles, responsibilities, and a brief school description. Interview queries pertinent to this study focused on: (a) EL curricular placement and its consequences for access to core content (e.g., What aspects of your curricular and instructional placement for ELs do you think work to promote academic progress and social integration and which do you think need work?); (b) classroom composition (e.g., Can you tell me whether ELs are scheduled in your class as a cohort? What are the advantages/disadvantages of being placed in these nearly all EL cohorts versus clustering groups of ELs with non-EL peers (e.g., 10 in a class of 30) within a range of performance levels?); and (c) sheltered versus mainstream core content instruction (e.g., Can you compare sheltered core content with mainstream core content instruction in terms of rigor, depth, pacing, and use of core or alternative curricula?)

Surveys gathered write-in information (e.g., demographics, courses taught) and Likert

ratings (Strongly disagree [1] to Strongly disagree [4]) on statements regarding the following: (a)

reclassification as a gateway, (b) mainstreaming high performing ELs, (c) language status and

performance composition of students in sheltered classes; (d) use of cohort placement for ELs,

and (e) comparison of sheltered core and mainstream core classes.

Student Administrative Data and Measures

Each fall districts provided student administrative data: performance; language status;

course enrollment, grades, and credits; demographic data; and in the final year, grade 9 cohort

high school outcomes.

English language proficiency performance. Schools administered the initial California

English Language Development Test (CELDT) at school entry to all students who had a home

language other than English and the annual CELDT thereafter until students were reclassified

FEP (CDE, 2014a). Students met the state CELDT criterion for English proficiency when they

scored at early advanced or higher on average with no domain subscore (listening, speaking,

reading, and writing) below intermediate.

English language arts and math performance. Through 2012-13, California Standards

Tests administration occurred yearly. CST scale scores ranged from 150 to 600 (300-349 = basic

approximately 1 year below grade level; 350 = grade-level proficient).

Reclassification. Administrative data indicated students' reclassification status (1 =

reclassified; 0 = EL). District 1 reclassification criteria included scoring 1 year below grade level

or above on the CST-ELA, meeting the CELDT criterion, and a grade of C or higher in English.

District 2 criteria were scoring proficient or above on the CELDT, the CST-ELA, and the CST-

Math (CST-Math was dropped in 2012-13). Alternatively, ELs could score about a half a year

below grade level or above on the CST-ELA and meet threshold performances on curriculum-

embedded ELA and math assessments or pass the ELA high school exit exam.

Classroom composition. In District 1 only, for each student, enrollment data indicated

classroom pseudoid; language status (e.g., EL, EO); and special education status (e.g., resource).

Classroom composition was operationalized as: (a) proportion of students by language status; (b)

proportion of special education students; and (c) mean CST-ELA and CST-Math performance.

Course Categories. Course coding occurred in consultation with district staff.

Academic core and advanced courses were those flagged in the administrative data as University

of California-certified A-G, 4-year college eligibility bearing. EL academic core courses were

those flagged as both A-G and EL specific (e.g., Advanced ELD). Neither districts' data

permitted distinction between sheltered and mainstream core courses. Researchers coded the

remaining courses as follows: Academic intervention courses included those designed to support

student success in academic content courses or meeting graduation requirements (e.g., reading

interventions, non A-G ELD courses). Academic non-core and enrichment courses included

electives located in academic departments, but not A-G, nor an intervention (e.g., journalism).

Non-academic courses were outside academic departments (e.g., office aide).

Analyses of Policy Documents, Staff Interviews, and Surveys

Research Questions 1 and 2. To answer these questions within each district, I

triangulated data across the different sources: policy documents, interviews, and surveys as well

as across district and school levels and across roles, which provided opportunities for verifying

staff statements (Miles & Huberman, 1984). An analytic category crosswalk identifying interview

and survey questions for each category by district, school level, and role facilitated triangulation.

I summarized answers to each policy document query, analyzing them for clarity, and

used the knowledge gained for developing interview and survey protocols. Survey items were

collapsed across Strongly disagree and Disagree responses to report the percentage of staff

disagreeing, and similarly, across Agree and Strongly agree to report the percentage of staff

agreeing. Descriptive analysis of interview data proceeded as follows. I developed a debriefing

guide that mapped the interview questions onto our analytic categories (e.g., Extent to which

sheltered versus mainstream courses were equally rigorous), which functioned as a template for

writing findings for each school. For each analytic category, researchers read across all interview

transcripts at a school, making systematic notes regarding trends, anchoring synthetic and

summary statements in evidence and exemplary quotes, and noting exceptions. After completing

school debriefings, researchers recorded emergent themes for the corresponding analytic

categories. For 6 months, researchers debriefed bi-weekly, sharing emerging themes and

contesting with confirming and disconfirming evidence until reaching consensus. Researchers

iterated across schools and produced a themes document summarizing findings.

Analyses of Student Administrative Data

Each year, separate analyses of District 1 and 2 data used student-linked data.

Research Question 3. Determining classroom composition by language status

involved calculating the following: First, for each student for each course taken: (a) the

percentage of classmates in each language status category; (b) mean percentage of

classmates designated special education; and (c) mean classmate ELA and math CST

scores. Next, these percentages/scores were averaged across all courses each student took,

followed by averaging these percentages/scores for students in each language status

category. For each student language status category, the resulting averages/scores indicate

average percentage of classmates in each language status category, the average percentage

of classmates designated special education, and the average ELA and math CST scores for

courses taken.

Research Question 4. Determining credit-earning patterns by language status

involved calculating the following: the number of credits earned in each course category

over 1 year for each student. This step was repeated calculating only the number credits

earned in courses with a grade of C or higher. Finally, these credits were averaged across

students within course category, disaggregated by student language status category.

Research Question 5. To examine the high school outcomes of the grade 9 cohort,

for each student we determined whether they: (a) reclassified FEP; (b) graduated from high

school; and (c) completed requirements for 4-year college eligibility. We then

disaggregated by language status the percentage of students who had achieved each

outcome.

Triangulation and Comparative Analyses. Qualitative data, triangulated across data

sources as well as across district and school levels and across roles, revealed the extent to which

EL CSs afforded OTL. Quantitative revealed associated patterns of additional measures of OTL

and student outcomes. Comparative analyses of patterns across districts bolstered the findings.

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Results

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Curricular Streams

District Policy Context. District placement policies for providing ELD and core content

instruction, along with extent of policy implementation investments appeared to drive schools'

CSs. Until fully implementing a new EL Master Plan in 2013-14, District 1 functioned under its

previous one. District 2 implemented its new master plan during its 2 years of participation

(2011-13). Both master plans provided guidelines for curricular placement in ELD and content

courses based on CELDT ELP levels and CST-ELA achievement and gave schools primary

responsibility for interventions. These similarities aside, key criteria for entry, placement, and

exit from EL *CSs* differed across the two districts: The first distinction centered on when

designated ELD instruction ceased. District 1 continued designated ELD instruction for ELs at

intermediate ELP levels who were more than 1 year below grade level or lower on the CST-

ELA, whereas District 2 curtailed it at intermediate ELP levels without regard for ELA

performance. The second focused on mainstreaming of higher performing ELs, which District 1

did not permit, even for ELs who were ELP and ELA proficient on state tests. In contrast,

District 2 permitted mainstreaming of ELs at early advanced or advanced levels of ELP and/or

who were about a half a year below grade level or above on the CST-ELA. Third was use of

years in EL status as a placement criterion, which District 1 did not take into account until it

implemented its new master plan, whereas District 2 did so. Finally, District 1 invested heavily

in policy implementation (Fuhrman & Elmore, 1990; O'Day & Smith, 2016), providing schools

detailed prescriptive policy directives and professional development along with monitoring.

District 2 schools were largely responsible for interpretation and implementation. These

differences co-occurred with differences in *CSs* and affordances for ELD instruction and access

to mainstream core content, the full curriculum, and higher performing non-EL peers.

**Curricular Streams and Affordances for ELD, Access to Core Content, the Full
Curriculum, and Higher Performing non-EL Peers**. Several features of EL *CSs* were

implicated in affording or diminishing OTL for ELs, including: (a) the relative emphasis on ELD

versus core content; remediation versus acceleration, and isolation versus integration with higher

performing non-EL peers; (b) whether reclassifying FEP was the gateway to the mainstream

core, the full curriculum, and non-EL peers; and (c) the extent to which sheltered and

mainstream content courses were equivalent in terms of rigor, pacing, depth, and content.

   District 1 CSs, 2011-2013. The EL *CSs* of School 11, a comprehensive high school,

illustrate the restricted access to the academic core, the full curriculum, and non-EL peers that

was common in 6 of the 7 participating secondary schools in District 1 (see Figure 1). Staff

enrolled ELs in separate *CSs* that precluded participation in other schools and streams within the

school: mainstream, School for Advanced Study (SAS), honors, and a visual arts magnet school.

The gateway to entry was reclassifying FEP.

   The two ELD/Sheltered *CSs* streams emphasized the development of ELP, while

restricting access to core content (see Figure 1). They targeted relatively new ELs (25% of all

ELs at School 11) at any level of ELP who were below grade level on the CST-ELA. Yearlong

2-period designated ELD block courses precluded core ELA and electives. ELD "enabling"

content and/or sheltered core content courses comprised the remainder. Neither ELD nor ELD

"enabling" content course curricula aligned with core content standards. ELD "enabling" content

courses were intended to introduce the vocabulary and other language skills necessary to profit

from core content instruction after ELP had improved, but staff complained that they were

"dumbed down." Moreover, exiting these *CSs* required passing the final ELD course or

reclassifying, so students could cycle repeatedly through the same ELD courses and, at some

schools, the attendant ELD "enabling" content courses. Finally, ELD until advanced levels and

ELD "enabling" content courses garnered neither high school graduation nor 4-year college

eligibility credits, substantially decreasing the possibility of on time graduation.

   The Preparing for Reclassification (PRP) and Sheltered *CSs* together enrolled 75% of the

schools' ELs, most of whom were LTELs. The PRP stream emphasized sheltered core content

along with remediation and was primarily for students at intermediate to advanced levels of ELP

who were below grade level on the CST-ELA. These students enrolled in all sheltered core

courses, which ostensibly provided integrated ELD and access to core content via Specially

Designed Academic Instruction in English (SDAIE), instructional strategies for making content

more accessible to ELs such as scaffolding, graphic organizers, and visuals. For the lowest

performing students, an intervention supplemented (English Language Skills) or supplanted

(*Language!*) sheltered core English and precluded electives.

In the Sheltered *CS*, high-performing ELs at early advanced and advanced levels of ELP

and at grade level and above on the CST-ELA remained in all sheltered courses. Yet, teachers

overwhelmingly reported that these ELs should be mainstreamed to increase challenge. Teacher

survey responses corroborated these interview findings: 91% and 100% in 2012-13 and 2013-14,

respectively, agreed that high-performing ELs should be mainstreamed (see Table 4).

Finally, ELs were academically, linguistically, and socially isolated in courses made up

almost exclusively of EL students. Staff reported that any non-EL peers tended to be lower

performing and/or special education students and that reclassifying was the gateway to

integration with more advanced non-ELs. Teacher survey responses across years corroborated

these views: 68% and 88% in 2012 and 2013-14, respectively, agreed that reclassification was

the gateway to full social inclusion/integration with mainstream non-EL peers, while 65% and

79% in 2012-13 and 2013-14, respectively, agreed that ELs were placed with low-performing

students (see Table 4). Staff expressed concerns about ELs always "traveling together," which

restricted exposure to linguistic models, high-performing students, and more challenging content

and expectations and also made the classroom environment susceptible to the few who were

disruptive in class (see Estrada et al., 2018). Staff also worried about stigmatization and social

isolation, citing lower academic self-efficacy and little participation in activities central to the

secondary experience such as school-wide sports events (see Estrada et al., 2018). Survey

responses (2012-13) indicated that 91% of teachers agreed that to ELs long-term status signified

stigmatization and failure (see Table 4).

In a slight departure from policy, School 8, a large middle school with EL *CSs*, a

mainstream stream, a School for Advanced Studies, and a Gifted Magnet Program, was the

single school in District 1's 2012-13 sample that adopted two strategies for increasing EL OTL:

It used core, rather than non-core curricula for the ELD enabling content courses. And, it

mainstreamed the large number of ELs (41%) who met two of three reclassification criteria, thus

eliminating reclassification as the gateway. Staff reported endeavoring to place these ELs with

high-quality teachers, monitoring their progress, and recruiting them into the honors program as

appropriate. Staff were acutely aware of EL isolation in the other streams and were concerned

about negative consequences, including stigmatization, coupled with diminished academic self-

efficacy. They expressed adamantly that mainstreaming and increasing OTL was urgent,

especially for high-performing ELs whom they considered held back by the EL label.

District 1 Curricular Streams, 2013-14. Under its OCR Voluntary Agreement to increase

EL services, District 1 implemented new *CSs* intended to (a) provide designated ELD courses

tailored to all ELs and LTELs separately until reclassification; and (b) increase access to

sheltered core content. School 8's Year 3 EL *CSs* demonstrate the changes (see Figure 2). Access

remained similarly restricted (including the omission of core ELA) for ELs at beginning to low

intermediate levels of ELP. Constraining ELD/Sheltered *CS* placement to students in EL status 4

years or fewer eliminated the possibility of LTELs languishing in these courses. ELD "enabling"

content courses remained an option for ELs at beginning levels of ELP, though School 8 offered

sheltered core content instead. ELD/Sheltered *CSs* for students at intermediate and advanced

levels of ELP included access to sheltered core ELA for the first time. The LTEL/Sheltered *CSs*

were comprised of sheltered content courses and two LTEL ELD courses: Language and

Literacy for ELs for students approximately 2 years or more below grade level on the CST-ELA;

and Advanced ELD for students at or above that level. In the Mainstream/Sheltered *CS*, ELs with

a parent waiver took mainstream core English instead of LTEL ELD courses, but remained in

sheltered courses otherwise.

      Along with these changes came two others that rigidified implementation and increased

EL isolation: District 1 now required the sheltered courses' classroom composition to be "all EL"

rather than "majority EL." If schools had insufficient ELs to do so, staff were to "backfill" with

lower-performing reclassified students. Policy also dictated enrollment in one of the LTEL ELD

courses for every LTEL, no matter how high-performing, thus locking the gate to the mainstream

core, the full curriculum, and higher performing peers. Due to backfilling, reclassifying did not

necessarily unlock the gate. In opposition to School 8's philosophy of accelerating ELs it

deemed capable, District 1 forced School 8 to enroll mainstreamed ELs in LTEL ELD courses,

"… we got [district] notices… you need to place him back into LTEL courses…it's just been a

very big disruption … students' specific needs should … dictate where their placement should

be." Further rigidifying effects included two schools increasing isolation further by separating

ELs into cohorts that remained together all day. Another school avoided disseminating parent

waivers from the LTEL ELD course. Two schools who did not conform entirely to the new

policy assigned most ELs to the required ELD courses, while enrolling them in mainstream

courses. One simply relabeled to sheltered any content course with EL enrollment. Both schools

expected teachers to provide integrated ELD and use SDAIE, but without necessarily providing

them support to do so. Rigidifying effects are reflected in 2013-14 survey responses: Regarding

reclassification as a gateway to the mainstream core and advanced courses, the full curriculum,

and non-EL peers, and those regarding EL isolation, the percentage of teachers agreeing largely

increased (see Table 4).

   District 2 Curricular Streams, 2011-2013. Less District 2 involvement provided schools

more latitude and *CSs* were more variable. Nonetheless in 3 of 4 schools, restricted access to

ELD, mainstream core content, and higher performing peers diminished OTL. In 2012-13, two

schools eliminated EL instructional services altogether, either supplanting ELD and/or ELA with

a literacy intervention or with an English course for low-performing students. Similarly, they

eliminated sheltered courses, typically enrolling ELs in low-performing *CSs* with low-

performing non-ELs, and special education students.

   Two schools provided designated ELD instruction for beginning and early intermediate

levels of ELP. School 18, a large comprehensive high school, emphasized sheltered core content,

along with remediation, offering designated ELD to foreign-born beginner and early intermediate

ELs (3% of its large EL population). The majority of ELs (73%), nearly all of whom were

LTELs, were isolated in all- or majority-EL sheltered content courses. For the lowest performing

ELs in both groups a reading intervention supplanted an elective. In 2011-12, when the ELC

mainstreamed ELs (24%) with grades of B or higher in sheltered core content courses,

performance or reclassifying functioned as the gateway. But in 2012-13 staff applied much more

stringent criteria and mainstreamed only a few high-performing ELs. Thus, reclassification

became the gateway to the mainstream core, the full curriculum and higher performing non-EL

peers. Consistent with these views, survey responses indicated that over 90% of District 2

teachers agreed that reclassification functioned as a gateway; see Table 4).

In contrast, historically low performing School 17, took a radical, innovative approach intent on providing access to the academic core for all and integrating students (see Figure 3). It adopted the Common Core State Standards (CCSS), along with common curricular materials, standards-driven project-based learning with clear objectives and common student products, articulated within and between departments. It eschewed interventions. Its ELD/Mainstream *CS* provided a 2-hour ELD/ELA block for ELs at beginning and early intermediate levels of ELP who were 2 years or more below grade level on the CST-ELA, 25% of its ELs (see Figure 3). The teacher used the ELD curriculum to support the language skills necessary for EL success in ELA, while using the same ELA CCSS-aligned materials and generating similar student products as mainstream ELA courses. Outside of ELD, these ELs enrolled in heterogeneous mainstream content courses with non-EL peers. Staff placed the other 75% of ELs with non-ELs in one of two mainstream *CS*s: Both ELs and non-ELs needing additional support enrolled in 2-hour ELA blocks, with flexible assignment and movement into 1-hour ELA when students were ready. Otherwise, all ELs and non-ELs enrolled in integrated, heterogeneous mainstream core courses.

School 17 appeared to have succeeded in emphasizing ELD as a vehicle for content learning and providing ELs access to the mainstream core, the full curriculum, and more advanced peers. Interestingly, School 17 had historically segregated ELs into a separate wing. After initial staff resistance to the idea of integrating and teaching all students in their classrooms, administrators reported that most had been won over by the positive effects of the new program on student engagement, learning, and products. Teachers confirmed this view offering examples of the power of articulation across content areas. For example, when summarizing was a key ELA project element, the science department developed a parallel project using the same graphic organizer template for producing a brochure summarizing genetic

disorders. The teacher emphasized that students were profiting by developing a common set of skills that bolstered deeper learning across content areas. Teachers spoke about the phenomenal projects on human rights issues, citing the thought-provoking questions students generated such as, "'How does torture affect others who are not being tortured, but watching?'…Every kid, no matter what language you speak, had to get up and present to their classes."

Sheltered Core Content Compared to Main Core Content Courses. Across the two districts and multiple years of the project, when comparing mainstream and sheltered core courses, teachers often reported decreased depth, rigor, pacing, use of core curricular materials, and lower teacher expectations. A staff member explained, "I think there is some dumbing down. I don't think they're as rigorous … We end up giving these kids work and activities that prepare them only for menial labor… assembly-line oriented." A science teacher commented, "A lot of the [sheltered] classes—they're very dysfunctional. Because they are given worksheets, things that are simple, let's color, let's watch a video. And so they're not being challenged with rigor, the expectation is not set up high, you know. I think it's wrong, and it happens too many times..." Teachers often linked low expectations, lack of rigor, and excessive "scaffolding" (e.g., filling in blanks) that led to students' reluctance to risk a response. One teacher decried that ELs had been "spoon-fed." A science teacher said, "They just become so used to getting the help and they kinda wait … unless you're willing and determined that they're gonna do something or that you're gonna provide more tools by your expecting them to do something." Another teacher said, "And when you put in rigor, or you're challenging them to get out of the box and, 'Yes, you can do it, or at least try it. I want you to try it. I won't help you more than this until you show me something,' …. Um that's when I think that, that you know that that happens [student learning]."

Increased use of alternative material, less content coverage, and simplified language were other sheltered course practices teachers often reported. A biology teacher, for example, explained slowing the pacing, relying on web-based materials with more visuals and less text, using the core text only for vocabulary, and limiting reading. Teachers reported using simplified, "kid friendly" language to explain content-specific concepts and fewer language-intensive assignments and activities. Reflecting assumptions about EL capacity and low expectations, an English teacher explained that sheltered class lessons were a lot slower with more modeling, involved less individual writing, and did not have the kinds of discussions her mainstream class had because "students weren't there yet" and "the CCSS have so much depth, you can't force that on them all at once."

Staff also discussed the challenge of these courses for students and teachers and the need for teacher support. A staff member related, "I think you can say, well, there are different ways of accessing the kids' knowledge … [but] The teachers don't know what to do. They don't know how to access and assess that." Students refusing to read was a frequent staff observation. One staff member quoted a student saying, "Reading makes me feel stupid," suggesting that the school system had failed to ensure s/he could read to learn. For their part, teachers reported reading aloud as one strategy for providing access. But some staff worried about the lack of a gradual release model in this kind of instruction. At the same time, teachers reported that providing access to grade-level content and curricula was challenging in the face of insufficient support, particularly when students struggled to read and comprehend. Survey responses from teachers in District 1 in Year 3 were consistent with these views showing that nearly 70% agreed that sheltered core courses compared to mainstream core courses tended to be less rigorous, slower-paced, and rely more on alternative curricula (see Table 4).

Notably across the two districts, two English and one math teacher, two of whom also taught gifted students, articulated and provided evidence for teaching sheltered core courses that were more comparable to mainstream courses. They emphasized engaging ELs in the same thinking processes and analysis and in generating similar products as their mainstream and/or gifted students. For example, asserting that ELs were equally capable of critical thinking, even if not equally capable of grade level reading, one sheltered English teacher chose appropriate lower-lexile novels with complex themes for analysis and writing. This perspective stood in contrast to the pervasive views of LTELs as low performers who "can't" (Estrada et al., 2018).

Finally according to staff, clustering small groups of ELs and integrating them with higher performing ELs, rather than segregating them, would increase access in various ways. Most administrators and teachers focused on the increased rigor and challenge that ELs would experience and step up to if integrated into mainstream core classes "…the expectation is pretty high, compared to other [sheltered] course[s]. And then also, there's nobody there to follow their foolishness— and they're gonna be forced to buckle down and pay a little more attention, or to function, sometimes even at that level." Staff also highlighted the advantages of academic language, product, and achievement models, which would increase opportunities for heterogeneous grouping, peer assistance, modeling, and collaboration. Such contexts, according to teachers fostered EL motivation, engagement, and reduced behavior problems. Finally, staff emphasized the importance of social inclusion and exposure to a diverse set of students.

District 1 EL Classroom Composition

Consistent with EL *CSs* policy, in both years, LTELs and ELs were isolated in highly concentrated classrooms with other LTELs and ELs in both middle (50-60% of classmates) and high school (roughly 40%-50% of classmates) (see Tables 5 and 6). For LTELs and ELs,

including reclassified students brought the concentration of LTEL, EL, and former ELs to 74%-81% or higher of classmates in middle school and to 73%-77% of classmates in high school (see Table 6). This finding showed that schools indeed backfilled EL classrooms with reclassified students, demonstrating the power of curricular placement structures. IFEPs and EOs constituted the remainder of these students' classmates. In middle and high school, reclassified students were in classes primarily with other reclassified classmates; the remainder were comprised of IFEPs and EOs. EOs were similarly in classes with high concentrations of EOs, while IFEPs, the smallest group, were in classrooms primarily with reclassified students, followed by EOs and IFEPs. Comparing the average school concentrations with the average classroom concentrations of each language group revealed that school demographic patterns did not account for the classroom patterns of language status concentration we discovered.

Demonstrating that ELs had little access to higher performing peers, LTELs and ELs were in classrooms with the lowest average CST-ELA and CST-Math. Average class performance was highest for students reclassified FEP 1 year or more earlier, IFEPs, and EOs. LTELS also had the highest percentage of special education classmates, ranging from 26% to 31% in middle school and 21% to 30% in high school. The other language status groups had fewer special education classmates, ranging from 7% to 16% in middle school and 7% to 12% in high school. For LTELs, in particular, and ELs, these patterns of linguistic and academic isolation in low-performing classrooms indicate diminished OTL.

Course Credits Earned with a Grade of C or Higher by Language Status

The pattern of credits earned at a grade of C or higher, by language status, was similar across districts and middle and high school levels (see Tables 7 and 8). For LTELs and ELs, the pattern was consistent with EL *CSs*' restricted access to the academic core and the full

curriculum. LTELs and ELs obtained the least number of credits in core, advanced, and

nonacademic courses and the most intervention credits. The pattern was reversed for students

who had been reclassified 1 or more years prior and for IFEPs. For students reclassified the

previous year and EOs, patterns of credit earning were in the middle of the range. Total number

of credits earned by language status mirrored these patterns: LTELs and ELs earned the least.

Other notable findings emerged from these data. The District 1 2013-14 shift in A-G

credit-earning from EL ELD to LTEL ELD courses is reflected in EL Academic Core credits:

ELs earned more in 2012-13 prior to the shift and LTELs earned more in 2013-14 after the shift,

demonstrating once more the power of *CSs* (see Table 7). A second notable finding is the higher

number of credits students reclassified the prior year earned compared to LTELs and ELs. One

explanation is straightforward: higher performing students were reclassified and earned more

credits in their new status. Similarly likely is that passing through the gateway increased access

to the mainstream core and full curriculum, ergo OTL. Third, in both districts the pattern of high

school course credits earned by nearly all language groups, on average, fell far short of

graduation and 4-year college eligibility requirements. In District 1 based on the average credits

LTELs earned in 2013-14, over 4 years they would earn 93.6. A-G credits and 160.4 total credits

versus the 15 A-G courses (150 credits) and 210 total credits required for graduation. ELs, on

average, would similarly fall far short. District 2 students, on average, would likewise miss the

required 16 A-G courses (160 credits) and 230 total credits for graduation. The pattern of

findings for number of courses taken and course credits without the C or higher stipulation was

similar and is available from the author.

Longitudinal High School Outcomes for the District 1 Grade 9 Cohort

Co-occurring with restricted OTL in EL *CSs*, among the grade 9 EL cohort, outcomes for

the 52% who remained ELs throughout high school were poor: Only 26% graduated, whereas

75% of those who were reclassified did so (see Table 9). Similarly, 21% of students who

remained ELs dropped out and another 43% transferred. Of the grade 9 cohort who remained in

school through grade 12, 60% reclassified. For these students, in the first 3 years (2010-13) the

reclassification rate hovered at 10%. In the last year (2013-14), when grades in the new LTEL

ELD courses could be substituted for the ELA grades reclassification criterion, the rate jumped

to 28%. ELs passing the LTEL courses also received graduation and 4-year college eligibility for

English the first year of enrollment. Achieving 4-year college eligibility, however, was elusive

for both groups, with 5% of ELs and 20% of reclassified students doing so.

Discussion

Across districts, years, methods, and measures, the findings demonstrate that students

with continuing EL status in secondary school often face diminished OTL and add to an

accumulating body of evidence regarding ELs' curricular experiences (Callahan, 2005; Callahan

& Schifrer, 2012; Dabach, 2014; Dabach, & Callahan, 2011; Estrada, 2014; Estrada et al., 2018).

LTEL and EL curricular placement typically meant restricted access to mainstream core content,

the full curriculum, and higher performing non-ELs, with the exception of one school. Language

status was the driver of curricular placement, simultaneously segregating ELs linguistically,

academically, and socially. Such placement also meant de facto ability grouping into lower-level

content classes, practices researchers have reminded us promote inequity (Gamoran, 1992).

Under these circumstances students are likely to get further behind (e.g., Hallinan & Kubitschek,

1999; Oakes, 2005). Patterns of core and advanced credits earned and high school outcomes

showed ELs in jeopardy for graduation and that achieving 4-year college eligibility is extremely

rare, consistent with previous research (e.g., Callahan & Shifrer, 2012). Without high school or

college credentials, these ELs' potential to participate meaningfully in our economy is decreased,

thus their life chances are bleak (Stiglitz, 2013).

A unique contribution is illustrating how districts and schools create OTL within the EL

CSs they devise to meet the dual mandates of ELD and core content instruction. Like Estrada

(2014), I found that specific features of *CSs* are implicated in increasing or diminishing OTL.

Decisions about the relative emphasis on ELD versus core mainstream academic content,

remediation versus acceleration, and isolation versus integration are consequential. The best of

intentions can have unintended negative consequences. For example, ELD instruction or literacy

interventions that supplanted core English, reduced access to the core. Similarly, isolating

LTELs and ELs in separate *CSs* created challenging teaching and learning spaces for teachers

and students alike as other researchers have reported (e.g., Dabach, 2014; Estrada, et al., 2018).

Relatedly, sheltered core content courses (typically with high concentrations of ELs), intended to

increase instruction tailored to ELs, instead appeared to diminish access to core content due to

decreased rigor, depth, pacing, content coverage, and lower teacher expectations. Such practices

are also related to stigmatization and diminished EL academic and teacher instructional self-

efficacy (Dabach, 2014; Estrada et al., 2018). Finally, using reclassification to fluent English

proficient as the gateway to the mainstream core, the full curriculum, and higher performing non-

EL peers decreased OTL markedly. Such policies and practices fly in the face of both

sociocultural and SLA theory and current research on effective and promising practices

emphasizing rigorous instruction, EL integration with English-speaking peers, and opportunities

for collaboration (e.g., NASEM, 2017). Peers are also vital sources of motivation and social

capital (e.g., Burton & Welsh, 2015; Ryan & Deci, 2000). In contrast, across districts only one

school created *CSs* consistent with these theories, instantiated promising practices, and increased

EL OTL. Staff reports about how to improve EL OTL were similarly congruent.

District policies, support, and oversight appear to set conditions for school-level *CSs*.

District 1's policies were detailed and involved support and monitoring, which co-occurred with

more implementation uniformity. However, its new *CSs* were inflexible and rigidified features

that were implicated in reducing OTL. The EL label, due to its legal entitlements, became a blunt

instrument for placement that limited staff capacities to respond to students' needs and talents

and increase OTL. In particular, the new policies mandated placement into ELD courses

(ostensibly tailored for ELs or LTELs) and sheltered content courses for every EL, no matter

how high-performing or talented. Mainstreaming high performing ELs was thus eliminated as a

possibility. District 2's policies functioned more as guidelines. In this context, one school

designed *CSs* that increased OTL by targeting students' instructional needs and maximizing

access to core content and integrating students. Yet, the other schools restricted OTL by either

adopting CSs similar to District 1's or ability grouping and eliminating ELD and content

instruction targeting ELs.

Policy, Practice, and Research Implications

Secondary ELs merit high OTL. Despite the desirable intent of EL designation, EL status

at the secondary level appears to often delay access to mainstream core content, the full

curriculum, and higher performing non-EL peers, and thus decrease OTL. The findings provide a

glimpse into the challenge districts and schools face in creating curricular programs that meet the

legal mandates of providing ELD and core content instruction. My research demonstrates the

utility of the concept of *CSs* as a powerful tool for district and school staff use for describing and

analyzing affordances for access for core content, the full curriculum, and higher performing

peers. Indeed, participating school staff found our *CSs* representations of their EL programs

useful and often asked us to provide them for their use.

The findings indicate that the EL label alone can function as curricular placement destiny.

Yet, allowing it to function in this way risks blinding us to recognizing and developing EL

competencies. For developing EL potential other opportunities to learn may be as or more

critical than ELD and sheltered content instruction, particularly for LTELs who are typically

proficient in everyday, yet not in academic English. Increasingly, the recommended emphasis is

instead on rigorous, intensive, small-group instruction that fosters facility with academic

language, including in textual forms (NASEM, 2017; Olsen, 2014). In fact, successful secondary

EL programs often omit designated ELD, instead offering integrated ELD within the content

areas due to the short window of opportunity and the depth of learning required for secondary

success (McHugh, Sugarman, Romero-Johnson, & Colon-Collins, 2018).

Teachers' reports of the ways in which they adjust their teaching and often diminish OTL

in sheltered core courses indicates that pedagogical capacity-building is critical. The challenges

they report of teaching core content to secondary ELs, especially those struggling with reading,

comprehending, and writing, speaks to their need for assistance. It also implies a larger shared

responsibility for identifying and responding to the instructional needs of ELs earlier in their

education. Indeed, the Working Group on ELL Policy (2015) has outlined recommendations for

local capacity building, including improving the knowledge and skills of all teachers for

providing language and content instruction. The groups' recommendations include increasing the

capacity of faculty at institutions of higher education and developing a national program of

research that informs better instructional practices for ELs. The few teachers who describe

maintaining rigor, depth, and core content coverage when teaching ELs may be untapped resources to include in research.

The findings provoke a number of research questions in need of further research. What should be the key criteria for determining placement in ELD, sheltered, or mainstream streams? What is the empirical basis for using reclassification as a gateway to full access, and relatedly, to retaining higher performing ELs in sheltered classes—particularly when EL status is locally defined and criteria vary widely and can be quite stringent (Estrada & Wang, 2018)? Would placing high-performing ELs in mainstream or more advanced core courses increase OTL and academic outcomes? Would mainstream core content courses with teachers with pedagogical capacity serve ELs better than sheltered content courses? These questions are especially important to answer in light of two recent studies: the first showing that significant numbers of ELs meeting stringent criteria are not reclassified (Estrada & Wang, 2018); the second showing the negative impact of the EL label on state content standards achievement for students at the margin of being identified EL (Umansky, 2014). What are the advantages of clustering and integrating smaller numbers of ELs with higher performing peers in classrooms with capable teachers—something teachers have suggested (Estrada et al., 2018)? What can we learn from secondary schools who have rejected the notions of EL as curricular destiny and reclassification as gateway and instead implemented *CSs* providing ELs more access to the academic core, the full curriculum, and mainstream integration?

A central strength of my work is the comparative, multimethod approach, which yielded analyses of *CSs* and their affordances for OTL, along with complimentary interview and survey evidence and corresponding quantitative patterns of EL classroom composition, course credits, and high school outcomes. Rich descriptions are essential for grounded theory building and

hypothesis generation. Limitations include that such approaches preclude causal interpretations

and that I could not verify teacher reports with classroom observations.

The findings are timely. In addition to outlining broad patterns, this work provides a

window into the conditions under which ELs experience greater or less OTL. A libertarian view

might take the stance that secondary ELs, who are mostly LTELs and have not met performance

criteria for reclassifying, merit placement in lower level courses (see Guiton & Oakes, 1995).

Recently, some researchers have suggested increasing rigor rather than detracking ELs

(Gamoran, 2017). Yet the case of ELs is much more complex than low performance. Moreover,

maintaining rigor in low tracks is rare (Heubert & Hauser, 1999) and attempts have failed as the

present and other research has shown (e.g., Estrada, 2014; Estrada et al., 2018). An egalitarian

perspective (Guiton & Oakes, 1995), which I hold, asserts that OTL is a fundamental right and

that public schools have a responsibility to distribute and redistribute resources, if necessary, so

that all students, regardless of circumstances of birth, can succeed. In a democracy and economy

dependent on the talents of an engaged, participatory citizenry, we are wise to remember these

students' loss is also our loss, while their gain is our gain.

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Table 1

Data Sources by Year

Data	2010-11	2011-12	2012-13	2013-14
		District 1		
Policy documents	✓	✓	✓	✓
Interviews		✓	✓	✓
Surveys			✓	✓
Student admin data:	3	4	5	6
Grade level cohorts	4	5	6	7
& longitudinal &	5	6	7	8
cross-sectional	6	7	8	9
samples	7	8	9	10
	8	9	10	11
	9	10	11	12
		District 2		
Policy documents	✓	✓	✓	
Interviews		✓	✓	
Surveys			✓	
Student admin data:	3	4		
Grade level cohorts	4	5		
& longitudinal &	5	6		
cross-sectional	6	7		
samples	7	8		
	8	9		
	9	10		

Note. Vertical fill denotes cross-sectional samples. Horizontal fill denotes longitudinal sample, who entered grade 9 as ELs and were followed through grade 12. Administrative data were analyzed the following year.

Table 2

Student, School, and Staff Samples

Samples	2010-11	2011-12	2012-13	2013-14
		District 1		
		Grade Levels		
	—	—	6-11	6-12
Students				
Course taking	—	—	225,145	256,744
Classroom composition	—	—	224,188	252,034
High school outcomes				6,983[a]
Schools	—	6	6	7
Staff	—	55	54	84
Survey participants	—	—	54	84
Survey respondents	—	—	53	74
		District 2		
		Grade Levels		
Students	7-9	7-10	—	—
Course taking	8,081	12,051	—	—
Schools	—	4	4	—
Staff	—	38	37	—
Survey participants	—	—	37	—
Survey respondents	—	—	35	—

Note. Student data are for years 2010-11, 2011-12, 2012-13, and 2013-14. They were analyzed the following year and include EL and non-EL students. Staff interviews occurred in 2011–12, 2012–13, and 2013–14. Surveys occurred in 2012-13 and 2013-14. District 2 ceased participating in 2013-14.

[a]This was a grade 9 cohort that spanned 2010-11 to 2013-14.

Table 3

Demographic Characteristics of Student Samples by Language Status

Language Status	*n*	FRLP	Ethnicity			Home Language			U.S. born
			Hispanic	Asian	Black	Spanish	Hmong	Other	
District 1									
2012-13 (Grades 6-11)									
LTEL	33,937	75	97	1	0	97	0	3	84
EL	4,644	67	72	12	1	72	0	28	15
RFEP prior yr.	8,682	77	91	4	0	91	0	8	77
RFEP 1+yrs.	77,096	74	91	4	0	91	0	9	83
IFEP	27,470	69	81	7	1	82	0	18	91
EO	73,316	59	46	3	27	0	0	100	97
2013-14 (Grades 6-12)									
LTEL	36,090	79	96	1	0	96	0	3	85
EL	7,945	76	76	10	1	77	0	23	14
RFEP prior yr.	9,158	83	91	3	0	91	0	9	77
RFEP 1+yrs.	90,872	80	91	4	0	91	0	9	83
IFEP	30,171	74	81	7	1	82	0	18	90
EO	82,508	63	46	3	27	0	0	100	97
District 2									
2010-11 (Grades 7-9)									
LTEL	1,201	94	58	36	0	58	25	17	79
EL	362	93	54	41	1	54	15	31	34
RFEP prior yr.	239	96	56	41	0	55	23	21	72
RFEP 1+yrs.	1,227	87	44	49	0	44	20	36	81
IFEP	106	74	55	32	0	54	8	39	82
EO	4,946	63	28	10	29	0	0	100	99
2011-12 (Grades 7-10)									
LTEL	1,674	93	56	39	0	56	28	16	76
EL	567	90	46	48	1	46	11	43	38
RFEP prior yr.	282	91	42	50	1	42	31	27	75
RFEP 1+yrs.	2,018	87	44	48	1	44	21	35	79
IFEP	248	78	48	37	2	47	9	44	79
EO	7,262	62	26	11	31	0	0	100	98

Note. Demographics are reported as percentages. Data are cross sectional each year. District 1 data are for 2012-13 and 2013-14. District 2 data are for 2010-11 and 2011-12. EL = English learner; LTEL = long-term EL, 6 or more years in EL status; RFEP = reclassified fluent English proficient; IFEP = initially fluent proficient; EO = English only; FRLP = free and reduced lunch program.

Table 4

Teacher Survey Responses Regarding Reclassification as Gateway, EL Concentration, Mainstreaming, and Sheltered Core Content Courses

	District 1				District 2ᵃ			
	2012-13 (n = 23)		2013-14 (n = 28)		2012-13 (n = 16)		2013-14 (n = 0)	
Statement	Disagree	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree	Agree	—	—
Reclassification in my school is the gateway to full access to the academic core and advanced courses.	14.3	85.7	11.8	88.2	7.7	92.2	—	—
Reclassification in my school is the gateway to participation in all academic programs like gifted, magnet, and small learning communities.	31.8	68.2	11.8	88.2	9.1	91.0	—	—
Reclassification is the gateway to full social inclusion/integration with mainstream non-ELs.	31.8	68.2	5.6	94.4	8.3	91.6	—	—
ELs tend to be scheduled in classes as a cohort.	10.0	90.0	19.0	81.0	15.4	84.6	—	—
Sheltered classes have mostly ELs in them.	31.8	68.2	14.3	85.7	16.7	83.4	—	—
Non-ELs in sheltered classes are mostly low-performing and/or RSP.	35.3	64.7	21.0	79.0	0.0	100.0	—	—
High-performing ELs (Early Adv. or Adv. on the CELDT & CST-ELA Proficient or CST proficient and ELA grades of C or better) should be mainstreamed.	9.1	90.9	0.0	100.0	0.0	100.0	—	—
Compared to mainstream core classes, sheltered core classes to tend to be less rigorous, slower-paced, and rely more on alternative curricula.	—	—	30.4	69.6	—	—	—	—
To ELs, long-term status signifies stigmatization and failure.	8.7	91.3	—	—	7.7	92.3	—	—

Note. Data are reported as percentages using valid responses as the denominator. ELs = English learner students; CELDT = California English Language Development Test; CST-ELA = California Standards Test-English Language Arts; RSP = Resource Specialist Program. District 2 ceased participating in Year 3.

Table 5

Mean Classroom Percentage of EL and Non-EL Students and Mean Class Performance in Middle School by Language Status in District 1

Language Status	*n*	Mean Classroom Percentage of EL and non-EL students							Mean Class Performance and *SD*			
		LTEL	EL	RFEP prior yr.	RFEP 1+yrs.	IFEP	EO	SPED	CST-ELA	*SD*	CST-Math	*SD*
2012-13 (Grades 6-8)												
LTEL	16,588	46	4	5	19	7	19	26	311.8	23.6	313.4	32.3
EL	1,926	33	15	5	19	7	19	16	317.7	26.3	324.1	36.1
RFEP prior yr.	6,130	14	2	17	31	11	26	10	338.5	22.1	350.4	38.4
RFEP 1+ yrs.	32,774	9	1	6	42	14	27	7	353.4	29.7	363.5	47.1
IFEP	14,708	8	1	4	32	21	34	7	362.8	33.9	372.7	49.9
EO	38,812	8	1	4	23	13	50	12	358.7	39.0	367.8	55.5
2013-14 (Grades 6-8)												
LTEL	15,401	55	5	4	15	4	16	31	305.1	24.9	307.6	30.0
EL	2,795	30	31	4	16	5	15	14	302.9	26.4	310.4	31.9
RFEP prior yr.	5,533	11	2	16	34	10	28	10	337.0	22.2	345.7	37.7
RFEP 1+ yrs.	33,708	7	1	6	45	13	28	6	353.1	28.6	361.5	46.9
IFEP	12,204	6	1	4	35	18	35	7	364.1	33.0	375.2	51.6
EO	37,291	7	1	4	26	12	51	12	359.1	37.5	368.8	55.6

Note. Data are cross sectional in each year and are for 2012-13 and 2013-14. EL = English learner; LTEL = long-term EL, 6 or more years in EL status; RFEP = reclassified fluent English proficient; IFEP = initially fluent proficient; EO = English only; SPED = special education designation; CST-ELA = California Standards Test-English Language Arts; CST-Math = California Standards Test-Math. Language status percentages sum to 100% without SPED because it is a characteristic that can apply to any language status.

Table 6

Mean Classroom Percentage of EL and Non-EL Students and Mean Class Performance in High School by Language Status in District 1 in Years 3 and 4

Language Status	*n*	Mean Classroom Percentage of EL and non-EL students							Mean Class Performance & *SD*	
		LTEL	EL	RFEP prior yr.	RFEP 1+yrs.	IFEP	EO	SPED	CST-ELA	*SD*
		2012-13 (Grades 9-11)								
LTEL	17,253	37	3	2	31	7	20	21	310.6	20.8
EL	2,712	19	23	2	31	7	18	8	317.8	20.3
RFEP prior yr.	2,520	16	2	9	40	10	22	10	330.9	20.9
RFEP 1+ yrs.	43,973	12	2	2	50	11	23	7	343.1	26.6
IFEP	12,641	10	2	2	39	19	28	7	352.5	31.3
EO	34,151	10	1	2	30	10	47	10	343.9	34.0
		2013-14 (Grades 9-12)								
LTEL	19,591	42	5	2	26	7	19	30	308.7	21.0
EL	5,049	18	32	2	25	7	15	9	308.3	20.2
RFEP prior yr.	3,483	13	3	9	41	11	23	11	331.6	19.6
RFEP 1+ yrs.	55,832	9	2	3	50	13	23	7	344.2	24.7
IFEP	17,617	7	2	2	40	20	28	7	352.3	28.7
EO	43,530	9	2	2	30	12	46	12	344.6	31.8

Note. Data are cross sectional each year and are for 2012-13 and 2013-14. EL = English learner; LTEL = long-term EL, 6 or more years in EL status; RFEP = reclassified fluent English proficient; IFEP = initially fluent proficient; EO = English only; SPED = special education designation; CST-ELA = California Standards Test-English Language Arts. Language status percentages sum to 100% without SPED because it is a characteristic that can apply to any language status.

Table 7

Mean Credits Earned in Core and Non-Core Courses with a C or Higher by Language Status in Middle and High School in District 1

Language Status	*n*	Academic Core & Advanced	EL Academic Core	Academic Intervention	Academic Non-Core & Enrichment	Non-Academic	*M (SD)*
			Middle School				
			2012-13 (Grades 6–8)				
LTEL	16,462	21.2	1.5	5.7	1.9	12.7	43.1 (20.1)
EL	1,919	24.5	4.3	5.5	2.0	13.6	49.9 (17.9)
RFEP prior yr.	6,130	28.5	0.0	4.6	2.1	15.0	50.2 (17.9)
RFEP 1+ yrs.	32,774	30.3	0.0	3.0	2.6	17.0	52.9 (16.8)
IFEP	14,741	30.2	0.0	2.2	2.1	17.2	51.8 (16.4)
EO	38,916	28.2	0.0	2.5	1.9	16.2	48.9 (17.8)
			2013-14 (Grades 6–8)				
LTEL	15,762	18.1	4.2	4.1	1.9	10.4	38.7 (20.7)
EL	2,843	19.0	1.8	10.6	1.8	10.8	43.9 (19.1)
RFEP prior yr.	5,627	24.5	0.1	3.9	2.2	13.7	44.3 (19.0)
RFEP 1+ yrs.	34,246	25.1	0.0	2.6	2.6	15.3	45.5 (18.6)
IFEP	12,378	25.8	0.0	1.9	2.3	15.5	45.4 (17.9)
EO	37,796	24.9	0.0	2.4	2.0	15.3	44.7 (18.5)
			High School				
			2012-13 (Grades 9-11)				
LTEL	17,475	20.2	0.1	3.7	0.3	9.1	33.5 (22.6)
EL	2,725	27.3	4.7	4.0	0.3	11.1	47.4 (22.5)
RFEP prior yr.	2,552	31.2	0.0	2.9	0.5	12.1	46.7 (20.8)
RFEP 1+ yrs.	44,322	35.2	0.0	1.9	0.6	11.9	49.6 (21.0)
IFEP	12,729	35.5	0.0	1.8	0.6	12.4	50.3 (20.8)
EO	34,400	31.5	0.0	2.0	0.5	11.6	45.6 (22.5)
			2013-14 (Grades 9-12)				
LTEL	20,328	20.6	3.3	4.7	0.9	10.7	40.1 (24.2)
EL	5,102	25.4	1.9	8.9	0.4	10.4	47.0 (23.4)
RFEP prior yr.	3,531	35.0	0.0	2.4	0.5	12.7	50.7 (21.1)
RFEP 1+ yrs.	56,626	37.7	0.0	1.5	0.7	12.9	52.8 (20.4)
IFEP	17,793	38.2	0.0	1.5	0.7	12.8	53.2 (20.1)
EO	44,712	33.7	0.0	2.3	0.8	12.8	49.6 (22.7)

Note. Data are cross sectional each year and are for 2012–13 and 2013–14. Credits represent one school year. A semester course is typically 5 units. A 1-year course is typically 10 credits. During the time of study, District 1 required 230 credits for graduation. EL = English learner; LTEL = long-term EL, 6 or more years in EL status; RFEP = reclassified fluent English proficient; IFEP = initially fluent proficient; EO = English only.

Table 8
Mean Credits Earned in Core and Non-Core Courses with a C or Higher by Language Status in Middle and High School in District 2

Language Status	*n*	Academic Core & Advanced	EL Academic Core	Academic Intervention	Academic Non-Core & Enrichment	Non-Academic	*M (SD)*
		Middle School (Grades 7-8)					
		2010-11 (Grades 7–8)					
LTEL	752	50.1	5.6	9.9	5.4	29.1	40.4 (16.4)
EL	231	42.6	12.1	13.9	4.3	27.0	43.4 (15.0)
RFEP prior yr.	157	63.4	0.3	0.4	6.7	29.1	51.4 (12.7)
RFEP 1+ yrs.	746	64.1	0.2	0.2	5.6	29.9	53.7 (11.6)
IFEP	64	64.2	0.0	0.3	6.4	29.1	53.6 (11.9)
EO	3,218	59.8	0.1	2.5	7.0	30.7	44.4 (17.9)
		2011-12 (Grades 7–8)					
LTEL	850	27.6	0.2	4.4	2.1	12.0	46.4 (13.5)
EL	263	22.8	1.7	5.8	2.0	11.2	43.5 (15.8)
RFEP prior yr.	180	34.3	0.0	0.8	3.5	14.5	53.2 (10.9)
RFEP 1+ yrs.	973	36.4	0.0	0.4	3.6	15.3	55.6 (9.5)
IFEP	126	34.9	0.1	0.6	3.5	15.1	54.2 (10.3)
EO	3953	29.0	0.0	1.2	3.3	13.9	47.3 (15.2)
		High School (grades 9-10)					
		2010-11 (Grade 9)					
LTEL	449	20.3	3.8	4.4	2.6	9.2	40.3 (21.4)
EL	131	18.9	8.4	4.4	1.8	10.1	43.5 (18.7)
RFEP prior yr.	82	35.4	0.4	0.9	0.5	11.1	48.4 (17.7)
RFEP 1+ yrs.	481	39.4	0.0	0.7	1.2	12.3	53.6 (14.2)
IFEP	42	36.5	0.0	0.2	0.7	12.3	49.8 (17.6)
EO	1,728	27.2	0.0	1.4	2.5	10.2	41.4 (21.3)
		2011-12 (Grades 9–10)					
LTEL	824	23.5	4.7	3.0	2.4	9.6	43.3 (19.0)
EL	304	16.3	9.1	3.4	2.7	8.4	40.0 (19.9)
RFEP prior yr.	102	37.9	0.1	0.5	0.9	11.2	50.6 (16.1)
RFEP 1+ yrs.	1045	41.5	0.1	0.7	1.0	10.6	53.9 (14.8)
IFEP	122	38.5	0.7	0.6	1.5	10.2	51.5 (17.1)
EO	3309	31.7	0.0	1.1	2.6	9.8	45.2 (20.2)

Note. Data are cross sectional each year and are for 2010-11 and 2011-12. Credits represent one school year. A semester course is typically 5 units. A 1-year course is typically 10 credits. During the time of study, District 2 required 230 credits for graduation. EL = English learner; LTEL = long-term EL, 6 or more years in EL status; RFEP = reclassified fluent English proficient; IFEP = initially fluent proficient; EO = English only

Table 9

High School Outcomes for Students Entering Grade 9 as English Learners in District 1

| | Entire entering cohort | |
	Never	By Grade 12
Reclassify	52	48
	(3,603)	(3,381)
High School Completion		
Graduate Completers	26	75
Non-Grad Completers	6	6
Non-Grad Continuers	4	2
Drop outs	21	7
Transfers	43	10
	Portion of cohort that persisted through grade 12	
Reclassify	Never	By grade 12
	40	60
	(2,085)	(3,171)
Complete 4 yr.-college eligibility	5	20

Note. Numbers represent percentages; *ns* in parentheses. For completion of 4-year college eligibility, total *n* = 4,295 due to missing data.

School 11
Grades 9-12 (2011-12)
English Learner

	ELD/ Sheltered	ELD/ Sheltered	Preparing for Reclassification	Sheltered
Curricular Stream	ELD/ Sheltered	ELD/ Sheltered	Preparing for Reclassification	Sheltered
English Language Proficiency	Beginning-Early Intermediate	Intermediate-Advanced	Intermediate-Advanced	Early Advanced-Advanced
ELA Achievement	CST-ELA Basic or below	CST-ELA Basic or below	CST-ELA Basic or below	CST-ELA Proficient or Advanced
Courses	• ELD 1AB[a] • SH Algebra • SH Science • ELD Soc. Studies • Elective/PE	• ELD 2AB[a] or 3/4 • SH Math • SH Science • SH Soc. Studies • Elective/PE	• SH English *or Language!* [ab] *or* SH English and Eng. Lang. Skills[b] • SH Math • SH Science • SH Soc. Studies • Elective/PE	• SH English • SH Math • SH Science • SH Soc. Studies • Elective/PE
Language & Perform. Demog.	• EL only	• EL only	• EL only	• EL only
Access to Core	• ELD 1AB[a] no access to core English	• ELD 2AB no access to core English • ELD 3/4 some access to core ELA	• Content courses-core curricula & SDAIE	• Content courses-core curricula & SDAIE

Interventions	• Lowest performing ELs are placed in *Language!* if they fail English Language Skills • After-school Math tutoring

Figure 1. School 11 English learner *Curricular Streams*. English learners were placed in

Curricular Streams based on English language proficiency levels as assessed by the California

English Language Development Test and performance on the CST-ELA. CST-ELA performance

levels are far below basic, approximately 3 years below grade level; below basic, approximately

2 years below grade level; basic, approximately 1 year below grade level; proficient, grade level;

and advanced, above grade level. Twenty-five percent of ELs enrolled in the two ELD/Sheltered

streams; 75% enrolled in the Preparing for Reclassification and Sheltered streams. EL = English

learner. RFEP = Reclassified fluent English proficient. IFEP = Initially fluent English proficient.

EO = English only. ELD = English language development. CST-ELA = California Standards

Test-English Language Arts. SH = Sheltered. SDAIE = Specially designed academic instruction

in English.

[a]These courses were 2-period blocks.

[b]These courses were interventions.

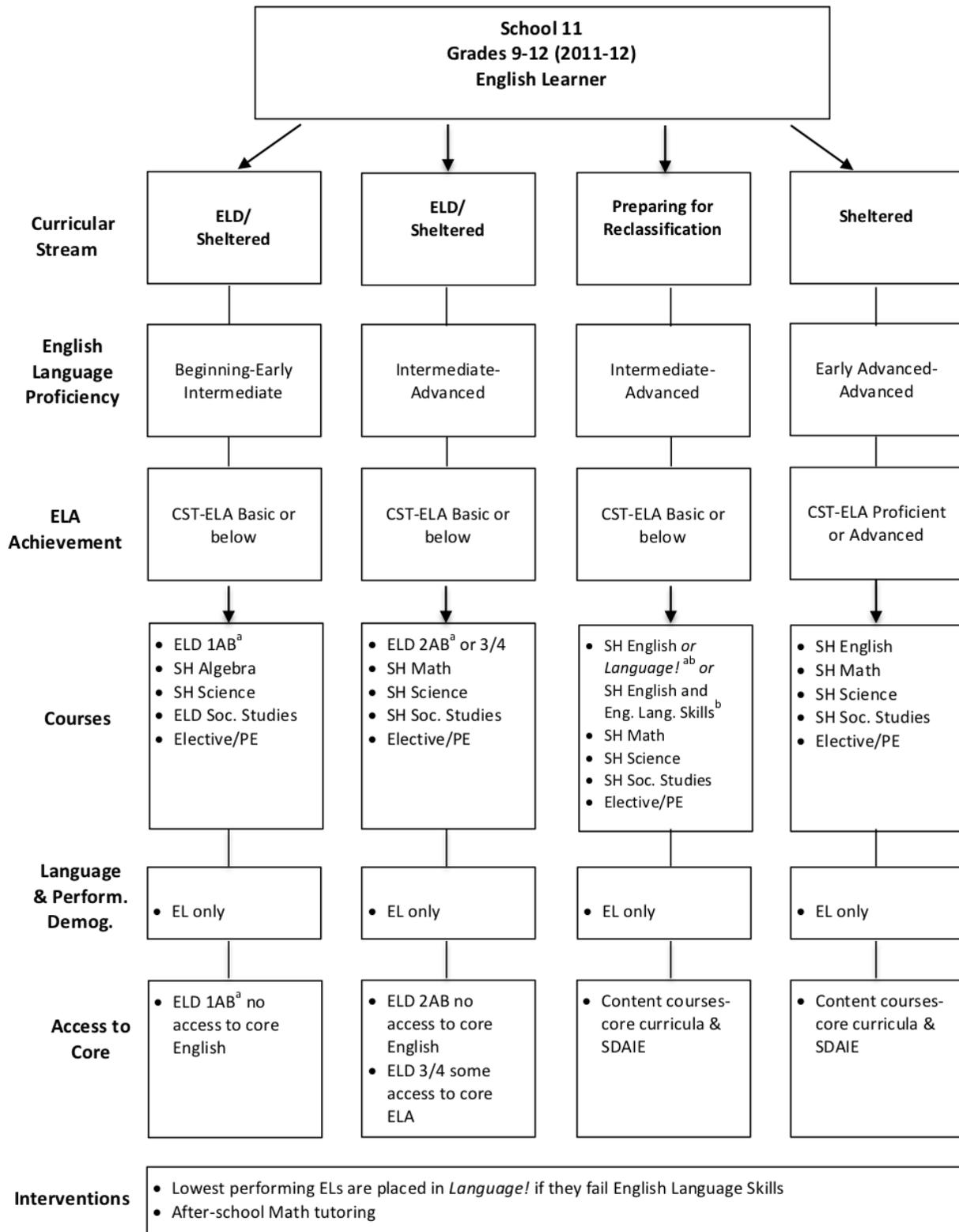|	School 8 Grades 6-8 (2012-13) English Learner						
Curricular Stream	Sheltered English Immersion (SEI) Curricular Streams				Long-Term English Learner Sheltered Curricular Streams		Mainstream/ Sheltered w/ parent waiver
Eng. Lang. Proficiency	Beginning-Early Intermediate	Early Intermediate-low intermediate	Intermediate	Intermediate-Early Advanced	Intermediate-Advanced	Intermediate-Advanced	
ELA Achievement	CST-ELA Far below basic	CST-ELA Below basic	CST-ELA Basic (low to mid)	CST-ELA Basic (mid to high)	CST-ELA scaled score below 280	CST-ELA scaled score 280-600	
Years as EL	Less than 2 full years in U.S. school	2-4 full years in U.S. school	2-4 full years in U.S. school	2-4 full years in U.S. school	5+ full years in U.S. schools	5+ full years in U.S. schools	
Courses	• ELD 1A-1B[a] • SH Math • SH Science • SH Social Studies • PE	• ELD 2A-2B[a] • SH Math • SH Science • SH Social Studies • PE	• ELD 3A-3B • SH English • SH Math • SH Science • SH Social Studies • PE	• ELD 4A-4B • SH English • SH Math • SH Science • SH Social Studies • PE	• Literacy and Language for ELs[b] • SH English • SH Math • SH Science • SH Social Studies • PE	• Advanced ELD[c] • SH English • SH Math • SH Science • SH Social Studies • PE	• Mainstream English • SH Math • SH Science • SH Social Studies • Elective • PE
Lang. & Perform. Demog.	EL only	EL only	EL only	EL only	EL only	EL only	ELs with EO/RFEP/IFEP in English only
Access to Core	No core English; SDAIE	No core English; SDAIE	SDAIE	SDAIE	SDAIE	SDAIE	SDAIE
Interventions	Supplemental intervention courses. Each school will describe its intervention plan in the "Single Plan for Student Achievement"						

Figure 2. School 8 English learner *Curricular Streams*. English learners were placed in

Curricular Streams based on English language proficiency levels as assessed by the California

English Language Development Test, performance on the CST-ELA, and years as EL. CST-ELA

performance levels are far below basic, approximately 3 years below grade level; below basic,

approximately 2 years below grade level; basic, approximately 1 year below grade level;

proficient, grade level; and advanced, above grade level. EL = English learner. RFEP =

Reclassified fluent English proficient. IFEP = Initially fluent English proficient. EO = English

only. ELD = English language development. CST-ELA = California Standards Test-English

Language Arts. SH = Sheltered. SDAIE = Specially designed academic instruction in English.

[a]These courses were 2-period blocks.

[b]This was the LTEL ELD course for students approximately 2 years or more below grade level

on the CST-ELA.

[c]This was the LTEL ELD course for students at or above 2 years below grade level on the CST-

ELA.

School 17
Grades 7-8 (2010-11)
English Learner

	ELD/Mainstream Common Core	Mainstream Common Core with ELA Block	Mainstream Common Core
Curricular Stream	ELD/Mainstream Common Core	Mainstream Common Core with ELA Block	Mainstream Common Core
Eng. Lang. Proficiency	Beginning-Early Intermediate	Intermediate-Advanced	Early Advanced-Advanced
ELA Achievement	CST-ELA Below basic or lower	CST-ELA Below mid-basic to basic	CST-ELA Above mid-basic to advanced
Courses	•ELD/ELA[a] •Mainstream Math •Mainstream Science •Mainstream Social Studies •P.E.	•Mainstream ELA Block[a] •Mainstream Math •Mainstream Science •Mainstream Social Studies •P.E.	• Mainstream English • Mainstream Math • Mainstream Science • Mainstream Social Studies • Elective • P.E.
Lang. & Perform. Demog.	•ELs only in ELD/ELA only •ELs & non-ELs; heterog. perf. levels in other classes	• ELs & non-ELs • Heterogeneous performance levels	• ELs & non-ELs • Heterogeneous performance levels
Access to Core	•Common Core Curriculum with *High Point*[b] & *Read 180*[c] as needed. •SDAIE support	• Common Core Curriculum • *Holt* reading curriculum minimal • SDAIE support	• Common Core Curriculum • *Holt* reading curriculum minimal • SDAIE support
Interventions	None	None	None
Exit Criteria	Intermediate English language proficiency	Performance in class, CELDT, CST and/or T rec.	

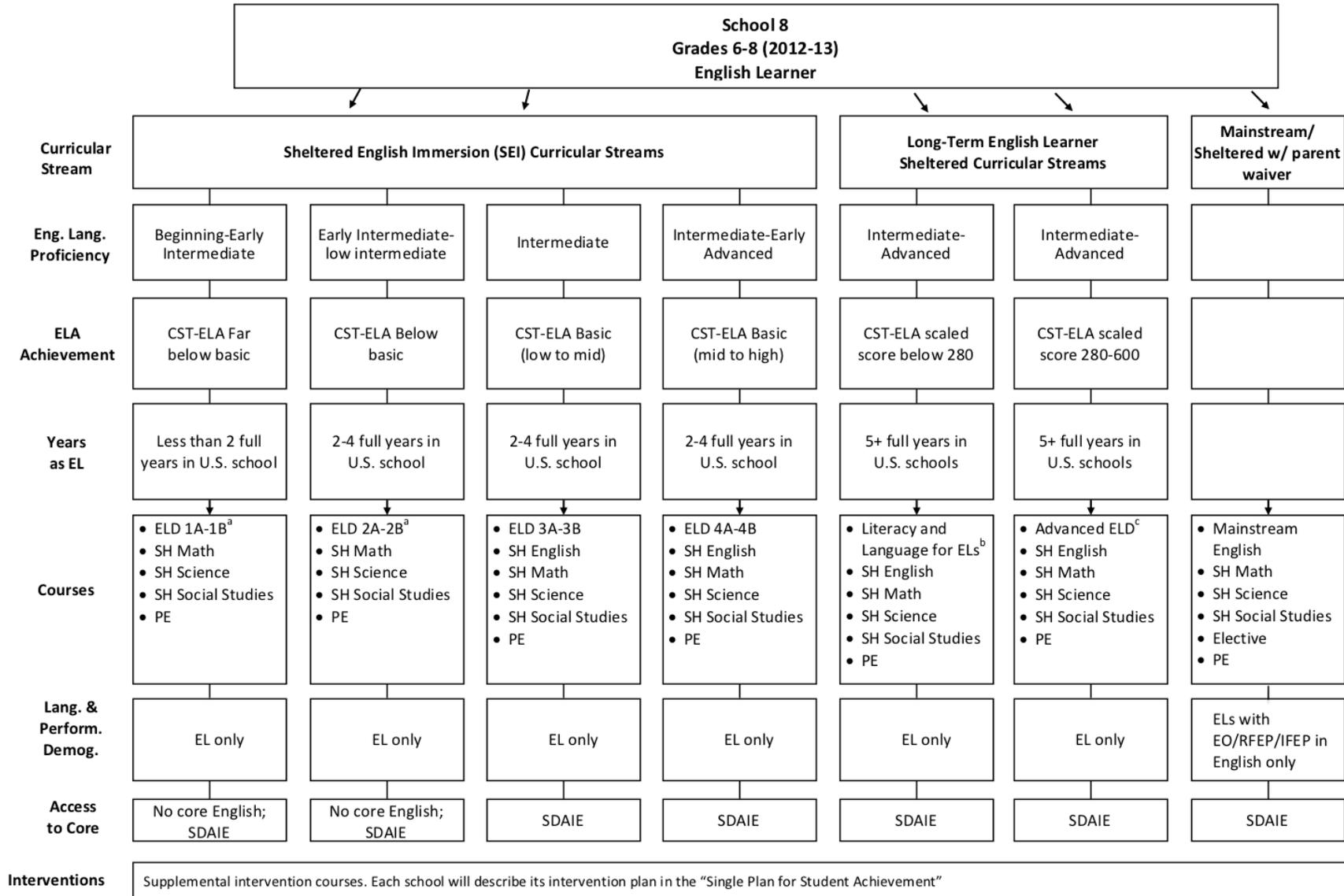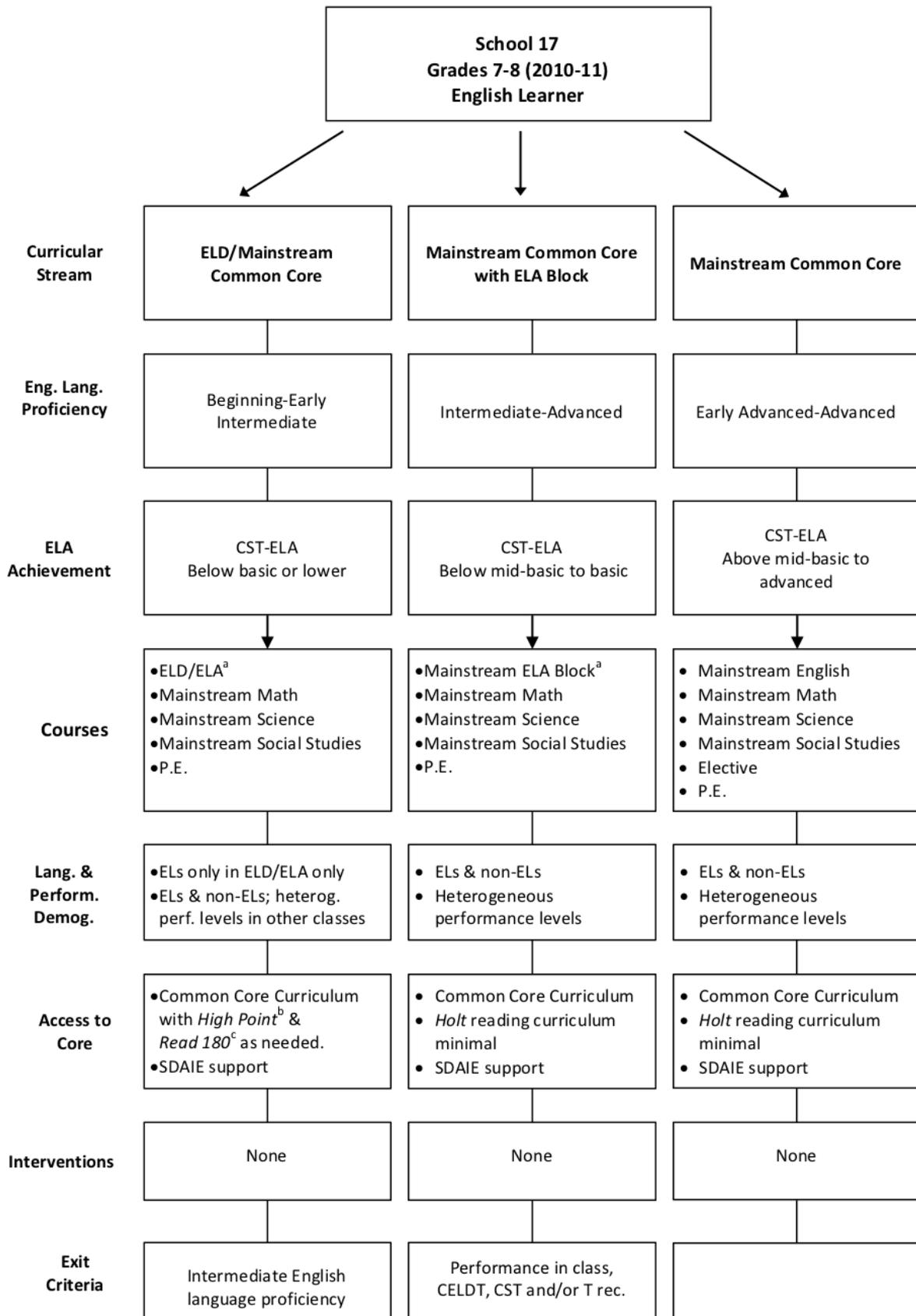*Figure 3*. School 17 *Curricular Streams*. English learners were placed in *Curricular Streams*

based on English language proficiency levels as assessed by the California English Language

Development Test (CELDT) and performance on the CST-ELA. CST-ELA performance levels

are far below basic, approximately 3 years below grade level; below basic, approximately 2 years

below grade level; basic, approximately 1 year below grade level; proficient, grade level; and

advanced, above grade level. EL = English learner. CST-ELA = California Standards Test-

English Language Arts. ELA = English language arts. SDAIE = Specially designed academic

instruction in English.

[a]These course were 2-period blocks.

[b]This was the ELD curriculum.

[c]This course was a literacy intervention.