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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
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How Political Language Matters: Proposition 227 in the Political Spectacle

A Dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction
of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Education

by

Nori Jo Naylor

December 2015

Dissertation Committee:

Dr. Robert K. Ream, Chairperson
Dr. Melanie Sperling
Dr. Tiina Itkonen

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The Dissertation of Nori Jo Naylor is approved:

Committee Chairperson

University of California, Riverside

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The journey to completion of my doctoral degree began long before I applied for admission to the graduate program at the University of California, Riverside. After spending many years as a stay-at-home mom, I decided to continue my education by completing my multiple-subject teaching credential. This was in the 1980s when there was a severe economic downturn in California with a resulting statewide hiring freeze for new teachers. Consequently, I substitute taught for a number of years. I noticed that many of the students in schools where I taught were limited English speakers with Spanish as their primary language. I decided to pursue my BCLAD (Bilingual Crosscultural Language and Academic Development Credential) in order to best meet the needs of these students.

I was eventually hired as a long-term substitute kindergarten teacher in a district with a high migrant and low SES population. Ninety-eight percent of the incoming kindergarten students at the school spoke a language other than English. The district soon hired me as a full-time second-grade teacher in a designated bilingual classroom under an emergency bilingual credential. Proposition 227 was passed by the majority of voters in California the following year. Bilingual teachers were likely to be less in demand, so I switched to the TESOL (Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages) Master's degree program at Fresno Pacific University. Professors Yvonne and David Freeman were very helpful in making this transition seamless. Their guidance and encouragement as I did my research and wrote my Master's Thesis gave me the confidence to continue my education to the doctoral level.

Attending the University of California, Riverside required that I drive four hours from my hometown which is 40 miles south of Fresno, California. I wish to thank the houseful of undergraduate young women who were willing to let someone the age of their mothers flop at their house a few nights a week. Keeping the house quiet at night so I could get a good night's sleep in the living room was quite a sacrifice. When the owner decided to sell the house, I found another pair of undergraduate students, both first generation college students, who also welcomed me with open arms. The Thanksgiving dinner with all the trimmings that they prepared and invited me to be a part of was one of the highlights of my time in Riverside.

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

How Political Language Matters: Proposition 227 in the Political Spectacle

by

Nori Jo Naylor

Doctor of Philosophy, Graduate School of Education
University of California, Riverside, December 2015
Dr. Robert K. Ream, Chairperson

A direct democracy initiative that placed restrictions on bilingual education was codified into the California Education Code by the passage of Proposition 227 in 1998. This initiative attempted to address the problem of educating the current 1.4 million English learners enrolled in public schools who continue to lag behind native-English-speaking students academically (California Department of Education, 2013; Umansky & Reardon, 2014). This study focused on policy entrepreneurs in relation to Proposition 227 – both proponents and opponents of the Proposition – and the political strategies they employed to garner support for their preferred policies via the mass media. Research shows the attention newspapers give to education, including language education policy, can influence the education of immigrant students and ELs (Wright, 2005).

The methodological approach employed to study the political language used by policy entrepreneurs, interpretive policy analysis, and the guiding conceptual framework, political spectacle, aligned well to help uncover and understand the generation of

meaning(s) by policy entrepreneurs and media around Proposition 227. Political spectacle is constructed via the language and images the media use when presenting political views and often serves to distort public policies and maintain the status quo (Edelman, 1988). An in-depth media study was conducted that included data from California newspapers covering three regions across the state and videos downloaded from a popular social media site. Findings revealed spectacle around Proposition 227 including the use of symbolic language to depict bilingual education as a broken system, the casting of immigrant students as objects, and the enactment of dramatic actions that benefited the policy entrepreneurs rather than the immigrant students. The study also revealed Proposition 227 to exemplify the joining of three streams – problem, policy, and political – which opened a window through which the authors of Proposition 227 were able to push their policy (Kingdon, 1995). The study suggests that attending to the political language used by policy entrepreneurs can shed light on the political strategies that work to convey influential policy messages via the media. This insight should aid in the development of more effective and equitable language education policies in the future.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

A new direct democracy initiative to repeal California's restrictions on bilingual education placed in the Education Code over fifteen years ago by the passage of Proposition 227 is due to be presented to the voters in 2016.¹ This proposed initiative is the latest attempt to address the problem of educating the estimated 1.35 million English learners (ELs) in California who continue to lag behind native-English-speaking students academically (Ash, 2014, March 4; California Department of Education, 2013; Gándara & Hopkins, 2010; Umansky & Reardon, 2014).² A shifting political climate and mounting acceptance of multilingualism are seen as signs of a change in public opinion by proponents of the new measure. Ron K. Unz, the champion for Proposition 227, argues that rising test scores from 1998 to 2002 show it has been successful in improving the academic achievement of ELs and should not be repealed. Some researchers disagree and say that data show the law has had little or no effect on closing the achievement gap (de Cos, 1999; Crawford, 2004; Gándara et al., 2000; Gándara & Hopkins, 2010; Parrish et al., 2002; Umansky & Reardon, 2014). A summary of the 2012-2013 STAR Test Results reported by the California Department of Education show that 23% of ELs scored at proficient or above in 2012 while 63% of English-only students scored at that level (see Table 1). Will this latest effort to address the achievement gap between ELs and

¹ Direct democracy refers to policies that come to the ballot via constitutional amendment or statute as in an initiative or via reconsideration of actions taken by the legislature as in a popular referendum (Magleby, 1998).

² English learners are students whose primary language is not English and are in the process of acquiring English. The terms English learner (EL), Limited English Proficient (LEP), English language learner (ELL), and language minority students (LM) are all interchangeable.

native-English-speaking students be successful or will it be added to the list of ineffective language education programs already placed on the books? A critical look at Proposition 227 and the language that was employed by its proponents and opponents to promote or oppose it via the media sheds light on the strategies that are most effective yet have failed to solve the achievement gap problem.

Table 1

Percentage of California English-Only Students and English Learners Scoring at Proficient or Above in English-language Arts from 2008 - 2013

Subgroup	Year					
	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
English-Only Students	54	58	60	62	64	63
English Learners	16	20	21	23	25	23

Note. Adapted from California Department of Education report titled, “Standardized Testing and Reporting (STAR) Program: Summary of 2013 Results” retrieved from <http://www.cde.ca.gov/nr/ne/yr13/yr13rel73att.asp#tab10>

Purpose of the Study

This study sought to go beyond the debate over the benefits or drawbacks of bilingual education versus English-only education. Instead, it took an in-depth look at the way policy entrepreneurs use political language in controversial, high-stakes political debates over issues such as language education. Specifically, I explored how policy entrepreneurs, both proponents and opponents of Proposition 227, used political language

to propagate their policies in order to garner support for or opposition to their preferred policy solutions. Research indicates that the media have the potential to influence how the public perceives political events (Gentzkow & Shapiro, 2006, 2010; Gonzalez-Carriedo, 2012; Johnson, 2008; Schuefele & Tewksbury, 2007). Construed as one policy actor, the media play a pivotal role in propagating ideologies and their underlying assumptions (Gonzalez-Carriedo, 2012; Johnson, 2008; Wright, 2005). Policymakers, educators, researchers, journalists and the public-at-large can benefit from the knowledge gained from this study. By attending to how political language matters in framing the debate over this critical problem in education, it is hoped that stakeholders will gain insight that will lead to more effective and equitable language education policies for immigrant students and ELs in the future.

Background of Language Education Policies in the U.S.

Policy reform regarding the language education of immigrant children who do not speak English has a long and tumultuous history in the United States. As early as the 1750s, schools were viewed by politicians as the institution best suited for the job of socializing immigrant children into the “rights and responsibilities of the democratic state” (Gándara & Rumberger, 2009, p. 751). By the mid-1800s, schooling was seen as the means to inculcate a common language and culture as well as to teach academic, vocational and social skills, and citizenship, and to provide equal opportunity to all students. Schools became viewed as the cure-all for the ills of society as a whole (Cremin, 1989; Profriedt, 2008). Consequently, the cultural and linguistic assimilation

deemed necessary to achieving the “good life” or the “American Dream” were all placed at the schoolhouse door with the expectation that schools would embrace the responsibility of being the great equalizer (Cremin, 1989; Gándara & Rumberger, 2009).

Language policy in California followed much the same path as the rest of the nation. When California ratified its first Constitution in 1849, the document required publication of all laws in both Spanish and English. By the early 1850s, California had passed statutes eliminating the publication of state laws in Spanish (Crawford, 1995). Schools were not immune from this change in language policy. In 1855, the California Bureau of Public Instruction decreed that English was to be the only medium of public education (Schmid, 2001). Despite the Bureau of Public Instruction’s declaration, largely Hispanic Southern California persisted in maintaining its native language (Schmid, 2001) and bilingual education thrived in that part of the state into the 1870s.

Language, race, and immigration policy appeared to be closely related in the minds of the majority of the Anglo, English-speaking politicians of California at the end of the nineteenth century.³ The early twentieth century saw an exponential increase in immigrants of Mexican heritage, especially in the Los Angeles area, even as restrictions were being implemented by the federal Emergency Quota Act of 1921 and the National Origins Quota Act of 1924. The challenge for public schools, particularly those in large

³ Evidence of this can be found in the *Debates and Proceedings of the Constitutional Convention of the State of California 1878 – 1879* (Crawford, 1992). The constitutional amendment promoting dominance of the English language was passed after some discussion and remained in the California Constitution until 1967. That year Governor Ronald Reagan signed into law Senate Bill 53 that ended California’s state mandate that all instruction be carried out in English (August & Hakuta, 1997).

cities, was how to accommodate and assimilate this growing population of children into the local schools. The progressive ideas of I.Q. testing and differentiated schooling resulted in the opening of separate learning centers for “slow English-speaking learners, newly arrived foreign children, and limited English speakers” (Ravitch, 1985; Rury, 2005b, p. 163). Differentiated schooling resulted in schools segregated by race and language. This outcome had increasingly detrimental effects on the education of immigrant students and ELs over the next decades. Labeling, tracking, and further segregation were the products of this new age of educational professionalism (Tyack & Cuban, 1995). The effect of these educational strategies on immigrant children was a disproportionate placement in lower-track classrooms. Children of Mexican descent were heavily impacted by these exclusionary practices. The consequences of these entrenched exclusionary practices, which isolated these students and impeded their learning, contributed to the demand for desegregation and the resulting social upheaval during the 1950s and 1960s (Harris & Curtis, 1998; Orfield, 2009; Ravitch, 1985; Rury, 2005a).

During the tumultuous 1950s and 60s, fear of social upheaval was reinforced by the graphic television and newspaper coverage of marches and violence while, at the same time, the ideology of hope for an equal education for all students was reflected in the *Brown* decision and the Civil Rights legislation of the 1960s. The push for desegregation in schools culminated in the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision.⁴ The

⁴ In California, *Brown v. Board of Education* was preceded by *Roberto Alvarez v. The Lemon Grove School Board* (1931) and *Mendez v. Westminster* (1946). Both of these cases dealt with the segregation of children of Mexican heritage by school districts and ruled that segregation on the basis of national origin was not allowed (Ream & Vasquez, 2011).

importance of the 1954 *Brown* decision was that it placed the issue of “social and educational equality squarely on the national agenda” (Rury, 2005a, p. 192). It also started a process that profoundly altered the politics of schools (Ravitch, 1985). Federal and state government regulatory agencies and courts increased their intervention in the internal affairs of schools, “and the potential for politicization of the schools was significantly enlarged” (Ravitch, 1985, p. 123).⁵ Yet the push for desegregation and the rhetoric of freedom and equality did little to improve the circumstances of immigrant students and students of color in California’s largest cities as in other major cities across the U.S. (Anyon, 1997; Harris & Curtis, 1995; Rury, 2005a).

The federal government’s push for equal opportunity and equal treatment in the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 led to adoption of the Bilingual Education Act of 1968 or Title VII, which was a subsection of the ESEA (Ravitch, 1985). Title VII recognized the special needs of Limited English Proficient (LEP) students and the government’s commitment to addressing those needs. The policy provided competitive grants from the U.S. Department of Education to provide training for teachers and administrators in schools with high LEP populations, to finance research on implementation of effective teaching methods, and to support educational programs for LEP students (Crawford, 1995; Jiménez, 1992). It did not, however, specify the language of instruction or require the use of languages other than English during instruction (Crawford, 1995; Ravitch, 1985). The ambiguity of the law left the question of language

⁵ Ravitch (1985) defines politicization as “when educational institutions become the focus of dogmatic crusaders whose purposes are primarily political and only incidentally related to children’s education” (p. 124).

of instruction for ELs unresolved. Apparently the federal government's attempt to meet the special needs of LEP students and immigrant children via the ESEA and Title VII was not successful. In fact, it seemed to only bring to the surface deep cultural conflicts regarding the education of immigrant children and students who come to school speaking a language other than English as evidenced by the court's involvement in language education policymaking in the 1970s and 1980s.

California Language Policies and Initiatives Antecedent to Proposition 227

Chacón-Moscone Bilingual-Bicultural Education Act.

In California, the precedent-setting U.S. Supreme Court *Lau v. Nichols* decision preceded the Chacón-Moscone Bilingual-Bicultural Education Act of 1976.⁶ Two years after the *Lau v. Nichols* ruling, California legislators proposed and passed this legislation which established transitional bilingual education programs to meet the language education needs of LEP students. Program requirements followed federal guidelines for identification, program placement, and reclassification of students as fluent English proficient (FEP) established in the Bilingual Education Act of 1968 (Crawford, 1995). Unlike federal legislation, which allowed for local decisions regarding the type of language program to be used, this California legislation specifically identified bilingual

⁶ *Lau v. Nichols* ruled that simply offering the same curriculum or identical instruction to all students did not ensure that non-English-speaking students could participate effectively in school or receive a meaningful education yet did not specify the language of instruction to be used in the classroom (Jiménez, 1992).

instruction as a right of English language learners in public schools (see Appendix A for a timeline of political events).

In 1980, the Chacón-Moscone Act was strengthened, spelling out in great detail the obligations of school districts to language minority students, including stating that bilingual classrooms must be established where at least ten LEP children in the same elementary grade and from the same language background were enrolled. Also, schools were to identify students' native languages when they enrolled and assess their English language fluency. A certification process for bilingual teachers was set up that required competency in second language reading, speaking, writing, culture, and methodology (Crawford, 1995). This meant teachers needed to learn a second language in order to teach in a designated bilingual classroom. Some districts offered stipends to certified bilingual education teachers. Other districts, as well as teachers and administrators, pushed back and complained that the regulations were too restrictive and lacked flexibility (Crawford, 1995).

While California was forging a path for bilingual instruction, other states were not so open-minded. Rather than change their language policies and instruction to accommodate non-English-speaking immigrant students, some districts went so far as to try to deny an education to children who lacked proof of U.S. citizenship. In 1982, the Court ruled in *Plyler v. Doe* that undocumented children have a constitutional right to a free public education.

In 1986, Assembly Bill 2813 was introduced in hopes of reauthorizing the Chacón-Moscone Bilingual-Bicultural Education Act of 1976 and extending it until 1992. It was passed by both houses, but Governor Deukmejian vetoed it on the grounds that bilingual programs should be under the control of local school districts (Wolinsky, 1988, June 10). Instrumental in opposing AB 2813 was Gloria Matta Tuchman, then a teacher at Taft Elementary School in the central San Joaquin Valley of California. The *Los Angeles Times* reported that she and another unnamed local teacher drove to Sacramento to persuade Governor Deukmejian to veto the legislation (Gewertz, 1992, September 20). The two teachers were also given credit for winning another Deukmejian veto of the bilingual education legislation in 1987. The second veto allowed the bill to expire, thus beginning the sunset provisions of the law (de Cos, 1999).⁷ At the same time, Federal law required that school districts provide an equal educational opportunity to LEP students (Nelson, 2007). The State Department of Education attempted to provide guidance to school districts during this time of conflicting federal and state regulations.

California Language Minority Education Act.

In California, the number of ELs grew by approximately ten percent annually during the 1980s (Crawford, 1995). The increasing numbers of LEP students in California schools produced another attempt to resurrect state control of bilingual education in the early 1990s. Senate Bill 2026, the California Language Minority Education Act, was sponsored by state Senator Henry J. Mello and supported by a

⁷ School districts with bilingual education programs in place continued to enforce the provisions of the Chacón-Moscone bill without a clear state mandate to do so. The Legislature authorized the State to continue to fund the law despite its sunset condition (de Cos, 1999).

coalition of school districts, immigrant advocacy groups, and educators.⁸ Again, it passed both houses and awaited the signature of then governor Pete Wilson (Merl, 1992, September 21). Despite the more explicit and less stringent provisions of the bill, Gloria Matta Tuchman once again stepped in and created the Campaign for California's Kids to persuade the governor to veto the bill. At this time she was employed as a teacher by the Santa Ana school district in Orange County and served on the Tustin school board. She argued that the lagging test scores of California's Latino students was evidence that native-language instruction does not work (Gewertz, 1992, September 20).

Proponents of SB 2026 included the California Association for Bilingual Education (CABE), the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund (MALDEF), and several county offices of education and individual school districts (Merl, 1992, September 21). These groups cited an unspecified federal study that indicated instruction in the primary language does not impede the learning of English (Gewertz, 1992, September 20). It seemed schools had become the center of a political battle between proponents and opponents of bilingual education (Ravitch, 1985). Governor Wilson stamped his veto on this attempt to legislate bilingual education for ELs in California's public schools. The following year, a report by the Little Hoover Commission added fuel to the anti-bilingual education fervor growing in California.

⁸ SB 2026 contained changes from previous statute including an increase from ten to 100 in the number of ELs required for schools to provide native-language instruction and the permission of a waiver from the State Board of Education if districts demonstrate a shortage of bilingual teachers. Also, parents could request their child(ren) be removed from bilingual education programs.

In July of 1993, a special report was published by the Little Hoover Commission titled, “A Chance to Succeed: Providing English Learners with Supportive Education.”⁹ The Executive Summary indicated that the high dropout rate of students, particularly Hispanic students, was a threat to California’s economic future. Apparently, all the rhetoric of equality and cultural pluralism of the 1970s and 1980s had done little to improve the academic achievement and trajectory of immigrant children in California schools by the early 1990s. On whose terms would immigrants be accepted into society became the issue of the 1990s, as indicated by the anti-immigrant nature of California’s Proposition 187 that closely preceded Proposition 227 (Tatalovich, 1995).

Proposition 187: Save Our State (SOS) Initiative.

Opponents of increased immigration such as U.S. English were able to get Proposition 187 on the California ballot by direct democracy in 1994. This initiative sought to deny public education and other public services such as health care to undocumented children and their families. It passed with 59% of the vote. Ron Unz campaigned against the initiative in his unsuccessful bid for Governor that year. Proposition 187 was considered anti-immigrant while Unz considered himself pro-immigrant as he was the grandson of immigrants from Italy. Although many provisions of the initiative were held unconstitutional, including barring undocumented children from public education, the negative impact on immigrant children and their families was

⁹ The formal name of the commission is the Milton Marks Commission on California State Government Organization and Economy. It is an independent state oversight committee created in 1962. The commission’s ongoing focus is to improve the effectiveness, efficiency and economy of state government programs and policies. This report was written “against a backdrop of increasing number of immigrants and a rising crescendo of complaints,” according to the commission report (p. 5).

substantial. The court battles over the initiative that ensued kept the issue of immigration in the press long after the 1994 elections. Proposition 227 was introduced in 1997, just three years later.

Proposition 227: English Language Education for Immigrant Children

Proposition 227 was originally titled “English Language Education for Immigrant Children” in official policy documents. “English for the Children” or the “Unz Initiative” were the popular titles used in advertising and the media (See Appendix D). The initiative was placed on the ballot by direct democracy and was passed by 61% of the voting public in the June 2, 1998 primary gubernatorial election. In order to qualify for the ballot, the signatures of registered voters must be gathered and verified by the California Secretary of State.

Proposition 227, as cited in the Education Code, requires that, “All children in California public schools shall be taught English by being taught in English” (California Education Code, Chapter 3, Article 2, Sections 305 – 306). The policy mandates that ELs be placed in sheltered or Structured English Immersion (SEI) classrooms for not more than one year, with few exceptions. For instance, parental waivers are to be made available for those wishing their children to be kept or placed in bilingual classrooms (see Appendix B for an overview of educational programs for ELs adapted from August and Hakuta, 1997, pp. 19-20).

The initiative itself did not define the previously untested SEI instructional approach or the parental option to seek waivers, which means that districts and schools

had very little guidance prior to the mandated implementation date of fall 1998 (de Cos, 1999; Gándara et al., 2000). This policy resulted in rapid and often haphazard changes in language services and programs for ELs in California public schools in the years immediately following the passage of Proposition 227 (Gándara et al., 2000; Nicholls, 2012; Parish et al., 2002).

The Continuing Problem

Proposition 227 remains the mandated language education policy for ELs in California public schools. It received much press coverage at the time it was placed on the ballot and continues to receive media attention today. Yet, the SEI instructional program instituted by the initiative has failed to mitigate the persistent achievement gap between English-only students and ELs who speak Spanish as their primary language (Gándara & Hopkins, 2010; Parrish et al., 2002, 2006; Umansky & Reardon, 2014). Even the intervention of federal and state governments and the courts in the internal affairs of schools (Ravitch, 1985) over the past forty years (*Castañeda v. Pickard*, 1981; *Flores v. State of Arizona*, 2000; *Lau v. Nichols*, 1974) has not remedied the achievement gap problem. This continuing problem necessitates a critical look at language education policies and the language that is used by proponents and opponents of those policies to promote them via the mass media. The way media portray language education policies and the issues surrounding them such as immigration policy reform play a crucial role in the general public's understanding of immigrant students and ELs (Gonzalez-Carriedo, 2012; Lakoff & Ferguson, 2006; Santa Ana & Treviño, 2007). By looking at the language used by proponents and opponents as depicted in the media, I shed light on the

political strategies that worked to convey powerful messages via the media during the Proposition 227 campaign.

Research Questions

My research questions were designed to illuminate the political strategies used by policy entrepreneurs, both proponents and opponents, during the contentious Proposition 227 campaign. As mentioned, the media play a key role in the propagation of political views; therefore my research questions also addressed the media's representation of the policy entrepreneurs and the campaign they waged.

- How did policy entrepreneurs, both proponents and opponents, garner support for or opposition to Proposition 227? What political mechanisms or strategies did they employ and why?
- How did media represent or characterize the actions of proponents and opponents of Proposition 227? How did media represent or characterize the hot-button issue of bilingual education versus English-only education?

As immigration issues are tightly coupled with the topic of language education for ELs both historically, as shown previously in this chapter, and in the research (Crawford, 1992; Gonzalez-Carriedo, 2012; Santa Ana & Treviño, 2007; Wright, 2005), in order to investigate the language used to characterize immigrant students who do not speak English, I added the following questions:

- How did proponents and opponents of Proposition 227 and the media represent ELs and immigrant students?

- What are the ideologies behind these representations?

Revealing the images conveyed of immigrant students who do not speak English by the various policy actors involved in the Proposition 227 campaign plays a critical role in identifying the ideologies that undergird those images.¹⁰

Current Study

This study explored how policy entrepreneurs used political language to persuade likely voters to support their viewpoints and to promote their preferred policy solutions via the media during the Proposition 227 campaign. The persistent achievement gap between ELs and English-only students necessitated a careful look at the language proponents and opponents of the initiative used in order to uncover the mechanisms or strategies that were most effective yet have failed to solve the achievement gap problem (Ream, Ryan, & Espinoza, 2012).

The study focused on policy entrepreneurs and language policy; therefore I begin by presenting the definitions of these concepts and terms to help the reader better understand the meanings employed in this work.

Policy Entrepreneurs

Policy entrepreneurs are often defined similarly to business entrepreneurs in terms of “their willingness to invest their resources – time, energy, reputation, and sometimes money – in the hope of future return” (Kingdon, 1995, p. 122). Policy

¹⁰ The concept of ideology that I use is derived from Edelman (2001) and is defined as the shared ideas, values and beliefs of a group.

entrepreneurs can come from any location in or out of government. Of particular import to this study, because the initiative process employed to pass Proposition 227 is outside the usual government-initiated policymaking process, are participants who are outside formal government positions such as interest groups, researchers, academics, media, political parties, and the mass public. In the case of direct democracy initiatives, policy entrepreneurs are allowed to write the language of their own law or create a new policy in the initiative process (Magleby, 1998). This type of policymaking empowers proponents to take their issues and ideas directly to the voters of the state. This policymaking process is generally is faster than the process of pushing through government-initiated proposals and gives policy entrepreneurs control over the wording or framing of the issue. In general, policy entrepreneurs highlight problems, push for one kind of problem definition over another, and develop proposals that set forth policy solutions aligned with the issue addressed by their initiative (Kingdon, 1995; Roberts & King, 1991). There are high stakes in problem definition such that some people or groups are potentially helped by a solution while others are potentially harmed depending on how problems and solutions get defined (Edelman, 1988; Kingdon, 1995; Stone, 2002).

Policies and Politics

For the purposes of this study, *policies* are defined as more than the written plans themselves. Policies reflect the values and ideologies of the person(s) or entity formulating them (Smith, 2004). For example, policy entrepreneurs frame problems in such a way that their particular solutions or policies seem most reasonable which,

conversely, cast alternatives as less viable. Classically, *politics* refers to actions (usually by the government) that determine “who gets what, when, and how” (Lasswell, 1936). A more contemporary understanding of politics views it as the strategic use of power to serve personal or issue-specific interests at the expense of arguably more legitimate concerns (Schneider & Ingram, 1997).

A broad range of literature from various academic disciplines was instructive in conducting this study. Studies of the influence of language education policies on the educational outcomes of immigrant students and ELs such as those by Valdés (2001), and Valenzuela (1999) provided essential background information regarding the varied challenges immigrant students face in U.S. schools and society-at-large. The forced assimilation model of Portes and Rumbaut (2001) was particularly helpful in identifying the primary underlying ideology of the Proposition 227 campaign. The works of Altheide (1987) and Yanow (2000) were helpful in guiding my approach to research and decisions regarding how to design my study. The complexities of analysis were made manageable by the contributions of Santa Ana and Treviño (2007) and Gonzalez-Carriedo (2012). The studies of Miller-Kahn and Smith (2001) and Wright (2005) were invaluable in providing models for applying the conceptual framework of political spectacle to education policy. Finally, and most importantly, I am indebted to the eminent political scientist Murray Edelman for providing a set of ideas to explain why public policies often do not alleviate the problems that they are intended to solve. I am also indebted to the renowned expert on American politics and public policy John W.

Kingdon for his model of policy streams and policy windows that help explain how some policies are able to reach the top of the agenda while others are left behind.

Literature Review

In the literature review presented in Chapter 2, I first review research that addresses the cultural challenges immigrant students and ELs face in schools and in U.S. society-at-large. New immigrants who do not speak English face the extra challenge of learning the academic content while learning a new language. The cultural challenges many immigrant students face are conditioned by forced assimilation into a new culture (Gibson, 1988; Ogbu & Simons, 1998; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Valdés, 2001; Valenzuela, 1999), language status issues (Bourdieu, 1991; Lippi-Green, 1997; Schmid, 2001; Tatalovich, 1995), lack of economic resources (Gándara, 2005; Mitchell & Mitchell, 1999), and racial/ethnic tensions (Lee, 2005; Nieto, 2004; Pollock, 2004). The challenges most pertinent to my study were the issues of forced assimilation or Melting Pot ideology and language status that I found permeated the Proposition 227 campaign. To be clear, the current study is not about the cultural challenges immigrant students face as they assimilate into U.S. culture. However, this literature does offer useful background information on the complex barriers immigrant students and ELs must overcome as they enter U.S. schools and the issues policy entrepreneurs grapple with when they formulate policies addressing the academic achievement of these students.¹¹

¹¹ This literature is presented in detail in Chapter 2.

Second, I review media-effects research that addresses the way media portray language education policies and the issues surrounding them such as immigration policy reform. Two studies were particularly important in providing a way to approach the analysis and organization of my study. Santa Ana and Treviño (2007) revealed how the media represented the immigration reform debate using metaphoric imagery. The scholars were guided by *cognitive metaphor theory* that proposes there are mental structures or frames in our brains that shape the way we reason and the way we view the world (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003). The primary metaphor was that of immigrants as criminals who are law breakers and exploit social services. The second most frequent metaphor was that of immigrants as mass or water threatening to inundate society with their sheer numbers. I extended their research by showing that the immigrants as mass metaphor could be found in language education policy that targets immigrant students. Similar to the current study, Gonzalez-Carriedo (2012) investigated the ideologies of three newspapers; two English-language and one Spanish-language. He discovered three distinct stances toward immigrant students held by the newspapers: 1) a negative representation that opposed the immigrant community; 2) a favorable attitude that emphasized their benefit to society; and 3) a favorable stance based on humanitarianism. His study was also an extension of Santa Ana & Treviño's (2007) media-study on immigration policy reform. My study enriches and extends Gonzalez-Carriedo's research by exploring the ideologies undergirding the media coverage of Proposition 227.

A growing body of research uses *political spectacle* as a framework to address how media both shapes ideology and is shaped by external sources of influence such as

policy entrepreneurs (Anderson, 2007; Edelman, 1971, 1988, 2001; Miller-Kahn & Smith, 2001; Smith, 2004; Wright, 2005). Since this research is based on the conceptual framework I used to guide the deductive phase of my study, I will present this literature after introducing the conceptual framework of political spectacle.

Introduction to Conceptual Framework

The research approach employed in the current study contained both deductive and inductive components.¹² Deductively I based my analysis on the conceptual framework of political spectacle. Political scientist Murray Edelman is commonly acknowledged for introducing the concept of political spectacle to the study of American politics and public policy. His focus on political speech and the media made Edelman's work a compelling choice to guide my study.

Political Spectacle

Political spectacle is briefly defined as a meaning machine of alternative realities that are constructed via the language and images newspapers and other media use when presenting political views and that serves to distort public policies and maintain the status quo (Edelman, 1971; Smith, 2004). Political spectacle proposes seven elements or mechanisms that help explain the complex world of politics and policymaking: 1) symbolic language; 2) casting actors; 3) onstage/backstage actions; 4) dramaturgy; 5)

¹² In a deductive approach to research, researchers start with an existing theory and then test its implications with data. An inductive approach to research the researcher begins with collecting data relevant to the topic and then looks for patterns in the data from which to develop a theory.

illusion of rationality; 6) democratic participation as illusion; and 7) disconnection between means and ends. The seven elements often overlap, but are presented separately for clarity. They are briefly defined as follows:

- **Symbolic language.** Symbolic language includes metaphor, ambiguous language, and ritualistic language. These forms of language use are pervasive in political speech (Edelman, 1988; Lakoff & Johnson, 2003; Miller-Kahn & Smith, 2001). The use of symbolic language is one mechanism or strategy policy entrepreneurs use to lull spectators into thinking that something is being done to address the perceived problem.
- **Casting actors.** Policy actors are cast as leaders, allies or enemies in political spectacle. Casting actors as leaders is used to inspire and attract votes (Edelman, 2001). Gaining allies is crucial in order to attain or retain higher political status or office. Casting opponents as adversaries or enemies serves to gain support by vilifying opponents or target groups.
- **Onstage/Backstage Actions.** Political spectacle proposes that *backstage*, away from the public view, a few policy actors negotiate for themselves material or other benefits (Smith, 2004). The informal language used backstage may contrast sharply with the formal, ambiguous language typical of the performance *onstage*. The spectators only see what occurs onstage, so they may be stupefied or acquiesced into believing the performance presented by the political actors (Edelman, 1988; Goffman, 1959).

- **Dramaturgy.** Dramaturgy refers to the images, props, and stages political actors choose to communicate values, ideologies, and emotions (Edelman, 2001; Smith, 2004; Wright, 2005).
- **Illusion of Rationality.** The illusion of rationality refers to how policy actors often use statistical trends such as declining test scores to advance their policies. The use of “facts” serves to prove there is a problem to which the policy entrepreneur’s policy is the solution. Yet the evocation of statistics, research, and the testimony of experts is typically ineffective in swaying the opinion of the opponents insofar as opinions are not based on rational thinking, but rather on taken-for-granted values and ideologies (Stone, 2002; Miller-Kahn & Smith, 2001).
- **Democratic Participation as Illusion.** The results of polls are often published in newspaper and quoted by politicians to support their own policy preferences. The outcomes of surveys and polls are dependent upon the questions asked and the current news event circulating in the respondent’s minds when they answer the questions (Smith, 2004). Voting may also be considered an illusion because it is a mere ritual that is far removed from the actual decision making process (Armato, 2009).
- **Disconnection between Means and Ends.** Researchers have observed that the rational/utilitarian or means-ends version of policymaking does not typically follow what actually happens in contemporary politics (Edelman, 2001; Kingdon,

1995; Stone, 2002; Wright, 2005). Political spectacle provides an alternative explanation to the means-ends oriented policymaking process (Wright, 2005).

Researchers have found that forms of symbolic language including metaphor, ambiguous language, and ritualistic language are pervasive in political speech (Edelman, 1988; Lakoff, 2004; Lakoff & Johnson, 2003; Miller-Kahn & Smith, 2001). Metaphors are briefly defined as understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003; Stone, 2002). The media-effects studies mentioned in the previous section offer examples of how the media uses metaphors to portray immigrants when covering debates over immigration policy reform. Some scholars contend that political language is always ambiguous (Edelman, 1988, 2001; Lakoff, 2004; Stone, 2002). The use of ambiguous language such as “success” or “failure” by public officials and interest groups can serve to create an appearance of unity that may not exist (Edelman, 2001; Miller-Kahn & Smith, 2001; Stone, 2002). Ambiguous language is often ritualized, meaning it is largely taken-for-granted and helps us function in society because it seems so predictable. Story is a form of ritualistic language used in political speech that serves to suspend critical thinking or concrete actions and, thus, helps maintain the status quo (Bourdieu, 1991; Edelman, 2001; Miller-Kahn & Smith, 2001; Smith, 2004).

Mass media colludes with policy entrepreneurs by casting them as competent leaders who have the solution to a perceived problem (Edelman, 1988; Miller-Kahn & Smith, 2001). Miller-Kahn and Smith (2001) found evidence of the media casting actors

as leaders in their study of school choice policies in Boulder, Colorado. They observed a group of parents, led by one spokesperson, elicit rapid change in the make-up of the district to one that favored White, middle-class students despite their claims that the change would benefit all children and the community-at-large. The press aided the parents' efforts by publishing the leader's analysis of the district achievement test scores without requesting clarification or alternative interpretations from the school district. Miller-Kahn and Smith conclude that the parents would not have achieved their goals so successfully had the media not become involved in creating spectacle.

Leaders use casting enemies to their advantage by exaggerating the threat the enemies pose or portraying them as irrational or ideological (Miller-Kahn & Smith, 2001; Reich, 2005b). Enemies can be individuals, foreign countries or groups that are viewed as different from oneself (Edelman, 1988; Smith, 2004; Tatalovich, 1995). Smith and colleagues (2004) point to the National Commission on Excellence in Education (NCEE) report, *A Nation at Risk*, as an example of spectacle because it evoked fears of foreign dominance by planting a connection in people's minds between the purported low academic achievement of U.S. students and national security. Leaders may cast the opposition as an enemy, but without gaining support from allies they will not likely succeed. Anderson (2007) found in his study of the media coverage of No Child Left Behind (NCLB), that the Bush administration was able to gain support by using ambiguous language that spoke to the core values of both Democrats and Republicans. The process of building political allies occurs largely behind-the-scenes or backstage (Lemann, 2001).

Political spectacle proposes that there are onstage actions and backstage actions in politics and policy. Benefits are negotiated backstage while the performance onstage is designed to mesmerize the audience (spectators) into thinking the actor (in this case policy entrepreneur) has the solution to the current social problem being addressed by the policy. Wright (2005) discovered the enactment of onstage/backstage actions in his study of Proposition 203 in Arizona. The Superintendent of Public Schools staged a speech at a Title 1 elementary school complete with banners and a podium full of microphones for the press. Wright concluded that the Superintendent's speech was more about advancing his own political career than about caring for the education of ELs. This event was also an example of dramaturgy.¹³

In order to illuminate a wider range of findings for my study, I allowed for observations that fell beyond the scope of the political spectacle conceptual framework. I purposefully included both deductive and inductive approaches to analysis. The framework of political spectacle helped to guide me through a large amount of media-data. Yet a conceptual guide to what to look for in the data has the potential to distract the researcher from important observations that may not map onto the framework being used. Therefore, I continually looked for disconfirming evidence or information that did not appear to fit the guiding framework as I conducted my analysis. I present an introduction to the methodology and methods I used to analyze the data in the following section.

¹³ The other elements of political spectacle and the literature supporting them are presented in Chapter 2.

Introduction to Methodology and Methods

This study employed an interpretive policy analysis approach that explores not only “what” a policy means, but “how” it means (Yanow, 2000, p. 8). In other words, the focus is on the meanings policies have for the various policy actors involved. Identifying how various policy actors talk or act in regards to the policy issue allows the researcher to say something about the meanings (values, beliefs, feelings) that are important to those actors (Wright, 2005; Yanow, 2000). The generation of meaning is always social and historical or tied to a certain context and setting. Therefore, the policy artifacts, acts, and events surrounding the policy are assumed to reveal the variety of meanings the policy evokes.

Collecting and analyzing various types of information such as written, oral and visual are essential in interpretive policy analysis (Altheide, 1987; Yanow, 2000). Therefore, I collected articles from six major newspapers across California that met the research criteria. I also gathered a purposive sample of videos from a social media site on the Internet. Policy documents such as the text of Proposition 227 were also collected. I analyzed this data using computer software and elaborative coding by hand. A summary of the findings of my analysis are presented next.

Summary of Research Findings

Political spectacle was created by proponents and opponents in collaboration with the media during the Proposition 227 campaign. Proponents of Proposition 227 used symbolic language such as metaphor to portray bilingual education as a “failed” or “broken system” to influence likely voters (*symbolic language*). Ambiguous language

such as “low test scores” was used to convince the general public there was a problem that Proposition 227 was designed to solve without specifying the meaning of “low.” This failure-infused language may cause an emotional response rather than elicit rational thinking.

There was evidence of media *casting actors as leaders* in their depiction of Unz as a “wealthy computer executive” and “Silicon Valley businessman.” There was also evidence of media casting *enemies* in their portrayal of the campaign as a battle between opposing forces (*dramaturgy*). Immigrant students and ELs were cast as objects to be placed in or moved from one program to another, as a mass threatening to overwhelm California public schools, and as victims who would be harmed by the opponents’ policies. This finding made it appear that these students were being used as faceless pawns in the battle over bilingual versus English-only education.

Immigrant children were the purported beneficiaries of the initiative, but they were rarely quoted or mentioned by name during the campaign (*onstage/ backstage actions*). Real benefits in the form of social, economic, and political advantages were negotiated backstage. Unz appeared to be a beneficiary as evidenced by his taking his “English for the Children” campaign on to other states. Yet all native-born English-speaking citizens of California could also be considered beneficiaries because the dominant language of English was mandated as the language of instruction for immigrant students and ELs in public schools relegating all other languages as less-than (Lippi-Green, 1997; Valenzuela, 1999). All of these findings and others indicate that the

Proposition 227 campaign was primarily spectacle rather than rational, democratic policymaking with real concern for ELs.

There were other findings that did not map comfortably onto the political spectacle conceptual framework such as the issue of local control. In investigating what ideologies might undergird the issue of local control, I discovered a crisscrossing of ideological boundaries between what are typically considered conservative values such as less big government and progressive/liberal values such as decentralized control of education (Lakoff, 2004; Reich, 2005a). For instance, the issue of loss of local control was brought up by the bilingual education advocates usually thought to be progressive in ideology in order to sway conservative voters to oppose Proposition 227. Other instances of crisscrossing ideological boundaries found in the data were those related to economic issues and shared values such as equity, equality of opportunity, and choice (Henig, 2013; Kingdon, 1995; Wirt & Kirst, 2005).

In analysis it is as important to look for evidence of what is not mentioned as well as what is spoken aloud. Evidence of racial undertones was found in the data. The wedge issue of race was usually couched in civil rights language such as “segregated kids” and “we’re going back to the 1960s.” Though infrequent in the data, the silencing of “race talk” can actually make race matter more (Pollock, 2004). The issue of social class is also considered an indication of “whiteness” and is closely related to race (Lee, 2005; Orfield, 2012).

Finally, Proposition 227 is an example of policy entrepreneurs taking advantage of an open policy window (Kingdon, 1995). Policy windows open when there is a

joining of the problem, policy, and political streams.¹⁴ In the case of Proposition 227, Unz was adept at linking his policy solution to the *problem* of the academic underachievement of immigrant students and ELs. The swing in public sentiment against special treatment for underprivileged groups as indicated by Propositions 187 and 209 that preceded Proposition 227 created a political climate conducive to the initiative. Also, the California legislature's lack of ability to reach consensus on bilingual education provided a *policy* gap that Proposition 227 was designed to fill.

In sum, the Proposition 227 campaign was a clear example of political spectacle. The general public was relegated to spectators of the remote battle between proponents and opponents that was staged by the media. The Proposition 227 campaign was less about effective language education for immigrant students and ELs and more about the contentious battle over bilingual education versus English-only education. Immigrant students and ELs were most often cast as inanimate objects to be placed in or moved from one program to the other rather than active participants in their own learning. Other key strategies that emerged inductively from the data included a crisscrossing of ideological boundaries by both proponents and opponents indicating that advocating for a preferred policy may outweigh personal values and political ideologies. Race talk was nearly silenced by proponents and opponents of Proposition 227, but talk of the rights of immigrant children was evident. Finally, Proposition 227 was an example of the joining of three streams of problem, policy, and politics. These findings shed light on the

¹⁴ The concept of policy windows is explained in detail in Chapter 6.

mechanisms or strategies that policy entrepreneurs use to grab the attention of the media and voters in order to push their preferred policies into law.

Overview of the Dissertation

In the following chapter I address the literature that informed this study and the conceptual framework that guided it. I begin with the complex social, linguistic, and economic factors that present barriers to the academic success of some immigrant students and ELs. Then, I look at media studies by several researchers that reveal different ideologies toward immigrant students and ELs demonstrated by a range of newspapers. Finally, I explain in detail the conceptual framework of political spectacle that was the basis of the deductive portion of my interpretive policy analysis.

In Chapter 3, I present the methodology and analysis plan of my study. I give my rationale for employing an interpretive policy analysis approach. The research design is explained along with details on my data selection and collection procedures. The procedure for analysis of the data is also explained in this chapter.

Chapters 4 and 5 contain my research findings. The findings in Chapter 4 were derived deductively based on the political spectacle conceptual framework. I demonstrate how all seven elements were present in the data albeit to varying degrees. In Chapter 5 the findings that emerged inductively from the data are explored. These surprise findings about crisscrossing of ideological boundaries by both proponents and opponents and the silencing of the wedge issue of race during the campaign necessitated searching for explanations in the literature that served to widen the range of my analysis

and to provide a better understanding of how policy entrepreneurs used political language to advance their policies.

In Chapter 6, I present my conclusion including the limitations of my study, implications for future research, implications for language education policy, and recommendations for the new language education policy due to be presented to the voters in November of 2016.

Language education is once again the focus of policy reform in California and, if history is any indication, it will continue to be long into the future. Language education policy reforms that address the achievement gap between English learners and English-only students have historically not been successful in accomplishing their goals (Ratvich, 1985). Proposition 227 is the most recent attempt to address this persistent problem yet the gap remains (Gándara & Hopkins, 2010; Umansky & Reardon, 2014). Rather than enter the debate over which language education program is most effective in teaching immigrant students and ELs English, this study explores the political language policy entrepreneurs use to promote their preferred policies and programs via the media. The media are instrumental in propagating these policies in a way that influences the general public's perceptions of them and of the immigrant students and ELs that they target (Gonzalez-Carriedo, 2012). This study draws attention to the need for policymakers, journalists, educators, and the general public to closely examine the speech and actions of policy entrepreneurs in order to avoid being mollified into thinking that their policies will solve intractable social problems.

Chapter 2

Literature Review and Conceptual Framework

For immigrant students and ELs, learning English is “projected as a first and necessary step to becoming a good student and a good citizen” by the mainstream society (Lippi-Green, 1997, p. 132). The stated ideology behind this approach is that English, being the language of industry, is necessary for getting a good job and, thus, successfully contributing to society. Consequently, ELs must learn English as quickly as possible in order to achieve academic success. The Melting Pot metaphor is often used to describe this process of rapid assimilation (Jacoby, 2004; Schmid, 2001). This view minimizes the various challenges that immigrant children face both in schools and in society-at-large. Immigrant students of Mexican descent and from other Latin American Spanish-speaking countries may be particularly negatively impacted by complex social factors such as cultural, linguistic, socioeconomic and racial challenges. Mexican-origin immigrant youth in particular come from households where 35% of the members are not English proficient and 28% are living in poverty (Pew Research Center, 2013).

The first section of this chapter covers the literature related to these cultural challenges. Next, studies of how newspapers address issues related to these challenges such as immigration reform and the ideologies displayed in media depictions of ELs and immigrant students are presented. The chapter concludes with the political spectacle conceptual framework that guides this study. Language education policies such as Proposition 227 tend to elicit subjective meanings as individuals seek to understand the world(s) in which they live and work (Edelman, 1988; Creswell, 2003).

Cultural Challenges for Immigrant Students

Numerous theorists and social science researchers have looked at the cultural processes of assimilation and have provided explanations for how they affect the educational outcomes of immigrant students (Gibson, 1988; Ogbu & Simons, 1998; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001, 2006; Valdés, 2001; Valenzuela, 1999). Gibson (1988) defines assimilation as a process of cultural incorporation or absorption of individuals from one society or ethnic group into another. Portes and Rumbaut (2006), in their expansive portrait of immigrant America in the twenty-first century, address the underlying ideologies of those who seek to rapidly assimilate non-native persons who do not speak English into the mainstream culture. The authors explain that the ideology of *forced assimilation* assumes that history is an important factor, but only as a model for the way immigrants are to be assimilated into current society. There are unintended consequences to this stance that can lead to immigrant youth resisting the dominant culture rather than embracing it (Valdés, 2001; Valenzuela, 1999). Portes and Rumbaut (2006) refer to this resistance as *selective acculturation* which they observed in some second-generation immigrant youth. Acculturation, in contrast to assimilation, involves “a process of cultural change and adaptation which results when groups with different cultures come into contact” (Gibson, 1988, p. 24). The Mexican immigrant youth in Valenzuela’s (1999) three-year ethnographic study of a Texas high school had been schooled in the United States and spoke English, yet the rapid cultural assimilation of these students left them feeling powerless and alienated, leading to discontent and disruptive behavior. Likewise, the newly-arrived immigrant students from Mexico and Honduras in Valdés’s

(2001) qualitative study conducted in California middle-schools felt discouraged and isolated by the school's assimilationist language policies and practices leading to sustained academic failure.

In contrast, some students newly arrived in the U.S. are able to succeed and even flourish in their new country by surmounting linguistic and social barriers (Gibson, 1988; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001). Gibson (1988), in her ethnographic study of Punjabi high school students in the central San Joaquin Valley of California, found these immigrant students were able to overcome socioeconomic and language barriers as they excelled academically through *accommodation without assimilation*.¹⁵ The experience of cultural discontinuity and economic background of the Punjabi students was similar to that of the Mexican American students in the school who were failing academically overall. Their success is attributed to strong parental and community expectations that they acquire the skills and credentials necessary for competing in the mainstream society while maintaining strong roots within their Punjabi community. Such academic success stories feed the assumption that all non-English-speakers will naturally and quickly adopt the English language as their own (Crawford, 1995).

¹⁵ Accommodation without assimilation refers to the way some immigrant groups conform publicly to the rules and standards of the larger society when they perceive this to be in their best interests or to their children's benefit.

The issue of differences in school performance by immigrant students from various ethnic backgrounds is also addressed by *cultural-ecological theory*.¹⁶ According to this theory, the difference in academic achievement is the result of being part of “voluntary (immigrant)” or “involuntary (nonimmigrant)” minority groups (Ogbu & Simons, 1998). African Americans who were brought to the U.S. as slaves and early Mexican Americans in the southwest United States are included in the involuntary minority category because they were enslaved or conquered by way of military defeat. According to research conducted by Ogbu and Simons (1998), involuntary minorities tend to do less well in school, be economically less successful, and usually experience more persistent and more pervasive cultural and linguistic difficulties. The value of cultural-ecological theory to the study of language education policies for immigrant children is that it provides a partial explanation for the disparate academic outcomes of language minority students from Mexico as compared to other national backgrounds.¹⁷ Newer perspectives on the education of immigrant students such as those of Gibson (1988) and Portes and Rumbaut (2001, 2006) add considerably to the understanding of differences in academic achievement between and within ethnic groups. Other research takes a more critical perspective and views schools and language policies as tools to indoctrinate immigrant children into lower status positions in society, thus, reproducing

¹⁶ Ogbu defines “cultural” as “broadly refer[ing] to the way people ... see their world and behave in it.” Ecology is the “world”, “setting,” or “environment” in which people find themselves (Ogbu & Simons, 1998, p. 158).

¹⁷ The *cultural-ecological theory* has been criticized for failing to account for between and within group differences and the possibility of individual academic successes, particularly when it comes to the “burden of ‘acting white’” thesis that derives from Fordham and Ogbu (1986). See Ainsworth-Darnell and Downey (1998), and Horvat and Lewis (2003) for discussion of these limitations.

the social and economic power structures present in society (Bourdieu, 1991; Bowles & Gintis, 1976; Lippi-Green, 1997).

Language status.

Language status is another challenge immigrant students face as they enter a new culture and society. Bourdieu (1991) observes that language carries with it multiple symbolic messages such as signs of wealth and signs of authority that denote differences in social status. The language used for formal situations such as governmental proclamations and public policies automatically reinforces that language as the legitimate one and, thus, the superior one. The legitimacy of a language and the authority of those who are most fluent in it are recognized by people at all levels of competency. Command of the dominant language has economic benefits (Bourdieu, 1991; Bowles & Gintis, 1976). More pointedly the claim that English is necessary for economic success is a rationalization for the rejection and potential elimination of other languages, according to some scholars (Lippi-Green, 1997; Schmid, 2001; Tatalovich, 1995). Lippi-Green (1997) contends that this claim is comparable to the “separate but equal” doctrine that was rejected in the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* ruling. Yet, some immigrant students are able to succeed as Gibson (1988) and Portes and Rumbaut (2001) have shown. Community factors such as socioeconomic and home resources or the lack thereof are also important considerations when looking at the academic achievement of immigrant students. Research on the confluence of poverty and language sheds light on the socioeconomic challenges immigrant students face in public schools.

Poverty and EL academic achievement.

Poverty is known to affect the academic achievement of all students, regardless of their language background (Gándara, 2005). Since poverty alone has been shown to negatively impact the academic success of students, the concentration of immigrant children and ELs in low SES communities is a deep concern (Gándara, 2005; Zhou, 1997). Recent surveys indicate 28% of immigrant children from Mexico residing in California are considered to be living in poverty with a median household income of \$38,000 (Pew Research Center, 2013). A quantitative study by Mitchell and Mitchell (1999) examined the impact of poverty and language background and ethnicity on student achievement in eight southern California schools. Second-, third- and fourth-grade Spanish-speaking students of poverty in the study had a mean NCE score of nearly 27 in reading on the 1998-1999 SAT-9 as compared to a score of nearly 38 for native English-speaking students of poverty. Native-English-speaking students from households above the poverty level attained a mean NCE score of about 50. This indicated that, because the majority of ELs included in the study were poor, as measured by free and reduced lunch criteria, they were at a particular disadvantage in school. The study then parsed out the impact of language background and ethnicity on student achievement. Spanish-speaking Hispanic children scored 30.53 in reading on the SAT-9 while Hispanic children from English-speaking backgrounds scored 38.68. This was compared to a significantly higher score of 47.30 for English-speaking non-Hispanic White students. This suggests that something other than English proficiency and poverty account for the difference. Some

studies indicate that race is also a factor in the academic trajectory of immigrant children of color who do not speak English.

Race/Ethnicity and attaining the democratic ideal.

Persistent racial and ethnic tensions in American society are a deep concern of researchers in the sociology of education (Hallinan, 2000; Nieto, 2004; Pollock, 2004; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001).¹⁸ The Melting Pot ideology sees assimilation as the embodiment of the democratic ideal of creating a society in which all boundaries among racial groups are removed and all individual differences in background will be erased so that all members of society can participate on an equal basis (Hallinan, 2000). This ideal is threatened when events involving racial conflict erupt and are broadcast by the media producing feelings of fear or guilt among the dominant non-Hispanic White population. Therefore, talk of race tends to be avoided or muted in schools and other public arenas. When it does come to the fore, race-talk is often dismissed and the topic is changed (Nieto, 2004; Pollock, 2004).

Pollock (2004) found that, along with the silencing of “race talk” in the high school where she conducted her qualitative study, talk of language differences was almost non-existent despite the fact that one-third of the student population was enrolled in ESL classes. She concluded that school policy that makes explicit reference to race is doomed to failure. Therefore, policies that address minority students of color including language minority students tend to couch their issues in terms of equality and benefits for

¹⁸ In this case, race is viewed as a contextual feature of the host society or a social construction rather than a physical trait such as skin color (Nieto, 2004; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001).

all students. Despite the efforts to silence talk of race in schools and policy, Pollock concludes that race talk matters and deleting race words in policy can even make race matter more.

The literature reviewed thus far indicates that the challenges facing immigrant children who do not speak English are complex and there is no single factor that can be identified as the primary cause for the low academic achievement of some immigrant students, particularly those from Mexico and other Spanish-speaking Latin American countries. A number of theories offer explanations for the varied academic success of different immigrant groups. These theories address the various cultural, linguistic, socioeconomic, and racial challenges immigrant children face. The assumptions that society holds regarding how immigrants who do not speak English are to be assimilated into U.S. society have various origins many of which are based on long-standing ideologies regarding the role and purposes of schooling in America. One of the ways these ideologies are rooted and perpetuated is via the mass media. The next section reviews several media-effects studies that focus on identifying and analyzing the ideologies that newspapers display in their depictions of immigrants and ELs (Gonzalez-Carriedo, 2012; Lakoff & Ferguson, 2006; Santa Ana & Treviño, 2007).

Media-effects Studies of Immigration Reform and Language Education Policies

The coverage newspapers give to education and political news has an influence on policies affecting schools (Gonzalez-Carriedo, 2012; Lakoff & Ferguson, 2006; Santa Ana & Treviño, 2007). For many people the media is their primary source of information

about schools and schooling in the United States (Anderson, 2007). The importance of examining media discourse is that language is a powerful tool for providing images that influence how we understand reality (Santa Ana & Treviño, 2007). The way media represent language education policies and the politics surrounding them play a crucial role in the public's understanding of immigrants and ELs. This is of concern in a society such as the U.S. where the corporate-sponsored sources of information are owned by fewer and fewer companies (Gonzalez-Carriedo, 2012; Smith, 2004). The assumption of an independent, non-biased press has been seriously questioned which makes critical scrutiny of the media essential (Grentzkow & Shapiro, 2010; Santa Ana & Treviño, 2007).

The way mass media portray immigrants influences their image of children of immigrants as well. Cognitive linguists Lakoff and Ferguson (2006) look closely at the words and phrases used by the media in the politics surrounding immigration reform using *cognitive metaphor theory*. Cognitive metaphor theory aspires to bring to light our conceptual system by looking at metaphorical expressions in language (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003). It hypothesizes that hearing a word activates its associated semantic frame or possibly a cluster of frames in the brain. Such frames are mental structures that shape the way we reason as well as the way we see the world.¹⁹ Lakoff and Ferguson (2006) propose that the *illegal frame* is arguably the most commonly used frame within the immigration debate. Journalists often refer to “illegal immigrants” or “illegal aliens”

¹⁹ The sociological underpinnings of framing are found in Goffman (1959; 1986). Goffman (1986) set out to isolate some of the “primary frameworks” people in society use to make sense of their world. These frameworks are primary in that they allow someone to “locate, perceive, identify, and label a seemingly infinite number of concrete occurrences” under their schema (Goffman, 1986, p.21).

thinking that it is a neutral term. Yet, the adjective, “illegal” places immigrants in the category of people who break the law or “bad people” (Lakoff & Ferguson, 2006). The imagery this frame evokes is that of criminals who are a threat to society.

Santa Ana & Treviño (2007) conducted a *critical discourse content analysis* of the 2006 immigration policy debate focusing on how newspapers represented the immigration debate using metaphoric imagery. They were guided by cognitive metaphor theory as they analyzed two sets of newspaper reports from May and October of that year. The predominant metaphors found in the media discourse targeting immigrants were placed into two categories; human and nonhuman. Human metaphors such as immigrants as hard workers, persons without documents, and people who contribute to society use affirming language. They evoke feelings of sympathy and even admiration in the public. Like Lakoff and Ferguson (2006), Santa Ana and Treviño found a human metaphor or frame that was less than affirming; that of the immigrant as criminal. Among all immigrant metaphors of May 2006, criminal was the most frequent found in 33% (311/969) of the articles. The second most frequent use was that of mass or water, a nonhuman metaphor, found in 10 % (104/969) of the articles. The immigrant as mass metaphor was represented by references to the millions of immigrants coming to the U.S. illegally. The immigrant as water metaphor characterized immigrants as a large volume evoking images of "devastating storms and uncontrollable waves of water that can obliterate whole communities" (Santa Ana & Treviño, 2007, p. 220).

Nonhuman conceptual metaphors generally denigrate immigrants as objects, animals, aliens, or an uncontrollable mass of overwhelming size. Such language conceals the humanity and individuality of immigrants. The criminal metaphor when combined with the nonhuman ones contributes to a negative view of immigrants as lower forms of human beings who are law breakers and exploit social services and, thus, deserve only punishment (Lakoff & Ferguson, 2006; Santa Ana & Treviño, 2007). The use of these affirming human and denigrating nonhuman metaphors in media discourse reveal a deep psychological divide among Americans regarding the issue of immigration.²⁰

Gonzalez-Carriedo (2012) extended the research by looking at both English-language and Spanish-language newspapers. The ideologies of two Arizona English-language newspapers and one Spanish-language newspaper were revealed by analyzing what types of news events were being selected and how those events were being reported. Findings showed three distinct ideologies held by the newspapers. The *East Valley Tribune* took a stance that negatively represented immigrant students in schools, upheld the hegemonic position of the English language, and opposed the immigrant community. The *Arizona Republic*, on the other hand, presented a favorable attitude toward both ELs and immigrants by emphasizing their benefit to the overall economic interests of the state of Arizona. The Spanish-language newspaper, *La Prensa Hispana*, showed ideologies favorable to the immigrant community, but based on humanitarianism designed to elicit sympathy and empathy from the audience. The results of this study suggest,

²⁰ Anti-immigrant protestors express anxiety, fear, and even hatred while pro-immigrant advocates express hope and a call for policy changes emphasizing humanitarianism and immigrant-rights.

unsurprisingly, that newspapers are not without bias in their reporting and that certain newspapers have specific ideological leanings.

In sum, for many people the media are where they get information about schools and schooling. Media discourse is also crucial to the public's understanding of immigrants and immigrant students. The media-effects studies in this section address how the media, particularly newspapers, represent immigrants and immigrant students and that this representation is ideological and not without bias. They touch, but do not focus on broader issues such as how the media itself is influenced by others. A growing body of research uses political spectacle as a framework to address the complexity of how media both shapes ideology and is shaped by external sources of influence such as policy entrepreneurs. Political spectacle is the conceptual framework I used to guide my study. It was developed by Edelman (1971, 1988, 2001), a self-described student of political language and symbolism.

Conceptual Framework: Political Spectacle

We are born into a community of shared (albeit contested) values, belief systems, language, customs, and habits that form our culture. We use the materials and objects of our cultural environment, as well as the spoken and written texts we encounter, in order to construct meaning (Edelman, 2001; Geertz, 1973; Lehtonen, 2000). Language is also a symbol (Valenzuela, 1999). Symbols are words, phrases, items, ideas, and events that represent other things. There are an infinite number of symbols in cultures that members of that culture are expected to understand (Lehtonen, 2000). Symbols, including

language, are not static, however. They change and evolve. Just as human beings are changeable, meanings are unstable and amenable to change (Edelman, 2001; Lehtonen, 2000). The use of symbols and the construction of meaning will inevitably lead to diverse interpretations that can lead to misunderstandings, differences of opinion, even conflict (Edelman, 2001; Geertz, 1973). This is because symbols can mean many things at the same time, different things to different people, and different things to the same person in different contexts (Edelman, 2001; Lakoff, 2004; Stone, 2002). The U.S. flag, for example, is for some people a symbol of freedom of speech, so burning it is defensible, while for others it is a symbol of sacrifice for the nation that deserves to be protected (Edelman, 1988; Stone, 2002). Political spectacle attempts to account for the varied and multiple meanings that people develop as they seek to understand the world(s) in which they live.

Political spectacles are defined here as:

Political constructions of reality that use language, images, and staging to mystify, muddle, and mesmerize the public (spectators) in order to elicit acquiescence or an emotional response to a policy that purports to serve the public good, but actually serves to distort public policies and perpetuates the status quo.

There are seven elements proposed by political spectacle to help explain the highly complex and often confusing world of politics and policy: 1) symbolic language; 2) casting actors; 3) onstage/backstage actions; 4) dramaturgy; 5) illusion of rationality; 6) democratic participation as illusion; and 7) disconnection between means and ends (Edelman, 1988). Table 2 shows the seven elements along with examples of each and their intended purposes. These seven elements of political spectacle provided a suitable

framework for revealing how a policy such as Proposition 227 can have varied and multiple meanings.

Table 2

Seven Elements of Political Spectacle with Examples and Purposes

Element	Examples	Purpose
Symbolic Language	Metaphor	To elicit quiescence or an emotional response from the spectators
	Ambiguous/Ritualistic language	To create an appearance of unity
Casting Actors	As leaders	To inspire and attract votes
	As allies	To attain or retain higher status or office
	As adversaries or enemies	To gain support by vilifying opponents or target groups
Onstage/Backstage Actions	Polished performances for spectators	To dupe or mollify the spectators into believing the actions and words
	Informal language used backstage in behind-the-scenes negotiations	To negotiate real benefits
Dramaturgy	Images, Props, Staging, Costumes	To communicate values, ideologies, and emotions
Illusion of Rationality	Statistics	To convince the middle or those undecided that a policy

(continued)

Element	Examples	Purpose
	Research “Experts”	is needed to solve a problem
Democratic Participation as Illusion	Voting Surveys Polling	To give the impression of democratic participation when the outcome has already been determined
Disconnection between Means and Ends	Purported goals are not the real goals Promises of change	To claim solutions to intractable problems To quell discontent To reinforce the status quo

Note. The sources of information for this chart are Edelman (1971, 1988, 2001) and Miller-Kahn and Smith (2001).

Symbolic Language

Symbolic language is used by policy entrepreneurs and other policy actors to lull spectators into quiescence, to elicit an emotional response or to create an appearance of unity. The forms of symbolic language used in political speech include metaphor, ambiguous language, and ritualistic language. While these forms of language use often overlap or are employed simultaneously, they are presented separately here for the sake of clarity.

Metaphor.

Metaphors are defined as understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another or implied comparisons (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003; Stone, 2002).²¹ A majority of the beliefs that guide political conduct are based on metaphors (Edelman, 2001; Lakoff, 2004). Lakoff (2004) takes the concept of metaphor and applies it to the political realm, in particular. He identifies two core values that underlie the main political parties in the United States. The *nurturant parent* is the Democratic or liberal core value whereas the *strict father* is that of the Republicans or conservatives. Furthermore, these values of nurture and discipline emerge from the metaphor of a nation as a family. These values form the basis for people's political decisions, such as voting (Lakoff, 2004; Reich, 1988, 2005a). Policy decisions can go awry if policy makers assume their words have universal meanings and evoke the same conceptual frames (Lakoff, 2004).

Metaphors that evoke crises are especially powerful because they elicit anxiety in the public.²² Political events, in particular, often become the foci of anxiety (Edelman, 1971). For example, the provocative language used in the 1983 report by the National Commission on Excellence in Education (NCEE) titled, *A Nation at Risk*, evokes images of fear and threat. The phrase "at risk" carries symbolic meanings that involve the fear of losing a basic value such as security (Stone, 2002). *No Child Left Behind* is another

²¹ The concept of metaphor can be traced back to Aristotle's *Poetics*, although the actual word was never used in his writing (Derrida, 1974).

²² The metaphor of *war* with all its imagery of winners and losers, attacking and defending, and gaining or losing ground is pervasive in policy language; e.g., *war on poverty*, *invasion of privacy*, *anti-drug campaign* (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003; Stone, 2002).

example that elicits images of either fear that children will be left behind or a hopeful solution to the purported academic crisis. Who could disagree with the need to leave no child behind in the pursuit of academic excellence for our children? Furthermore, metaphors that denote crisis serve as an excuse for radical actions or prescriptions offered by policymakers and policy entrepreneurs to correct the alleged problem (Kingdon, 1995; Stone, 2002).

Ambiguous and ritualistic language.

Some scholars contend that political language is always ambiguous or open to interpretation (Edelman, 1988, 2001; Lakoff, 2004; Stone, 2002; Tyack & Cuban, 1995). The use of ambiguous language such as “success” and “failure” by public officials and interest groups can serve the purpose of creating an appearance of unity that may not exist (Edelman, 2001; Miller-Kahn & Smith, 2001; Stone, 2002). The meanings of terms such as success and failure differ according to the interpretations and political reasoning of the persons or groups involved (Stone, 2002). It is important to be aware that ambiguous language is often ritualized. Ritualistic language such as that used in political speeches is largely taken-for-granted and helps us function in society because it is so predictable.²³ The public or spectators will either be lulled into quiescence since they have heard the words so often before or incited to an emotional response (Edelman, 1971). Both of these reactions limit critical thinking or concrete actions and, thus, help maintain the status quo (Bourdieu, 1991; Edelman, 2001; Miller-Kahn & Smith, 2001;

²³ Rituals are considered the mechanism that produces ideas imbued with social significance, and the content of ideas reflects the structure of society (Collins, 1994).

Smith, 2004). Furthermore, rituals serve to remind the individual where their membership and loyalties lie. The most contentious and passionate political fights are about community membership or way of life issues (Stone, 2002; Tatalovich, 1995). Language is one of the most salient markers that indicate community membership. Therefore, educational language policies are as much about who joins the mainstream of society as about the language of instruction (Tatalovich, 1995). Story is a form of ritualistic language used in political speech that also serves to suspend critical thinking with its “powerful poetry” (Stone, 2002, p. 147).

Story and problem definition.

Narrative stories substantiate a certain worldview or reflect latent values. Like metaphor, they are so taken-for-granted that people are often unaware of using them. The power of story is in how it grips our imaginations and our psyches by offering the promise of resolution for scary problems (Stone, 2002). An example is the National Commission on Excellence in Education's *A Nation at Risk* report that encouraged more governmental oversight of schools to avert an economic crisis and to protect national security (Smith, 2004). It takes some digging to find the story line in political writing, however. Looking for ways policy entrepreneurs define a policy problem provides a clue because such problems take the form of a narrative structure with a beginning, middle and an end. Stories in politics and policy are often used to convince the public that there is a problem in the first place (Kingdon, 1995; Stone, 2002; Yanow, 2000). The issues

that rise to the top of the agenda are not necessarily the most important ones, though. Therefore, it is just as important to discern what issues are *not* being addressed by policy.

Stone (2002) identifies at least two broad story lines that are particularly prevalent in policy and politics; stories of decline, and stories of helplessness and control. Decline stories tend to look at how conditions have deteriorated and try to persuade the intended audience that a particular policy is needed in order to alleviate or halt the decline (Itkonen, 2009; Stone, 2002). Stories of control elicit hope and place control in the hands of those in a position to do something about the problem (Itkonen, 2009; Stone, 2002). Itkonen (2009), in her study of interest group effectiveness in special education policy, found that policy stories that frame special education as a civil rights matter combined with an educational construction of students and hope story were highly effective in garnering support at the national level.²⁴ These stories offer hope of resolution to the problem of meeting the challenging educational needs of special-needs students and shifted the responsibility to the government rather than focusing on individual differences.

Stone's (2002) two broad categories of hope and decline coincide nicely with Reich's (2005b) four essential American stories; the triumphant individual, the benevolent community, the mob at the gates, and the rot at the top. The triumphant individual and the benevolent community stories are about hope. The mob at the gates and rot at the top are about decline or fear of decline. The triumphant individual is the

²⁴ An education construction of students portrayed students with disabilities in the context of educational interventions, academic outcomes, or specific methodologies (Itkonen, 2009).

familiar rags-to-riches tale brought to the forefront of people's minds by the short stories of Horatio Alger.²⁵ The benevolent community describes how neighbors and friends pitch in for the common good epitomized by the speech of civil rights activists such as Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. The mob at the gates imagery is exemplified by the crisis over the high influx of unaccompanied children from Honduras, Guatemala, and El Salvador crossing the border into the United States in 2013-2014 (Maxwell, 2014, July 9; Wolgin & Kelley, 2014, June 18). Finally, the rot at the top weaves "a tale of corruption, decadence, and irresponsibility" fomented by the powerful elites (Reich, 2005b, p. 16). Political leaders who speak with passion and moral conviction are likely to inspire and attract votes. Reich suggests that passion can go a long way when it comes to forging public policy. The stories may change, but the underlying values they represent remain the same. Reich (2005a) agrees with Lakoff (2004) regarding what those latent values are and their cultural sources.²⁶

Thus far I have explained how symbolic language such as metaphor, ambiguous, and ritualistic language is used by political actors to attract support for their policies. The public may recognize when symbolic language is used, but likely do not understand its political function (Smith, 2004). Political spectacle is created when politicians use these forms of symbolic language to incite an emotional response or to lull spectators into

²⁵ Horatio Alger was an American author from the late 19th century who is best known for his stories of youth rising from poverty to middle-class due to their hard work and honesty.

²⁶ Reich (2005a) also uses the strict parent or disciplinarian to describe the conservatives' authoritative view of the role of government. The progressives or liberals are encouraged to develop their nurturing side by saying the nation has a moral obligation to give its children a good education and decent health care (p. 5).

thinking that something is being done to address the perceived problem. The mass media is involved in constructing spectacle since they are in the business of attracting audiences themselves. Politicians and policy entrepreneurs actively seek to grab the attention of the media in order to get their issue or policy to the forefront of people's minds because the media can influence people's thoughts and behavior. One of the ways media constructs spectacle is by the casting of political actors as leaders, enemies, and allies.

Casting of Leaders, Enemies, and Allies

In politics, leaders, enemies, and allies are constructed to advance the political objectives of individuals and competing groups. According to this element of political spectacle, leaders are a construction of their followers and vice versa (Edelman, 2001). Political leaders tend to conform to widely held ideologies in order to attain and retain higher office or status. Leaders reinforce images of themselves as leaders by acting like leaders are supposed to act (Miller-Kahn & Smith, 2001). The better they carry out the expected or "proper formalities," the more status they attain (Goffman, 1959). This is ritualistic behavior at its best or worst. The spectators cooperate by suspending their own critical judgment and vesting authority in people who claim competence or promise a quick solution to a perceived problem or crisis (Edelman, 1988; Miller-Kahn & Smith, 2001).

Miller-Kahn and Smith (2001) found evidence of the media casting actors as leaders in their study of school choice policies. The authors conducted a study of a school district in Boulder, Colorado in the decade of the 1990s. Their sources of data

consisted of extensive interviewing along with analysis of documents and media reports. They observed a group of parents, led by one spokesperson, produce rapid change in the make-up of the district by identifying a crisis (albeit a fictitious one) of declining test scores, forming a coalition, and pushing through the changes that they believed would best benefit their children and community. The press was collusive in the parents' efforts by publishing the leader's analysis of the district achievement test scores without conducting any research of their own or requesting clarification or alternative interpretation from the school district, thus, casting the leader as an "informed critic" (Miller-Kahn & Smith, 2001, p. 11). Miller-Kahn and Smith conclude that the parent group would not have achieved their goals so successfully had the media not become involved.

Casting actors as adversaries or enemies.

Just as leaders are constructed in political spectacle, leaders, in turn, create opponents or enemies. Adversaries are constructed as opponents who are respected or accepted as legitimate. Opponents may disagree, but their focus is on winning tactics or playing the game. Enemies, on the other hand, are characterized as immoral, dangerous, evil or insane (Lakoff & Ferguson, 2006; Reich, 2005b). These conditions constitute a threat and will not be remedied, regardless of what the enemy does or does not do. The use of the "illegal" frame is an example of how political leaders cast immigrants as criminals in order to strengthen political support for their immigration policies (Lakoff & Ferguson, 2006). Leaders particularly use casting enemies to their advantage by

exaggerating the threat the enemies pose or by portraying them as irrational and ideological (Miller-Kahn & Smith, 2001; Reich, 2005b).

A political enemy need not be a person. Foreign countries or groups that are seen as different from oneself in any respect, such as those who speak a different language than the mainstream population, may fill that role (Edelman, 1988; Schmid, 2001; Smith, 2004; Stone, 2002; Tatalovich, 1995). For example, Tatalovich (1995), in his study of the official English movement in the United States, found that immigrants who do not speak English are seen by some as a threat to the political regime. In Florida in the mid-80s, for example, the growing political success of Hispanics in local elections was perceived as a threat to the historically Anglo political, cultural, and economic control. Another example is the NCEE *A Nation at Risk* report which evoked fears of foreign dominance by planting a connection in people's minds between the purported low academic achievement of U.S. students and economic or national security (Cremin, 1989; Smith, 2004). The images of a failed public school system portrayed in the *A Nation at Risk* report seem now a taken-for-granted assumption of the general public (Smith, 2004).

Gaining allies.

Leaders on both sides of an issue may cast the opposition as an adversary or an enemy, but without gaining supporters or allies, they will not likely succeed in advancing their policies. Therefore, leaders choose their enemies based on their anticipation of which enemy might potentially create and mobilize the most allies (Edelman, 1988). Allies are also drawn by negotiation and compromise that allow even adversaries to claim

victory from a single resolution (Stone, 2002). For example, the Bush administration was able to gain support for NCLB by using ambiguous language that spoke to the nurturant parent frame typically used by Democratic politicians while at the same time propagating a strict father policy that Republicans would support (Anderson, 2007; Lakoff, 2004; Lemann, 2001).

Anderson (2007) explores the early stages of NCLB through the lens of political spectacle. His study focuses solely on the media's influence on school reform policy. His concern is how political spectacle changes the way we think about power, social control, and democratic participation in educational policy decisions. The study's evidence consists of a few representative accounts from NCLB. A political spectacle was created that promoted the Houston Texas School District as a success story when, in reality, its programs were failing large numbers of students.²⁷ The so-called "Texas miracle" was exposed as a myth in a front-page *New York Times* article a year later. The dropout statistics had been manipulated to show a much lower percentage than was reported. It was too late, though, to erase the previous image because the effect had already been achieved. High-stakes standardized testing was already on the national agenda with the bipartisan passage of NCLB in January, 2002. The process of building political allies occurs largely out of public scrutiny or behind-the-scenes as the onstage/backstage actions element of political spectacle explains (Edelman, 1988).

²⁷ Anderson (2007) tells the story behind the "Texas miracle" (the assumption that test scores in Houston, Texas improved due to high-stakes standardized testing). The program won a \$1 million prize in 2002 as the best urban school district in the country. This so-called miracle was touted as proof that the Texas Accountability system was an excellent model for the nation.

Onstage/Backstage Actions

Anyone who has participated in a staged play knows that what goes on in front of the curtain may be very different than what goes on behind it. Goffman (1959) applies the imagery of a theatre production to everyday life. Goffman (1959) explains that all participants in social interactions attempt to control the image others have of him or her by changing the setting or his or her appearance or way of behaving. In the political arena, politicians put their best foot forward when they are in front of the cameras while backstage there is rustling of papers and last-minute preparations. Political spectacle extends the theatrical metaphor and proposes that *backstage*, away from public view, a few policy actors negotiate for themselves material benefits using informal language which contrasts sharply with the formal, ambiguous language typical of the performance *onstage* (Smith, 2004). The benefits of policy are generally thought to include material profits and opportunities for social or political advancement. This list of benefits can be extended to include the status or public relations image of a person or organization and of interest groups with particular ideologies (Kingdon, 1995; Miller-Kahn & Smith, 2001; Smith, 2004). Politicians often receive financial contributions from dominant political groups. Therefore, any policy solution that claims to overcome inequalities or to provide equality of resources for disadvantaged groups warrants scrutiny (Edelman, 1988). Political spectacle contends the intended beneficiaries of such policies are usually not the “real” beneficiaries (Edelman, 1988). The spectators only see what occurs onstage, so they may be duped or acquiesced into believing the performance presented by the politicians. For example, a televised speech involves the front-stage where the actors

wear make-up, dress in suits or other attire appropriate for the setting, and put their best foot forward. This is in contrast to backstage where papers and people are being shuffled around and emotions may run high.

Anderson (2007) points out that the media are generally under elite control because interest groups and think tanks package their reports complete with photo images for busy journalists to snatch off their websites and disseminate. News reports are designed to give images and sound bites that will grab the audience's attention. This can include the use of emotional or even biased language in newspaper headlines (Johnson, 2008). The result, according to some, is that, in this time of rapid educational reform, the information age is fast becoming the age of disinformation with a few elites receiving the benefits of policy while the public often is left in the fog (Anderson, 2007). The onstage/backstage element of political spectacle is closely related to dramaturgy.

Dramaturgy

Dramaturgy refers to the images, props, and stages political actors choose to communicate values, ideologies, and emotions (Edelman, 2001; Smith, 2004; Wright, 2005). Smith and colleagues (2004) describe this element as a curtain that hides the real action backstage from what the audience sees in front of the partition. Theatrical performances require props such as costumes, stages, scenery, and places for the audience. Televised political speeches fall under the category of mixed performances

where information is combined with entertainment (Altheide, 1997).²⁸ Such performances relegate the public to the role of audience or spectator (Goffman, 1986). An example is the way U.S. political candidates stand with American flags in the background during press conferences (Smith, 2004).

Wright (2005) describes a well-orchestrated political event catering to the media that took place in Arizona during the implementation of Proposition 203, the language education policy that passed in 2000 and was patterned after Proposition 227. The event was the first State of Education speech by Superintendent Tom Horne. The location strategically selected was a high-performing Title 1 elementary school.²⁹ Wright purports that the focus of the event was less on education and more about Horne and his political aspirations. He illustrates this point by describing how on the stage of the school auditorium was a large podium cluttered with microphones from local TV and radio stations. A backdrop that appeared flimsy and small for the stage, but could easily be captured by television cameras or newspaper photographers, hung behind the podium. The language symbolic of the campaign was printed on the backdrop and read – Promises Made, Promises Kept.

Dramaturgy is designed to elicit an emotional response from the spectators in order to garner support for or opposition to a policy. The use of statistics by policy

²⁸ Altheide (1997) has much to say about how the media uses the entertainment format of news to attract audiences.

²⁹ Title 1 funds are federal monies for schools with high numbers of underprivileged students.

entrepreneurs serves to convince the general public that there is a critical problem to which they have the solution, likewise tugging at the emotions.

Illusion of Rationality

The illusion of rationality element of political spectacle is demonstrated by how policy actors often use statistical trends such as declining test scores, research results, and references to experts in the field to advance their policies. This strategy may be useful in convincing those undecided that there is a problem and that the proposed policy will alleviate the problem. In this way, the general public is mystified with the use of statistics. Those who advocate for or oppose a particular policy often use statistics to “prove” their point. This is typically ineffective in changing the opponents’ viewpoints insofar as opinions are not based on rational thinking, but rather on taken-for-granted values and ideologies (Edelman, 2001; Kahan et al., 2013; Stone, 2002). Facts are always subject to interpretation and therefore must remain tentative and uncertain (Edelman, 2001; Stone, 2002). Numbers are not neutral, as people often assume (Stone, 2002). Some numbers can be ambiguous especially when used to buttress a ritualized position (Edelman, 2001). Ambiguity arises from the substantive content to which the numbers are applied for example; speed limits can mean whatever their enforcers choose them to mean (Edelman, 2001).

Media often publish statistical information in the form of polling data to give the impression that they are neutral in their reporting. This creates democratic participation as illusion in the political spectacle framework.

Democratic Participation as Illusion

Polling is another way political leaders justify the need for their policies. Policy entrepreneurs often cite surveys and polls to bolster their claims. The *Los Angeles Times*, a high profile newspaper referenced in this study, periodically conducts and publishes the results of polls. The results of these polls are often published in other newspapers and quoted by politicians to support their own policy preferences. The conclusions of surveys and polls are heavily dependent upon what questions are asked and the news events circulating in the respondents' minds when they answer (Edelman, 2001; Smith, 2004). Yet, those news events were placed in the respondents' minds by news reports, thus, making public opinion a social construction rather than an observable entity (Edelman, 2001). It is often not the accuracy of the polls that is in question, but the illusion they create that makes the general public think it is participating in the democratic process.

Political spectacle views public participation in the form of voting as a mere ritual that is far removed from the actual decision making process. The percentage of people who actually cast their ballot in the United States has been shrinking over time (Shaw, 2013). Still, voting is portrayed as extremely important by political parties and interest groups. This is particularly true during presidential election years. Edelman (2001) questions whether the public's participation in voting serves the goals of maintaining democracy:

Political actions, talk, and media reporting focus largely on elections, legislation, and the publicized promises of officials, candidates, and interest groups. All of these institutions emphasize their support for needed change and the reality of change, but none of them makes much difference. ... [They] have a strong

incentive to maintain the status quo so far as established inequalities are concerned. (p. 20)

In this view, voting primarily serves to repress discontent by giving the public the illusion of participation and mystifying them into believing that something is being done to ameliorate society's problems or avert a crisis. Once the voters have made their decision, they may walk away from the polls assuming the crisis is over. If the policy wins, it will be implemented and the problem will be solved. Research and experience show that this is not necessarily the case in the real world (Armato, 2009).

Disconnection between Means and Ends

Researchers have observed that the rational/utilitarian or means-ends version of policymaking does not follow what actually happens in contemporary politics (Edelman, 2001; Kingdon, 1995; Stone, 2002; Wildavsky, 1987). Stone (2002) describes this rational view as a "production" model in which, first, an issue is placed on the agenda, and a problem gets defined. Next, the issue moves through the branches of government where alternative solutions are hashed out and refined. Then, a policy solution is chosen and implemented by the proper agencies. This invariably leads to challenges and arguments that are again hashed out and may even involve the judicial branch of government. Finally, a means of evaluating and revising the implemented solutions will be provided, "if the policy-making process is managerially sophisticated," Stone qualifies (2002, p. 11). Once this process is completed, it is assumed the target institution will carry out the policy with fidelity. Stone (2002) refers to this model as the *rationality project*. She points out that this model of policymaking cannot explain why solutions

sometimes turn into problems or the possibility of changing one's objectives.³⁰ This rational/utilitarian model also does not address direct democracy initiatives such as Proposition 227 that come from outside the usual political channels. Political spectacle provides an alternative explanation to the means-ends oriented rationality project and provides explanatory power for the initiative process (Wright, 2005). Wright (2005) concludes that Proposition 203 in Arizona was not the result of democratic policymaking with real concern for ELL students, but rather was spectacle which has led to further legislation hallowing the English language and limiting native language instruction.

Political spectacle suggests that policies that claim a solution to an intractable problem or promise change are suspect because they are chiefly symbolic and they depend on the creation of political images rather than verifiable facts or reality (Edelman, 2001). For example, the rapid change in educational practices from progressive practices such as heterogeneous grouping and student-centered thematic instruction to school choice in Miller-Kahn and Smith's (2001) study resulted in the establishment of sixteen choice schools attended by only 20 percent of the district students. The families that took advantage of the choice option did not reflect the demographics of the district. Non-Hispanic Whites were disproportionately requesting open enrollments in high-performing schools. This was not the outcome that the parents stated would occur. They voiced their support for choice in the language of equity and claimed it would benefit all members of

³⁰ Stone (2002) asks, "Which came first – the problem or the solution?" (p. 5). The production model of policy also cannot explain why some policy solutions go looking for problems. Wildavsky (1987) also discusses how solutions tend to create other problems. An example is the application of the chemical DDT to farmland to decrease the population of harmful insects that resulted in deformities to other wildlife such as the birds who feed on those insects.

the community. This contradictory outcome showed a disconnect between means and ends.

In sum, symbolic language such as metaphor, ambiguous language, and ritualistic language is one tool policy entrepreneurs use to attract support for their policies. The casting of actors as leaders, enemies, and allies by policy proponents and opponents and reinforced by the media is used to attract votes or attain higher office or status.

Onstage/backstage actions acknowledge that much of policymaking and the accruing of benefits take place behind-closed-doors relegating the general public to mere spectators. The curtain of dramaturgy sets the stage with images and sound bites that elicit emotions to promote a policy. The use of descriptive statistics such as test scores by politicians creates an illusion of rationality that serves to evoke acquiescence or emotional responses from the public, but may not aid in convincing the opposition to change its viewpoint. Democratic participation as illusion demonstrates how the public's participation in polling and voting can be a smoke-screen to make people think they have a say in democracy. Finally, political spectacle reveals a disconnection between means and ends which a rational/utilitarian model of policy making fails to take into account.

Anderson (2007) concludes that all the elements of political spectacle are present in current school reform efforts such as NCLB. Likewise, Miller-Kahn and Smith (2001) find political spectacle has explanatory power for the success of grassroots school choice policies. Wright's (2005) study of Proposition 203 reveals how particular elements of political spectacle were employed in the passage and implementation of language policy

via the initiative process. Anderson, like Edelman (2001), calls for much more research to better understand how political spectacle gets started, what values and constituencies they appeal to, what issues get displaced by them, and who ultimately benefits from them. My study addressed this gap in the literature by looking at policy entrepreneurs and the strategies they used to garner support for or opposition to Proposition 227.

In the next chapter, I present the methodology and methods used in this study. The research design and methods for data analysis were developed to reveal the answers to my questions regarding the mechanisms policy entrepreneurs use to elicit a response from spectators and how they and the media represent ELs and immigrant students. An interpretive policy analysis aligns with the main tenets of the political spectacle framework, i.e., that we live in a social world that is open to multiple interpretations. While political spectacle was my guiding conceptual framework, I remained open to emergent findings beyond the scope of the framework.

Chapter 3

Methodology and Methods

This study is an interpretive policy analysis. It analyzes the speech and actions of the policy entrepreneurs as portrayed by the media in the creation and propagation of Proposition 227 (Yanow, 2000). The meanings proponents, opponents, and the media constructed in regards to Proposition 227 are of primary importance to this study. The methodological approach aligns well with the assumptions of political spectacle that purport meanings are constructed by individuals as they engage with their world and make sense of it (Creswell, 2003; Edelman, 1988; Geertz, 1973). The generation of meaning is always partial, social, and historical due to being tied to a certain context (Geertz, 1973). Therefore, the policy artifacts, acts, and events surrounding Proposition 227 are assumed to reveal the various meanings (values, beliefs, and feelings) of the participants. The elements of political spectacle used by policy entrepreneurs such as the repetition of metaphors and story plots of desired policy change embody the values, beliefs, and or feelings of the narrators (Yanow, 2000). As a researcher, my thoughts and actions are assumed to be central to my research as I interact continually with the concepts of interest and analyze the data (Altheide, 1987; Yanow, 2000).

My study used written texts in the form of newspaper articles and visual images and transcriptions of oral speech from YouTube videos as the primary sources of data. Both narrative (descriptive data regarding "what was shown," "who was shown," and "what they were doing") and numeric data were included in protocols developed during

the reflexive and circular progression from data collection to analysis and interpretation (Altheide, 1987, p. 72). I adapted Altheide's (1987) protocol developed for studying televised news reports for my study substituting my concepts of interest which are the seven elements of political spectacle: symbolic language; casting actors; onstage/backstage actions; dramaturgy; illusion of rationality; illusion of democratic participation; and disconnection between means and ends (see Appendix C).³¹

While I started with the seven elements of political spectacle as my guide, I remained open to emerging themes and topics as I repeatedly combed the artifacts for unique data within the case studied (Altheide, 1987; Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Hence, I employed both deductive and inductive approaches in my research and analysis. Deductively, I based some of my analyses on prior research and theory in order to answer my research questions. I looked for common threads that could be woven together to reveal the meaning the Proposition 227 campaign had for the policy entrepreneurs and other policy actors. The findings from this analysis are presented in Chapter 4. In addition, I looked for stray threads that did not fit comfortably in the political spectacle conceptual framework. The stray threads I discovered inductively required further explanation and those findings will be presented in Chapter 5.

³¹ The political spectacle framework is described in detail in Chapter 2.

Research Design

Data Sources

Newspaper articles were the primary source of artifacts for my study. Initially I collected 281 articles using a systematic search via the LexisNexis® Academic database dated June 1, 1997 to June 1, 1998, the year Proposition 227 appeared on the scene. The number of articles analyzed for the study was whittled down to 45 as explained shortly. In addition, Proposition 227 itself, as printed in the voter information guide, and the interpretations of Proposition 227 published by the California State Department of Education (CDE) as obtained through a Public Records Request to the California State Board of Education (SBE) were included. The data sources for policy acts and events included a purposive sample of five videos from the social media site YouTube. The videos included televised interviews with and debates between proponents and opponents. The purpose of including the videos in the study was to enrich the analysis with visual data that contained the facial expressions and gestures of the primary policy actors as well as their spoken words.

The official policy documents collected included the text of Proposition 227 as printed in the *1998 California Primary Election Voter Information Guide/Ballot Pamphlet* for June 2, 1998 (See Appendix C).³² These policy documents were formal or official in nature as opposed to informal documents such as memos or personal letters (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2003). An interpretive researcher views official documents as

³² Retrieved from <http://primary98.sos.ca.gov/VoterGuide/home.htm>

social products that are constructed for certain purposes and in certain contexts. They are not reified as fact or dismissed as more or less biased sources of data (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2003). Interpretive policy analysis can be applied to policy actors' speech as well as to policies themselves (Yanow, 2000). Such analysis is used to clarify policy positions and allows comparison across different versions. A comparison of the narratives contained in various types of documents can expose differences of meaning between policy actors and their interpretive communities.³³ The first phase of the research which included collection and selection of data is delineated below.

Data Collection and Selection

Collection of newspaper artifacts for this study was begun in November 2011. The research criteria for a Boolean search of LexisNexis® used the key words "Proposition 227" or "bilingual education" or "English-only" or "Unz" in the headlines of newspaper articles published between June 1, 1997 and June 1, 1998. Headlines are considered to be important because they are designed to attract attention and give the audience a first impression of the content (Johnson, 2008). A search for "Proposition 227" exclusively would have missed articles published before the initiative qualified and was given a number by the California Secretary of State for the June 2, 1998 ballot. The research criteria also included geographic location in order to focus the study on newspaper articles published in California only. This allowed me to gain a more local

³³ Interpretive communities, also referred to as thought communities, speech or discourse communities, symbol-sharing communities, and communities of practice, are "groups of people who might share understandings of policy ideas and language that would be different from other groups' understandings" (Yanow, 2000, p. 27).

perspective of the issue (Erickson, 1986; Yanow, 2000). My initial search resulted in 281 articles that met the research criteria. I used the Tropes text analysis software program for aiding my analysis. This program recommends that text documents such as newspaper articles be of sufficient word length for a more effective analysis; therefore I selected articles of 500 words or more for analysis. This selection reduced the number of articles to 166. I separated the articles by regional location of publication (northern, central, and southern California) and those with high-circulation within the region. Two newspapers from each region were selected based on their circulation and the number of articles that met the research criteria. This resulted in 52 articles for analysis. A preliminary reading of the articles revealed that Proposition 227 was the focus of only part of seven of the articles meaning less than 500 words were devoted to the topic of interest. Therefore these seven articles did not meet the research criteria. This left me with 45 total articles for analysis.³⁴ Table 3 lists the two publications from each region that were selected along with their circulation. The *San Francisco Chronicle*, *San Jose Mercury News*, and *Orange County Register* are all among the top 25 U.S. newspapers in terms of average circulation (Alliance for Audited Media, 2013). The *Daily News of Los Angeles* is among the top 100 newspapers in the United States (Top 100 Newspapers in the United States, 2006). The *Daily News of Los Angeles* is the second-leading newspaper in the Los Angeles area and was selected rather than the *Los Angeles Times*.³⁵

³⁴ This method sacrifices full article coverage to gain objective coding of news article content (Gramling, 2011). Selection bias is minimized by using the electronic database NexisLexis® because it independently indexes its newspaper articles (Santa Ana & Treviño, 2007).

³⁵ The *Los Angeles Times* articles seemed to be aimed at a national audience rather than a local one.

The numbers in parentheses are the total number of articles selected from each region included in the study.

Table 3

Titles of California (CA) Newspapers Selected for Study by Regional Area and Circulation

Northern CA	Central CA	Southern CA
San Francisco Chronicle (7) 220,515	Fresno Bee (9) 100,000+	Daily News of LA (8) 187,740
San Jose Mercury News (8) 527,568	Modesto Bee (7) 60,595	Orange County Register (6) 270,809

Note. The numbers in parentheses are the total number of articles selected for that newspaper. The total number of articles is 45. Weekday or daily circulation numbers are printed below the newspaper titles.

The Fresno Bee is published daily and has over 100,000 circulation which covers Fresno, Merced, Mariposa, Madera, Kings, and Tulare counties.³⁶ *The Modesto Bee* has a daily circulation of over 60,000 and covers Stanislaus, southern San Joaquin County, Merced County, Tuolumne County, and Calaveras County. Only news and feature stories were selected for this study. Letters to the editor, editorials and commentaries or opinion pieces were removed because of their individual bias. I read these pieces, however, in order to better understand the context surrounding the debate over Proposition 227.

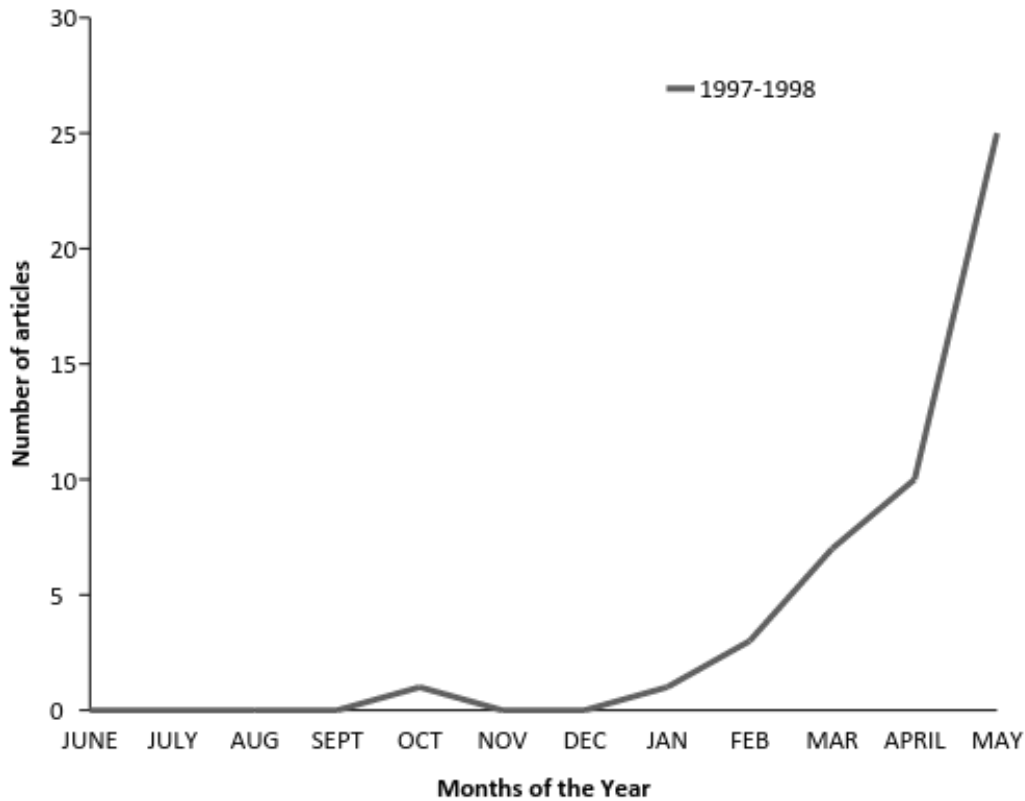
³⁶ Circulation information for the *Fresno Bee* and *Modesto Bee* was retrieved from the websites <http://www.fresnobee.com/about-us/> and <http://www.modbee.com/about-us/>

A simple random sample of the articles was not employed because this would have systematically distorted an understanding of the year-long newspaper coverage of Proposition 227. Important patterns and themes would likely be missed by a random sampling (Altheide, 1987). For example, a look at the number of articles published in the six selected newspapers per month shows an increase in articles just prior to the June 2, 1998 election (see Figure 1).

The initial phase of this study also included the collection of YouTube videos on Proposition 227. The criterion used for the search was “Proposition 227” and “Bilingual education” and “California.” The search resulted in 59 videos. Video length of five to twenty minutes was selected in order to have sufficient material to analyze. Fifty-two videos met this criterion. Three were outside the June 1, 1997 to June 1, 1998 time period leaving me with 49 videos. Since my focus was policy entrepreneurs, I previewed the videos looking for those that featured the primary proponents and opponents in the Proposition 227 campaign. Three videos were eliminated as a result, leaving me with 46 videos. Although the original videos were produced by various media outlets, all of them were posted on YouTube by the English4Children organization.³⁷ These were divided by the organization into three categories titled, “Bilingual Education Early Prop 227,” “Bilingual Education Late Prop 227,” and “Other Bilingual Education Proposition 227.”

³⁷ *English4Children* was sponsored by the One Nation/One California organization of which Ron Unz, the author of Proposition 227, was listed as National Chairman.

Figure 1. Newspaper articles of 500 words or more containing the key search terms from June 1, 1997 to June 1, 1998. The search terms were “Proposition 227” or “bilingual education” or “English-only” or “Unz.”



I narrowed the YouTube videos to a purposive sample of five videos that covered the progression of Proposition 227.³⁸ Specifically, two videos were chosen from the time before the initiative qualified for the ballot (July 7, 1997 and September 5, 1997), two were chosen from the time after it qualified (December 12, 1997 and January 29, 1998), and one from the period shortly before the June 2, 1998 vote (May 15, 1998). All of these videos included “interactive transcripts.” Numerous errors were discovered in the transcripts that could cause misanalysis. Therefore, I re-transcribed the selected videos

³⁸ The actual number of individual videos was nine. However, many of the videos were divided into two or three parts. I counted those as a single video to simplify analysis.

for analysis. The videos were also chosen from diverse media markets as illustrated in Table 4. The videos allowed me to identify primary policy actors and to compare the spoken words of the primary actors to the written words printed in newspaper articles and policy documents. They also provided facial expressions and gestures that are helpful in the interpretation of actions.

Table 4

Title of Program and Media Networks Included in YouTube Videos Selected for Study

Title (length in minutes)	Network	Focus of Program ^a
New California Media (10:58)	KQED/San Francisco	Bilingual education. Has it outlived its usefulness in the new California.
CA Capitol Week (13:53)	Kvie/Sacramento (Member supported)	Is bilingual education failing?
Sacramento On-Line (16:22)	Fox40/Sacramento	What is the BEST way to teach immigrant children.
Our Town (20:70)	KTBN/Santa Ana	Today's topic is English Immersion.
Week in Review (18:77)	Century Cable/Los Angeles	"Election 1998 Special: Proposition 227: English Language in Public Schools Initiative" (from visual image)

Note. ^aThe focus of the program is copied from the transcriptions of the YouTube videos except the Week in Review which was taken from a visual image.

Other policy artifacts collected in this phase of the study included the text of Proposition 227 as printed in the June 2, 1998 *California Primary Election Voter Information Guide/Ballot Pamphlet*. Also, the arguments and rebuttals of the groups and individuals expressing opinions for or against the proposition printed in the Voter Information Guide were read to help identify the primary policy actors and stakeholders and their views. A description of the identified policy actors in the newspapers, Voter Information Guide, and YouTube videos is provided in Table 5.

Table 5

Primary Policy Actors In Favor and Against Proposition 227 as Identified in Two or More Data Sources

Individual or Group (Title or Organization)	Newspapers	Policy Documents	YouTube
Proponents			
Ron Unz (English for the Children)	X	X	X (appeared)
Fernando Vega (former school board member)	X	X	X (mentioned)
Jaime Escalante (honorary chairman English for the Children)	X	X	X (mentioned)
Rev. Alice Callaghan (Las Familias del Pueblo)	X	X	X (mentioned)
Gloria Mata Tuchman (Co-chair English for the Children)	X		X (mentioned)

(continued)

Individual or Group (Title or Organization)	Newspapers	Policy Documents	YouTube
Pete Wilson (Governor)	X		X (mentioned)
Opponents			
Holly Thier (Citizens for an Educated America)	X		X (appeared)
Shelly Spiegel-Coleman ^a (ESL Consultant LAUSD)	X		X (appeared)
Various education- related unions ^b	X	X	X (mentioned)
MALDEF (Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund)	X		X (appeared)
CABE (California Association for Bilingual Education)	X		X (mentioned)
Others			
State Board of Education	X		X (mentioned)
Dede Alpert (CA Senator, D, Coronado)	X		X (appeared)

Note. ^aShelly Spiegel-Coleman appeared as a representative of Citizens for an Educated America.

^bCalifornia Teachers Association, California Federation of Teachers, Modesto Teachers Association, San Jose Teachers Association, United Teachers of Los Angeles.

An interpretive policy analysis encourages the use of multiple sources of data in order to better interpret the texts, actions and events related to a policy. This broad range

of policy artifacts from various sources such as newspapers, YouTube videos and official policy documents was deemed necessary because policy analysis must take into consideration the historical, political, and social contexts of a policy when interpreting the data. The following section explains how I analyzed this diverse set of archival materials.

Data Analysis

The articles selected in the first phase of my research were saved to text-only files by media title and date of publication. For example, an article from the *San Francisco Chronicle* that was published on March 17, 1998 was filed as *SFC March 17 1998*. I printed out all of the articles and read them multiple times during the second phase of my study. Since my questions include investigating how proponents and opponents of initiatives use political language, I separated the articles into categories according to whether the headlines indicated support for (S), opposition to (O) or a neutral orientation toward (N) Proposition 227. I judged the headlines to be neutral if equal value was given to both sides or no slant was apparent in them (Johnson, 2008). Table 6 gives examples of each orientation from the newspaper articles.

Table 6***Examples of Newspaper Headlines Regarding Proposition 227 Coded by Orientation***

Code	Example 1	Example 2	Example 3
Neutral	Spirited Debate on Prop. 227 – Unz Late for Huge Turnout (MB)	Pro: System is failing; Con: One-size-fits-all is unsound (FB)	FOES CHIP AWAY AT BILINGUAL MEASURE BUT POLLS SHOW STRONG SUPPORT (SJMN)
Supports	Poll: Anti-Bilingual Education Measure Has Broad Support (SJMN)	ENGLISH-ONLY BACKER PRESSES STATE PANEL (DNLA)	System is a ‘dreadful failure,’ Prop. backer says (FB)
Opposes	2 More O.C. districts join fight vs. Unz plan (OC Reg.)	Prop. 227 Worries Educators Some Feel Hispanic Students Will be Left Behind (MB)	Trustees cast a unanimous ballot against Prop. 227; Board joins others opposing initiative (OC Reg.)

Note. Punctuation and capitalization are shown as they appear in the LexisNexis® Academic newspaper search results. FB = Fresno Bee, MB = Modesto Bee, SJMN = San Jose Mercury News, DNLA = Daily News of Los Angeles, OC Reg. = Orange County Register

I developed and filled out one protocol for each article (see Appendix C). I read each article in its entirety to see whether or not the article fit the orientation of the headline. Five of the 45 articles were moved to another category as a result of this reading. For example, an article from the *San Francisco Chronicle* was titled, “Bilingual Education Dealt a Blow - State abandons policy, leaves it up to districts.” The headline tells of a negative decision by the state Department of Education regarding bilingual

education. This decision would presumably be beneficial for the Proposition 227 campaign, so, the article was placed in the supportive orientation pile. A thorough read, however, showed the article to actually be neutral in that it did not place value on either side of the debate and gave equal attention to the opinions of proponents and opponents of Proposition 227 (Johnson, 2008). After the shifting of articles, there were thirteen (13) neutral, sixteen (16) supportive, and sixteen (16) opposing articles per orientation.

Data Coding

The articles were then color-coded with highlighter pens, with blue for names of individuals and titles of organizations, pink for ambiguous language, orange for metaphors, and green for stories. The latter three codings fall under the political spectacle element of symbolic language. A tally of the names mentioned in the articles was made to identify the primary policy actors (see Table 5). The other elements of political spectacle were identified and marked as explained in detail later in this chapter. This information was transferred to the protocol for newspaper articles which was informed by the seven elements of political spectacle. For example, in looking for metaphors, I first highlighted all the metaphors in the articles in orange. I then looked for repeated words or phrases such as "place in" or "moved into". Once the most common metaphors were identified, I looked for any patterns in their use. I examined who or what they referred to and how often. I then looked for a conceptual theme or grand narrative that could explain their use. To mark the metaphors, such as those mentioned above, for my analysis I wrote the word "object" in the margin of the article next to the sentence

that contained the metaphor. The subject of the metaphor was then written in parenthesis, for example: object (ELs) or object (Prop. 227).³⁹ I did this for all of the metaphorical concepts I identified in the articles. A similar procedure was used for identifying and categorizing stories in the articles.

Stories are the meat and potatoes of interpretive policy analysis. By listening to people's stories one can infer the meaning-perspectives (beliefs, values or feelings) of the policy actors in the particular event (Erickson, 1986; Yanow, 2000). Stories are powerful instruments for drawing attention to a problem and persuading support for or opposition to an issue. Unz was inspired to write Proposition 227 by a story he read in the newspaper as explained in detail in Chapter 4. Each newspaper article is a story in itself and contains numerous shorter stories. Longer articles sometimes have subheadings that are helpful in identifying the beginning of a new story topic. As I read and re-read the stories, some common themes became apparent. For instance, the theme of people's rights being either threatened or protected permeated the articles. Students' rights, parents' rights, and teachers' rights were used by policy entrepreneurs to frame the Proposition 227 debate (Itkonen, 2009). The story of the "dismal failure" of bilingual education was told and retold by proponents. This story proved to become a powerful metaphor, one that the opponents could not counter with a consistent metaphor of their own (Stone, 2002).

³⁹ For example I found that proponents, opponents, and the media used the metaphors object, mass, and victim to portray immigrant children and ELs.

The Tropes textual analysis software was helpful in analyzing the newspaper articles as well. Software programs such as Tropes are useful when analyzing large quantities of text (Gramling, 2011). Tropes determines the frequency of terms and the relations of terms to each other. Basically, if these terms or words were removed, the textual construction would collapse and the meaning would be lost. In the Tropes program, "References" are common nouns, pronouns, etc. that may be grouped together. For example, mother and father are grouped under the Reference "family." "Relations" show the connection rate of References within sentences or phrases such that if one of two References of the Relation is always present with the other, the rate is 100%. In other words, if mother is always found with father the rate is 100% (See Appendix E). Strong connections reveal the notions emphasized by the author of the text, but not necessarily what he or she intended. All 45 articles were first run through the program at once and the output of the References was printed. The articles were then grouped by orientation, placed in chronological order and run through Tropes to find themes and patterns present in the texts.⁴⁰ Finally, I regrouped the articles by region and ran them through the program. The findings from these analyses are discussed in Chapters 4 and 5.

The final piece in the coding of the newspaper articles was to look for examples of the remaining six of the seven elements of political spectacle (symbolic language having been already covered). Examples of casting actors as leaders, allies, adversaries

⁴⁰ The Tropes manual provides much information. The producers, however, request the manual not be used as a reference since it is updated frequently. This information is from the November 2011 manual.

or enemies were found by looking for ways the media portrayed the main proponents and opponents. This information helped answer my research question regarding how the media characterizes the proponents and opponents of Proposition 227. Descriptive words such as “wealthy” or “influential” or “respected” were indicators of the use of this element of political spectacle. When such descriptions were found, they were coded as “CA” for casting actors in the margins of the articles. Statements that alluded to who might benefit from such programs were examples of onstage/backstage actions and coded “O/B.” The articles were coded “D” for examples of the use of staging, props, and posturing or dramaturgy. The use of statistics, research findings or references to “experts” in the field were examples of Illusion of Rationality and coded “R.” Polling or survey results were coded as “DP” for Democratic Participation as Illusion. Sentences that discussed the goals of the language education programs under debate were coded “ME” for Disconnection between Means and Ends.

Once all of this information was entered on the protocols, I consolidated it into a matrix chart with the headings; Metaphors, Stories, Elements, and Other. The amount of information contained in the element of symbolic language warranted a separate column for metaphors and stories. In the Elements column I recorded the other six elements of political spectacle using the abbreviations I used for coding. Information that did not readily fit any of the seven elements of political spectacle such as references to race and local control were listed under “Other.” Also references to quotes I thought would be useful in my analysis were noted under “Other.” One chart was completed for each of the three orientations; Neutral, Supports and Opposes. These charts helped to give me an

overall picture of the newspaper articles and to make comparisons across orientations (see Appendix F).

Both interpretive policy analysis and the conceptual framework of political spectacle encourage the analysis of visual images as well as written texts. The inclusion of YouTube videos in my study served to follow this recommendation. I could have used photos or other print sources of images, but the videos offered a real life, albeit historical, source of data. The research protocol was used as a guide for creating Nodes in the QSR Nvivo 10 software program.⁴¹ For example, identified individuals were placed under the Node “People.” Each of the seven elements of political spectacle was coded as a Node as well (See Appendix G). The Matrix Coding Query feature allowed the consolidation and comparison of the Nodes in order to reveal themes and patterns. For instance, a query of the 100 most frequently used words for all of the Nodes showed that “English” was the most frequently used term with “education” being second and “children” third. This result indicated that English, referring to the English language, was the focal topic of the combined five videos analyzed for this study. Appendix G shows the word cloud output for a query of the 100 most frequent words for the Node “ELs”. This result shows “children” was the most frequently used word with “English” coming in second and “bilingual education” third in frequency. These graphics were useful in the analysis phase of my study.

⁴¹ QSR NVivo 10 allows researchers to organize, analyze and make sense of non-numeric information including video footage, a feature that is not included in the Tropes program. QSR NVivo 10 was first published and made available in 2012, just at the time I began my analysis of the YouTube videos.

QSR NVivo 10 has a feature for transcribing oral speech. Written and oral language require different treatment in analysis. Oral narratives are generally divided into *idea units* or “the basic elements of consciousness that are used by the narrator to successfully transmit a message” (Chafe, 1982; Navas Brenes, 2005, p. 8). As was mentioned earlier, the YouTube videos already had so-called “interactive transcripts” of each of the videos. These transcripts were found to have numerous errors that could cause misunderstanding or misanalysis. Table 7 shows an excerpt from one of the video transcripts and compares it with my re-transcription.

Table 7

Example of Errors in Video Interactive Transcripts

Interactive Transcript:

- (1) I think that's a bit of a misrepresentation *armature* allows
- (2) parents to keep
- (3) or place their children in a bilingual program if they can provide indication
- (4) that the *person* would actually help the child's education

Re-transcription:

- (1) I think that's a bit of a misrepresentation.
- (2) *Our initiative* allows parents to keep,
- (3) or place their children in a bilingual program,
- (4) if they can provide indication that the *program* would actually help the child's education.

Note. This excerpt is from California Capitol Week (1997, September 5). The italicized words show the differences in the two transcripts that could lead to misinterpretation.

In this excerpt, the word “armature” in the YouTube transcript is nonsensical while the phrase “our initiative” in the second transcription is clearly understood in the context of the video. In the final line of both transcriptions, two different words are used that could change the interpretation of the utterance. “Person” denotes an individual providing help while “program” suggests a different manner of help. Once the videos were re-transcribed, they were coded into Nodes as described above. Print-outs of each Node were made for analysis (see Appendix H).

Finally, the research protocol was adapted for the policy documents such as the text of Proposition 227. The same procedure was used to analyze this material as was used for the newspaper articles keeping in mind the shorter length of these artifacts. The results of all three sources of data were compared and contrasted during analysis.

Subjectivity and Reflexivity

The fact that I was a teacher in a bilingual classroom prior to the passage of Proposition 227 means I bring my teaching experiences and my personal attitudes toward language education policy to my research. I cannot erase my past any more than I can predict my future. In a sense, all social research takes the form of participant observation because it involves participating in the social world created and recreated through interactions with and reflections on the products of participation (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2003). Qualitative research, in particular, requires that researchers acknowledge their own subjectivity, values, and feelings, “and reflect on them in a systematic and disciplined way” (Auerbauch & Silverstein, 2003). Consequently, I kept

a journal of my thoughts, reactions, and insights throughout the research process. I frequently found myself responding in writing to comments made in the newspaper articles or videos that had elicited an emotional response in me. I tempered these responses by reminding myself to place the meanings the participants derived from the events as my primary focus (Agar, 1980; Erickson, 1986; Hammersley & Atkinson, 2003).

Limitations

I recognize that interpretation is always partial and subject to reinterpretation (Spindler & Spindler, 1982). No one interpretation can fully explain the phenomenon being studied (Erickson, 1986; Hammersley & Atkinson, 2003; Yanow, 1995). The use of YouTube videos of staged political events as data is a relatively new procedure. I had very little guidance as to how best to incorporate and analyze this data. Yet, the onstage performance of the policy actors in such high-stakes politics can be considered their natural environment. Just as participants in interviews are always assumed to be giving an interpretation of what is going on here, the participants in the videos were doing the same (Geertz, 1973; Spindler & Spindler, 1982). I was not able to include interviewing in my study. Yet, some information will be unavailable to the researcher regardless of the methods used.

In sum, three sources of data were included in my study; newspaper articles, transcripts of YouTube videos, and official policy documents. The data were analyzed using textual and visual analysis computer programs. Protocols and matrices were

developed in order to synthesize the data and to reveal patterns and themes. In the following chapter I present my findings derived deductively using the political spectacle conceptual framework. These findings revealed ways policy entrepreneur Ron Unz, in conjunction with the news media, influenced voters to overwhelmingly pass Proposition 227 in 1998.

Chapter 4

The Proposition 227 Campaign

In this chapter, I present the findings derived deductively from the data employing the political spectacle conceptual framework. I begin by discussing the origins of Proposition 227 as revealed in the media reports of the initiative campaign. The data indicated that the Melting Pot ideology apparently underlies the creation of the initiative. Next, I present how the elements of political spectacle helped answer my research questions. Then, I uncover the story of the Proposition 227 campaign as revealed by the media. Evidence of all seven elements of political spectacle was found in the data to varying degrees. Policy entrepreneur Ron Unz and other proponents used symbolic language to portray bilingual education as a broken system that was in need of replacing by the proposed SEI program. The opponents and proponents cast themselves as caring for ELs and immigrant students while casting their adversaries as uncaring and even cruel toward these students. Immigrant students and ELs were cast as objects to be moved about like pieces on a game board, a mass overwhelming California's public schools or as victims who would be crippled by one policy or the other. I found that proponents of Proposition 227 grabbed the attention of the media and the voters by claiming immigrant children would benefit from the proposed new SEI program while disguising the actual beneficiaries of the initiative, by providing a solution to the problem of low academic achievement for ELs without providing a means to measure its success, and by staging events that encouraged the spectators to sit back and watch the drama unfold. The media

colluded either intentionally or unintentionally and set the stage for a dramatic battle over bilingual education between opponents and proponents of Proposition 227.

Origins of Proposition 227

Melting Pot Ideology

When a *Fresno Bee* reporter asked Unz in an interview why he was involved in the issue of bilingual education and authored Proposition 227, he responded:

My mother grew up not speaking any English. She spoke Yiddish at home. She graduated college with a degree in English literature. I've been peripherally involved in the issue [of bilingual education] for 10 or 15 years.⁴² (Lewis, 1998, May 24)

This anecdote reveals how important the issue of assimilation was to Unz. His own mother did not speak English as her first language, and yet she was able to graduate from college with a degree in English literature. Unz made further statements about his family's experiences during a televised interview that aired on station KTBN Santa Ana:

And you know my personal background. I personally come from a very pro-immigrant type of a background. My grandparents came to the United States as poor European immigrants.⁴³ (Our Town, 1998, January 29)

From these quotes it appears Unz's interest in the issue of bilingual education has roots in his family experiences as immigrants to the United States. Rags-to-riches stories like that of the Unz family place a stamp of legitimacy on the Melting Pot view that everyone who

⁴² The words in brackets are added for clarification unless otherwise noted. The punctuation is also left as printed in the newspaper articles unless otherwise noted. For example, omitted words are indicated by [...].

⁴³ The conventions I used for the transcriptions of the YouTube videos are explained in Appendix I.

comes to the United States can and should learn the dominant language in order to successfully assimilate into American society (Portes & Rumbaut, 2006a; Reich, 2005b).

In addition to his family experiences, a critical political event appears to have influenced the timing of the Proposition 227 campaign. According to the *Fresno Bee* article mentioned above, Unz's "breaking point came" when he read a story about a parent boycott of a local school in the *Los Angeles Times*. Unz recounts:

But the origins of this particular initiative go back to articles in the Los Angeles Times describing how a group of immigrant parents had to start a public boycott of their local elementary school because it was refusing to teach their children English. And that just seemed very strange. (Lewis, 1998, May 24)

Unz further recounts in this newspaper interview how he met with the local "immigrant-rights activists" who staged the boycott and found that "everything in the (*Los Angeles Times*) article was absolutely true." This event served as evidence that there was a problem with bilingual education policies in California.

The media returned again and again to this story of the immigrant parents' boycott as the impetus for the Proposition 227 campaign (Hefner, 1997, October 6; Rodriguez, 1998, May 24; Bazeley, 1998, March, 20; Our Town, 1998, January 29; Sacramento On-Line, 1997, December 12). Based on the parent boycott story, Unz and co-author Gloria Matta Tuchman framed Proposition 227 as necessary in order to give the parents of immigrant students the right to make decisions regarding their children's language education. For example, policy entrepreneurs Unz and Tuchman are reported by the *Orange County Register* as claiming, "only their initiative would give parents true control over their children's education" (Weintraub, 1998, May 5). The confluence of

personal experience with family members who were immigrants and the critical political event of the immigrant parent boycott opened a window of opportunity that Unz was quick to seize (Kingdon, 1995).⁴⁴

Forced Assimilation

The origins of Proposition 227 were also pragmatic for Unz. He spelled out his assimilationist beliefs near the end of one interview that aired on station KTBN Santa Ana, California. Journalist Sue Perez, a self-described English-speaking monolingual Latina journalist, asked Unz this question:

What about the argument, or the concern that the language has a lot to do with keeping you tied into your culture, your roots and traditions and what have you. What-- what would you say to that. (Our Town, 1998, January 29)

Unz replied:

I think family traditions and family culture, and family language are very important, but they're the responsibility of the family. .. And it's up to each individual family to decide how much or how little of their traditions and culture should be maintained. .. And that I think is very different than the role of the public schools, which have to provide children with the tools they need to become successful assimilated productive members of our society. And the most important tool is being able to read English and write English and speak English, because without that, you can't move forward or any other direction. (Our Town, 1998, January 29)

The above quote indicates that the origins of Proposition 227 were rooted in the concept of forced assimilation (Portes & Rumbaut, 2006a).⁴⁵ Briefly, the forced assimilation ideology allows for the use of languages other than the dominant one as long as they do

⁴⁴ See Chapter 6 for a discussion of Kingdon's (1995) concept of policy windows.

⁴⁵ The concept of forced assimilation was introduced in Chapter 2.

not impede assimilation into the majority culture and language. English is often held up as the superior language in the U.S. with all other languages deemed as less-than whether intentionally or unintentionally (Gibson, 1988; Lippi-Green, 1997; Schmid, 2001; Tatalovich, 1995; Valdés, 2001). Unz was not the only policy actor to focus on this view of assimilation. For example, one proponent of Proposition 227 quoted in the *Daily News of Los Angeles* said:

In the U.S.A., the faster they [ELs] pick up the English language, the better. One year is better than three years. (Maeshiro, 1998, February 15)

Another proponent, U. S. Representative Howard “Buck” McKeon, was quoted in a *Daily News of Los Angeles* article:

We need to really make sure all students have the opportunity to learn English as quickly as they can so they can go as far as they can in their educational pursuits. (Maeshiro, 1998, April 10)

Some opponents of Proposition 227 used similar language when describing the English language education of ELs. Fresno Unified School District Superintendent, Carlos Garcia, in a televised debate covered by the *Fresno Bee* stated:

Mr. Unz believes that bilingual education programs are not for teaching children English, and he is absolutely wrong. In Fresno Unified, our priority for every child is to get them to master the [English] language as quickly as possible. (Rodriguez, 1998, May 30)

Similarly, Ruben Zacarias, Superintendent of LAUSD, stated in a *Daily News of Los Angeles* article:

We’re accelerating the movement of kids out of bilingual and into English classes. (Hardy, 1998, May 6)

The opposition may have unwittingly supported the proponents' cause by using the same assimilationist language and, thus, reinforcing the Melting Pot ideology held by the majority of voters in California at the time (Lakoff, 2004; Wolfe, 1999).⁴⁶

Other opponents stressed that learning a language takes time. For example, Professor Virginia Collier of George Mason University identified as an expert in bilingual-bicultural education by the reporter was quoted in the *Modesto Bee*:

They will never pick up the language in one-year English. We know that language comes with time. (Giblin, 1998, May 25)

Comments such as Collier's were found in only one other article making them scarce in the newspaper articles compared to those that emphasized the rapid acquisition of English, however. It seems the origin of Proposition 227 was apparently steeped in the Melting Pot ideology which sets the stage for the rest of the initiative campaign.

The remainder of this chapter examines Proposition 227 through the lens of political spectacle. Early in my analysis of the newspaper articles two prominent themes emerged: education and politics. The theme of education makes intuitive sense since the stated aim of Proposition 227 was to improve the academic achievement of immigrant students and ELs. The theme of politics indicates that something other than educational goals were at play (Aryal, 1998). Smith and colleagues (2004) argue that the dominant trend in American politics is spectacle in that it resembles theater with stages, casts of actors, and a curtain that separates the onstage from the backstage actions. Similar to

⁴⁶ See Chapter 3 for details on Wolfe's (1999) study that found the majority of California voters were Caucasian, middle-class men.

Miller-Kahn and Smith (2001) in their study of school choice and Wright (2005) in his study of language policy, I found that political spectacle was a good fit for the evidence in the Proposition 227 campaign.

The information in Table 8 presents findings on how the elements of political spectacle revealed in the data apply to some of the research questions for this study. Quotes by proponents (Pro) and/or opponents (Opp) from the articles or language generated by the journalists (Media) are given in column three. Words or phrases that represent the elements of political spectacle are italicized.

Table 8

Elements of Political Spectacle that Best Answer Research Questions and Examples from the Data

Research Questions	Elements of Political Spectacle	Examples from Data
How did policy entrepreneurs garner support for or opposition to Prop. 227? What mechanisms or strategies did they use?	Symbolic Language (ambiguous) Words such as those in italics can have diverse meanings.	Pro: Once the student has learned <i>enough</i> English <i>well enough</i> to do <i>regular</i> school work, they are put in a <i>regular</i> classroom. (FB, 05/30/98)
	(Metaphor/Melting Pot) The language used is indicative of the Melting Pot ideology.	Pro: In the U.S.A., <i>the faster they</i> [ELs] <i>pick up the English language</i> , the better. (DNLA, 02/15/98)
	(Metaphor/Other)	Opp: We need to improve what works and not <i>throw the baby out with the bathwater</i> . (SJMN, 05/30/98)

(continued)

Research Questions	Elements of Political Spectacle	Examples from Data
	(Stories/Civil Rights)	Opp: If 227 passes, we are going to have students <i>sitting in the back of</i> classes wasting time and doing nothing. ... <i>We're going back to the 1960s.</i> (MB, 03/23/98)
	(Stories/Hope)	Pro: Immersion is the only way to ensure students can later take rigorous courses and <i>eventually enter higher education.</i> (DNLA, 05/15/98)
	Onstage/Backstage Actions	Pro: But statewide standards are needed, he [Wilson] said, to enact a " <i>benefit that really is so important but (has) been denied.</i> " (SJMN, 04/28/98)
How did media represent or characterize the actions of policy proponents and opponents?	Casting Actors: Media casts actors as leaders, allies, adversaries or enemies.	Ron Unz: Silicon Valley businessman; wealthy; computer executive; leader of 227; conservative millionaire; chief financial backer of 227; software developer; author of 227 (Consolidation of 31 articles) Gloria Matta Tuchman: elementary school teacher; co-chair (woman) of Prop. 227; co-author of 227 (#55a; 93; 32; 86). Holly(i) Thier: ^a "No on Prop 227" campaign spokeswoman (#13; 78; 43; 48; 83). Spokeswoman for Citizens for an Educated America (SJMN, 05/29/98)

Note. These quotes are indicative of those found in at least two of the 45 articles. An abbreviation of the source follows the quote. For example, (FB, 02/23/98) means the article appeared in the *Fresno Bee* on February 2, 1998. If there are more than three sources such as for the element "Casting Actors," the document numbers alone are listed following the quotes for brevity. ^aThe sources were inconsistent in the spelling of Ms. Thier's first name.

The Proposition 227 Campaign as Political Spectacle

To review, the seven elements of political spectacle are: 1) symbolic language; 2) casting actors, 3) onstage/backstage actions; 4) dramaturgy, 5) illusion of rationality; 6) democratic participation as illusion; and 7) disconnection between means and ends. In an attempt to identify the most predominant elements in the data I discovered that, unsurprisingly, symbolic language was evident in 100% of the newspaper articles. This finding concurs with that of other researchers who claim all political language is ambiguous and that metaphor is pervasive in political speech (Edelman ,1988, 2001; Lakoff, 2004; Stone, 2002; Tyack & Cuban, 1995). The elements of casting actors, onstage/backstage actions, dramaturgy, and illusion of rationality were each evident in more than 50% of the articles. Democratic participation as illusion and disconnection between means and ends were both found in 36% of the articles. Again, the elements are not mutually exclusive, but are interrelated and may overlap or occur simultaneously in the data. The following section presents the findings as they are explicated by each of the seven elements of political spectacle with an emphasis on the elements that were most prominent in answering my research questions.

The Use of Symbolic Language by Proponents and Opponents

Early in the Proposition 227 campaign, Unz framed bilingual education as a “failed system,” a phrase which is very similar to the wording of the Hoover report that states that the emphasis on primary language instruction is a “system that has failed.” For example, an article from the *Daily News of Los Angeles* that focused on the low transition

rate of ELs to regular classes in the Los Angeles Unified School District (LAUSD) reported that Unz said, “The LAUSD’s latest figures show a broken system” (Hardy, 1998, May 6). Proponents may have framed bilingual education as a failed system in order to amplify the problem of lower test scores of immigrant students and ELs that Proposition 227 was intended to solve (Snow, Rochford, Worden, & Benford, 1986).⁴⁷ In another example, a supportive *Daily News of Los Angeles* article had as its opening sentence:

U.S. Rep Howard ‘Buck’ McKeon joined the fray over bilingual education Thursday, endorsing a ballot initiative that would dismantle much of bilingual education in California public schools. (Maeshiro, 1998, April 10)

Similarly, one supportive *San Jose Mercury News* article stated, “The ballot measure would dismantle most bilingual education programs” (Bazeley, 1998, May 19). The words “broken” and “dismantle” create an image of bilingual education as a mechanical system in need of fixing or replacing. A neutral *San Francisco Chronicle* article stated:

Although the board’s [state Board of Education’s] action has no direct effect on the initiative, supporters of Proposition 227 applauded the decision as a step in dismantling the state’s decades-old dual-language system. (Asimov, 1998, March 13)

The term “dismantling” conjures up the image of taking something apart in order to fix it. As evidence, the word “fix” was also used by both proponents and opponents of Proposition 227 in reference to bilingual education. For example, the headline from a *Modesto Bee* article reads, “Bilingual Ed: System Fails, Fix Elusive” (Giblin, 1998,

⁴⁷ Snow et al. (1986) define frame amplification as “the clarification and invigoration of an interpretive frame that bears on a particular issue, problem or set of events” (p. 469).

April 27). Another article from the *Fresno Bee* reporting on the veto of SB 6 by Governor Wilson states, “The bill required the state to gauge the success of all bilingual programs and fix the ones that didn’t work” (Lewis & Rodriguez, 1998, May 19).

Finally, Professor Virginia Collier is quoted in a *Modesto Bee* article:

That’s the great irony of this [Proposition 227]. ... They are throwing away all the good bilingual programs in an attempt to fix the bad ones. (Giblin, 1998, May 25)

I found the broken system metaphor in one-third (33%) of the newspaper articles. Lakoff (2004) suggests it takes repeated exposure to a new metaphor for it to take hold in people’s minds. The repeated exposure of the public to this metaphor that equated bilingual education with a broken system may have developed a new cognitive frame or reinforced an existing frame in the minds of an already receptive audience which may have made it a potentially powerful tool of persuasion (Kahan et al., 2013; Lakoff, 2004; Lakoff & Johnson, 2003).⁴⁸ Smith and colleagues (2004) offer another explanation for why this metaphor may have taken root so quickly. The scholars contend that over the past two decades, the business sector has exported its metaphors to education policy. The *industrial/business* metaphor is one example. Schools are viewed as factories and students are seen as raw materials, passive and malleable to the actions of teachers and administrators. The broken system metaphor seems to be closely related to the

⁴⁸ The concept of cognitive frames was presented in Chapter 2 and will be discussed further under the political spectacle element of illusion of rationality presented later.

industrial/business metaphor that is a taken-for-granted perception of how schools should function (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003).⁴⁹

Opponents of Proposition 227 noted the use of the broken system metaphor by the proponents as the above quote by Professor Collier and this excerpt from the *Daily News of Los Angeles* illustrate:

Some proponents of bilingual instruction contend that there's too little hard data to know how best to fix the system – or whether it's broken at all. (Hefner, 1997, October 6)

Opponents tried to dispel the image by questioning the claims upon which it was based. “There's too little hard data,” they argued, to know whether or not BE needs fixing. Opponents also tried to counteract the influential bilingual education as a broken system metaphor with metaphors of their own.

I found that opponents used three main metaphors to attempt to dissuade voters from supporting the initiative: 1) don't throw the baby out with the bathwater; 2) one-size-fits-all (doesn't work); and 3) sink-or-swim. The throw the baby out with the bathwater metaphor implies that eliminating all bilingual education programs is a clear waste of the good programs as this bilingual teacher states in a *San Jose Mercury News* article:

What we have with bilingual education is hundreds of programs, some that work and some that don't. We need to improve what works ... not throw the baby out with the bath water. (Feder, 1998, May 30)

⁴⁹ The industrial metaphor can be traced to the industrial revolution at the turn of the 20th century and Taylor's methodology of industrial efficiency (Smith, 2004).

The one-size-fits-all metaphor was found once in the articles and twice in the YouTube videos (*Fresno Bee*, 1998, May 24; California Capitol Week, September 5, 1997; Week in Review, May 15, 1998). One of the video uses was by journalist Bill Rosenthal on the program Week in Review that aired in Los Angeles. Rosenthal said:

Dan Lundgren who's probably going to be the Republican nominee for Governor said, one shoe fits size doesn't work, we need more flexibility. So, he said no [to Proposition 227]. (Week in Review, May 15, 1998)

Lundgren did become the Republican nominee for Governor and opposed Proposition 227 during his campaign.

The sink-or-swim metaphor was found several times in the newspaper articles and YouTube videos (California Capitol Week, September 5, 1997; Hardy, 1998, May 6; Lewis, 1998, May 24; Maeshiro, 1998, February 15). This excerpt from the *Daily News of Los Angeles* is an example:

'Children don't learn English in 180 days,' said Holli Their, spokeswoman for the No on 227 campaign. 'This is definitive proof that Proposition 227, with a one year, sink-or-swim program . . . won't work.' (Hardy, 1998, May 6)

A teacher in a bilingual class interviewed by a television reporter that aired on the program California Capitol Week produced by KVIE Sacramento stated:

What we're doing in--in the education field today, we're immersing them. It's a sink or swim kinda policy which some survive but other are kept down below without the support of their primary language. (California Capitol Week, September 5, 1997)

None of the metaphors used by the opponents were new creations. This could have helped them to catch on more readily since they are so pervasive in U.S. culture

and, thus, familiar (Lakoff, 2004). The three metaphors of the opponents were reported less frequently in the media and none of them appeared to be taken up by the media during the Proposition 227 campaign. This may be because there was not a single metaphor or messenger for the opponents whereas policy entrepreneur Unz was the primary spokesperson for the Proposition 227 campaign. Unz repeated the broken system metaphor consistently throughout the campaign and the media appropriated it in their reporting even going so far as to use it in headlines. The use of metaphor was one strategy the policy entrepreneurs used to garner support for or opposition to their policies.

Casting Actors

Casting of leaders and enemies.

Casting leaders and enemies is another strategy employed by proponents and opponents in Proposition 227 to elicit support and vilify their opponents. In political spectacle, policy actors are cast as leaders, allies or enemies (Edelman, 1971, 1988). I found that the media cast Unz as a leader by referring to him as a “Silicon Valley businessman” and “software engineer,” terms that connote high intelligence, success, and status (Hardy, 1998, May 6; Lewis, 1998, May 24; Maeshiro, 1998, February 15). Unz was quoted or mentioned by name in 69% (31/45) of the newspaper articles. Holly Thier, the primary spokesperson for the opposition was quoted or mentioned by name in 11% (5/45) of the articles. Ms. Thier was simply identified by her affiliation with the opposing organization, Citizens for an Educated America or No on Proposition 227. The media also was found to cast proponents and opponents of Proposition 227 as enemies

engaged in a battle over bilingual versus English-only education. A word search of the newspaper articles using the Tropes software program showed the Reference “adversary” occurred 58 times throughout the majority (53%) of the articles.⁵⁰ For example, articles that supported Proposition 227 used war imagery as this opening sentence from a *Fresno Bee* article illustrates:

If there is one thing opponents in the battle over bilingual education agree on, it’s this: To succeed, students must be proficient in English. (Rodriguez, 1998, February 23)

The image of a battle immediately triggers an "argument is war" metaphor in the brain (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003). Lakoff and Johnson (2003) theorize that the argument is war metaphor is a primary metaphor that arises automatically without our conscious awareness. The argument is war metaphor was found in the majority (56%) of the articles. Just the word “campaign” may elicit this metaphor.

Casting actors was not limited to the media. Both opponents and proponents employed this strategy during the campaign to elicit support for or opposition to Proposition 227. Proponents of Proposition 227 cast their opponents as uncaring, greedy, and even as criminals. They also accused their adversaries of having motives other than the best interests of immigrant students and ELs at heart. Table 9 shows how opponents and proponents cast themselves and their adversaries as reported in the newspapers.

⁵⁰ The Reference “adversary” includes the words adversary, opposition, opponents, and foes.

Table 9***Casting of Actors by Proponents and Opponents of Proposition 227***

	Proponents	Opponents
Proponents of Proposition 227	As caring (English for the Children)	As uncaring (Continuing BE will “sacrifice another generation of kids,” #55a)
	As “hard working” (to get initiative passed, #78; 79)	As greedy (“educators who benefit from BE funds,” #25; 55a)
	As strict fathers ^a (“Will force teachers to do what they should have been doing all along,” #86)	As criminals (“educators who use too much Spanish in the classroom can be sued,” #48)
Opponents of Proposition 227	As uncaring (“chopping them (ELs) off at the legs,” #124)	As caring (“BE helps children succeed,” #28)
	As inconsistent (on local control, #76)	As successful through personal experiences with BE (#5; 38; 90; 92; 66)
	As strict fathers (“teachers can be sued,” #93; 15)	As experts (“teachers know best how to teach ELs,” #93)
	As misinformed/misleading (“He [Unz] knows full well that socioeconomic status has more to do with performance than language does,” #120)	

Note. BE = Bilingual Education. Statements from the articles are in quotation marks. The numbers in the parentheses are the document numbers of the newspaper articles retrieved from the Nexus Lexus® academic database. ^aThe strict father metaphor is one model of the family that is used to describe a usually conservative political worldview. (Lakoff, 2004; Lakoff & Johnson, 2003; Reich, 2005a).

The following *Daily News of Los Angeles* article illustrates how proponents of Proposition 227 cast their adversaries as having ulterior motives:

One supporter, Assemblyman Tom McClintock, R-Granada Hills, who urged the Republican Party to endorse Proposition 227, is quoted as stating, ‘In a nutshell, bilingual education is a racially segregated program which now traps more than one-fifth of California’s children. . . . It cripples Hispanic children.’

The proponents of Proposition 227 emotionalized the campaign by casting bilingual education advocates and educators as unscrupulous, even racist, bureaucrats who are crippling Hispanic children.⁵¹ Political spectacle contends that the purpose of emotionalizing an issue is to inspire support for or elicit hostility toward a policy (Edelman, 1971; Stone, 2002). Such emotional language evokes powerful images that are not easy to erase from the public’s mind (Edelman, 1971, 2001; Lakoff & Johnson, 2003; Smith, 2004).

The following excerpt from a televised program on KTBN Santa Ana provides a particularly apt example of how Unz cast defenders of bilingual education. In this excerpt, journalist Sue Perez is interviewing Unz about the initiative. Perez and Unz were previously discussing how children with Hispanic surnames are placed in bilingual programs even when they only speak English. Unz states:

I know that people that originally tried to put in place bilingual education were very well intentioned. . . . But the problem is it just hasn’t worked, and as all of us know, there are many of these large government programs that were set up with the best of intentions twenty or thirty or forty years ago, and they just

⁵¹ This quote also touches on the issue of race. Race in the Proposition 227 campaign will be discussed in Chapter 5.

don't work today. But there's so many people whose jobs depend upon them continuing them. .. and whose funding comes from these programs that they refuse to admit that the programs have failed. (Our Town, January 29, 1998)

While Unz is vague as to which "large government programs" he is referring to, bilingual education is the topic of this interview and likely the focus of his comments. It can be inferred that the people whose jobs depend upon the government programs continuing are bilingual education bureaucrats and educators. The following excerpt from the *Daily News of Los Angeles* article provides another salient example:

Initiative supporters say bilingual education has been a failure kept alive by bureaucrats and politicians unable or unwilling to acknowledge their mistakes. (Hefner, 1997, October 6)

Likewise, opponents of Proposition 227 cast the proponents as uncaring or cruel, inconsistent, and misinformed. One bilingual education consultant declared in a *Modesto Bee* article:

It's [Proposition 227] the worst thing that could happen to limited English proficient kids in California. I think it's going to confine them to permanent second-class status. (Phillips, 1998, March 23)

Here opponents claim the initiative would harm children, and "confine" them "permanently" to lower social status. Another opponent who was a southern California school board member questioned the priorities of the proponents of Proposition 227 in a *Daily News of Los Angeles* article:

They don't have the students as their top priority. They want grades to rise and test scores to be high, but yet they're chopping them [ELs] off at the legs. (Maeshiro, 1998, February 15)

The image of chopping ELs off at the legs is a graphic one that depicts proponents as not only uncaring, but cruel. Again, such language elicits emotional responses rather than rational thinking in the minds of the readers or spectators (Edelman, 1971).

It is interesting to note that both proponents and opponents cast their adversaries as uncaring toward ELs and cast themselves as caring about this group of children. The rhetoric of caring denotes the nurturant parent ideology generally attributed to Democrats or liberals (Lakoff, 2004). The strict father metaphor is usually tied to the ideology of Republicans or conservatives (Lakoff, 2004; Reich, 2005a). It seems self-described conservative policy entrepreneur Unz was able to co-opt the nurturant parent ideology with the title “English for the Children” and the story of children languishing in unsuccessful bilingual education programs for years at a time.⁵²

Proponents and opponents of the Proposition 227 campaign were not the only focus of the casting actors strategy used during the campaign. I found that Immigrant students and ELs were also the target of casting actors. Next, I look at how the various policy actors cast immigrant children and ELs. These findings are important in answering my research question regarding how proponents, opponents, and the media portrayed these students.

⁵² This crisscrossing of ideological boundaries will be discussed further in Chapter 5.

Casting of Immigrant Students and ELs by Policy Entrepreneurs and Media

The few quotes by English learners and the rare mention of immigrant students and ELs by name in the media indicate that these students were not the primary focus of Proposition 227. I found direct quotes by ELs in 11% (5/45) of the articles and ELs mentioned by name, but not quoted in three additional articles. In investigating the actions of the various policy actors, I found three prominent ways ELs and immigrant students were cast or portrayed: ELs as Objects; ELs as Mass; and ELs as Victims. Two of these metaphors dehumanize ELs (Objects and Mass) and one humanizes them (Victims).⁵³ Table 10 presents the language proponents, opponents, and reporters used to portray immigrant children and ELs with examples from the newspapers.

First, I found that ELs were characterized as nonhuman objects to be “placed in,” “put into” or “moved into” one program or another in nearly half (49%) of the newspaper articles. This characterization reflects the students as raw materials from the industrial/business metaphor mentioned earlier. Second, the representation of ELs and immigrant students as an overwhelming mass was found in 27% of the articles. I did not find any quotes by the proponents of Proposition 227 that used the immigrant children and ELs-as-mass metaphor in the newspaper articles. I did find the opponents used the metaphor only once in the data.

⁵³ Santa Ana & Treviño (2007) in their study of images of immigrants in U.S. newspapers categorized the metaphors they found into human (undocumented person, human being, worker, contributor) and nonhuman (criminal, mass, object, burden, alien) as explained in Chapter 3. I used their categorizations as a guide in the analysis of my data.

Table 10

How Immigrant Children and ELs are Portrayed by Proponents, Opponents, and Reporters in the Proposition 227 Campaign

Policy Actors	Metaphor	Examples from Data
<i>Immigrant Children and ELs as Objects</i>		
Proponents	Children are put in, placed in, moved into or transferred to SEI or BE programs. (8)	
Opponents	Children are put into or removed from, taken out of and put into, or transferred into SEI or BE. (4)	
Reporters	Putting them into, placing in, placed in, transferred into, moving to SEI or BE. (10)	
<i>Immigrant Children and ELs as Mass</i>		
Proponents	(0)	
Opponents	1.3 million (1)	
Reporters	1.3 million; many from other countries; 1 million plus; 24,737 made the transition; 1.4 million; 47, 334 limited-English-speaking; 25,000 limited-English-proficient. (11)	

(continued)

Policy Actors	Metaphor	Examples from Data
<i>Immigrant Children and ELs as Passive, Powerless Victims</i>		
Proponents		Students feel lost in BE; Proposition 227 does not abandon ELs; BE is holding children back; children are kept in BE for years and years; BE cripples Hispanic children. (7)
Opponents		Proposition 227 will leave more children lost; children would fall behind; Proposition 227 would chop children off at the legs. (5)
Reporters		Children are trapped in BE; Proposition 227 would push ELs into English-only classrooms; opponents say proponents are forcing ELs into English-only classes before they are ready. (3)

Note. SEI = Structured English Immersion. BE = bilingual education. The words and phrases used in the articles by proponents, opponents or reporters are given as examples. The numbers in parentheses are the number of newspaper articles out of a total of 45 that contained the metaphor.

In contrast, reporters described immigrant children and ELs as an overwhelming mass in 24% of the articles. These findings can be explained by the journalists' attempts to appear unbiased by using demographic statistics to describe the number of ELs in public schools in California. Finally, all the policy actors portrayed ELs as passive, powerless victims. These children will be lost, crippled or abandoned by the adversaries' policies. I found this human portrayal of ELs as victims in one-third (33%) of the articles. From this analysis, it looks as though ELs and immigrant students tended to be

used as faceless pawns in the zero-sum “game” of English-only versus bilingual education.

There were a few notable exceptions to the three themes of ELs as objects, mass, and victims. The first example is from a quote by Professor Virginia Collier from the *Modesto Bee*:

By the time the children are in later grades, they are so enriched by the years of hard study that they continue to excel in high school and beyond. (Giblin, 1998, May 25)

Here ELs are described in a positive light as hard working because they must learn both the new language and the subject matter content at the same time. The second example is from an *Orange County Register* article that featured a southern California school district in the border town of Calexico:

Whereas in Santa Ana kids are separated into English or transitional bilingual classes and lessons are in English or Spanish, Calexico children [in BE classes] are grouped in small teams to encourage them to teach each other. (Chey, 1998, May 29)

In this excerpt, ELs are credited with the ability to teach their peers as well as to learn another language from their fellow students. Both of these examples humanize these students and view them as active participants in their own learning of English and/or Spanish.

The nameless portrayal of immigrant students and ELs by proponents, opponents, and the media during the Proposition 227 campaign casts doubt on the assertion that these students are the focus of the initiative and the primary beneficiaries. Political spectacle

proposes that policy elites negotiate benefits for themselves behind-the-scenes while claiming their policy will benefit society as a whole (Edelman, 1988, 2001; Miller-Kahn & Smith, 2001; Smith, 2004). I found this to be the case in the Proposition 227 campaign.

Examining Onstage and Backstage Actions

During the Proposition 227 campaign, immigrant children and ELs were presented onstage or in front of the proverbial curtain as the beneficiaries of Proposition 227 (see Appendix I). To reiterate, political spectacle proposes that the purported beneficiaries of a policy are often not the actual beneficiaries. The action that takes place in public may contrast sharply with what is going on backstage. To examine this element of political spectacle, I conducted a word search using the Tropes software program of the 45 articles selected for this study. Results showed that the substantive or noun “child” and its derivatives was the most frequently used term (639) appearing in 67% of the articles.⁵⁴ Yet, I surmise that immigrant children and ELs were not the real beneficiaries of Proposition 227 as indicated by the continued achievement gap between native-English-speaking students and ELs in California public schools (de Cos, 1999; Department of Education, 2014; Gándara et al., 2000; Parrish et al., 2002; Umansky & Reardon, 2014). If this is the case, then who else might benefit from the passage of Proposition 227? This question is important because finding the actual beneficiaries helps determine

⁵⁴ The substantive “English” was the second most frequent term found in the 45 articles (467).

whether there was a disconnection between means and ends in the initiative campaign as will be discussed later.

Presumably, bilingual educators would not benefit from Proposition 227 should the initiative pass, since those who previously received stipends for teaching ELs would lose those financial benefits. Also, public school educators who used languages other than English in the classroom could potentially be sued, according to the initiative. Therefore, my focus turns to the two authors of the bill, Unz and Tuchman, who was running for Superintendent of Public Instruction on the same ballot as Proposition 227. What benefits might they receive should the initiative pass?

Tuchman could reasonably hope to benefit from the media attention given Proposition 227 since she was the co-author. Tuchman was mentioned in 11% of the articles and only two of the five articles associated her with running for state office (Aranti, 1998, May 24; Arellano, 1998, May 26). Tuchman appeared in few of the debates posted on YouTube as well. If Tuchman did hope to benefit politically from Proposition 227, she did not succeed. She lost her bid to replace Easton as Superintendent of Public Instruction with Easton receiving 43 percent of the vote to Tuchman's 26 percent.

The benefits to Unz are less tangible. Unz did have political aspirations as indicated by his failed attempt to become Governor of California in 1994. There were

also indications that Unz was looking ahead to a possible run for higher political office.⁵⁵ According to a *Fresno Bee* article, “If the initiative is approved, Unz says his next step will be Washington, D.C.” (Quach, 1998, April 26). Unz did successfully take the English for the Children initiative on to Arizona and Massachusetts, but was stymied in Colorado where it was defeated (Crawford, 2000; Wright, 2005).

I decided to look deeper into the ideological underpinnings of the initiative in order to ascertain who the real beneficiaries of Proposition 227 were. The opposition and the media consistently called it an English-only initiative. The term “English-only” was found 21 times across 33% of the articles. In addition, closely related phrases such as “English_immersion,” (27) “English_class(es),” (33) and “English_language” (17) were found in 49% of the articles. Clearly the media, the opponents, and even some proponents considered Proposition 227 an English-only initiative. One *Fresno Bee* article contained the following quote from a proponent and spokesman for U.S. English, an English-only advocacy group:

This initiative may not impact Kansas, but it will have an effect on any state with a large immigrant population. . . . It’s already impacted other states like Colorado, New Mexico and Arizona, where people are challenging the bilingual education power structure and winning. (Quach, 1998, April 26)

This statement is misleading since the Proposition similar to 227 failed to pass in the state of Colorado.

⁵⁵ Wright (2005) refers to a profile of Unz in the *New Republic* in which Unz indicates “he’s likely to seek elected office again but has no specific timetable in mind” (p. 677).

Unz actually sought to distance his initiative from the English-only camp. When asked by a television journalist in an interview that aired on KTBN Santa Ana if Proposition 227 is an English-only initiative, Unz replied:

I really would normally NOT use that phrase. I mean. Again. People can call something whatever they want to but, what we're talking about is not having to do with government laws or government documents or street signs or any of that. (Our Town, 1998, January 29)

In a debate between Unz and a representative of MALDEF that aired on KVIE

Sacramento, Unz again shied away from the English-only moniker:

Well I really wouldn't call this an English only initiative. [. . .] I don't know if I agree with all of the sort of English only English first policies that are out there. Some I would agree with. Some I wouldn't agree with. But when we're talking about young children who are at an age when it's so easy for them to learn another language like English it just seems to make sense to teach them English as soon as possible. (CA Capitol Week, 1997, September 5)

Martha Jimenez from MALDEF jumped in and countered:

It IS an English only initiative because it requires all the students to go into this English only classroom unless they -- their parents move forward and get a waiver which is an EXTREMELY narrow and difficult process.

Taking the previous discussion into consideration, it appears that Unz may have been the only individual who benefitted from its passage. The continued achievement gap between ELs and native English-speaking students and the way Proposition 227 has negatively impacted bilingual education and mainstream teachers alike supports this suggestion (Nieto, 2004; Nicholls, 2012; Parish et al., 2002; Umansky & Reardon, 2014).

Unz successfully took the English for the Children campaign on to other states which kept him in the public eye for many years and even to the present (Ash, 2014,

March 4). Using a wider lens, I propose the benefits can be extended to all Caucasian native-English-speaking citizens of California. Any policy that purports to help minorities is suspect and only serves to maintain the status quo, Edelman (2001) cautions. The status quo Edelman is referring to benefits Anglo, English-speaking citizens, particularly when it comes to language education policy (Lippi-Green, 1997; Valdés, 2001; Valenzuela, 1999). These benefits come in the form of greater educational and social success.

In the case of Proposition 227, I was surprised to find that Unz and other proponents of the initiative cleverly framed bilingual education as the status quo during the campaign (Gunnison, 1998, May 19; Maeshiro, 1998, February 15; Maeshiro, 1998, April 10). The framing of BE as the status quo was apparently based on the 30 years that bilingual education was the language education policy on the books in California. Governor Wilson at the time he vetoed SB 6, the Alpert-Firestone English Learners Education Reform Act of 1998 that would have maintained bilingual education as an option for local districts, said in a *San Francisco Chronicle* interview, “The education establishment has had its chance to make this experiment [BE] work. It has clearly failed” (Gunnison, 1998, May 19). In another article, U.S. Rep. McKeon identified by a *Daily News of Los Angeles* article as chairman of the House subcommittee on Postsecondary Education, Training and Life-Long Learning stated:

That claim [that Proposition 227 would abolish BE and abandon ELs] is part of the propaganda being put out by the defenders of the failed status quo. (Maeshiro, 1998, April 10)

The framing of opponents of Proposition 227 as “defenders of the status quo” is an example of political spin by the proponents (Henig, 2008). The use of the term “propaganda” elicits images of war where leaflets were dropped from airplanes during World War I encouraging people to believe or act in a certain way. This sound bite emotionalized the debate and focused attention onto the proponents and opponents and away from the immigrant students and ELs who were the purported beneficiaries of the policy.

Dramaturgy

Media thrive on dramatic events (Altheide, 1997; Johnson, 2008; Smith, 2004). The more controversial a story, the more likely it will draw attention from the audience. The media tend to over-report the dramatic and present the public with a world that is in constant conflict (Smith, 2004). Televised debates and interviews presented on the YouTube videos are all about dramaturgy since they are staged events. The actors are few and the audience is very large as in a theatrical production (Goffman, 1959). One journalist even addressed this element of dramaturgy in his introductory comments on the Week in Review program aired in Los Angeles that featured both proponents and opponents of Proposition 227. Looking straight at the camera the journalist addressed the viewers and said, “Sit back during this half hour, and let’s learn about this particular prop.” (Century Channel Productions, 1998, May 15) The audience is encouraged to relax and watch the drama unfold on the stage (studio set). In another notable example,

the choice of setting for a one-on-one televised interview with Unz that aired on KTBN

Santa Ana is especially apt.⁵⁶ I describe the scene:

Shows the setting of what looks like a living room with Unz sitting on a couch and Perez (the interviewer) sitting in a stuffed arm chair with an oval coffee table in the foreground decorated with flowers knick knacks and sitting on a fringed rug. A statue of an angel sitting with its head resting on one of its arms is in the foreground. A small trunk with fern plants protruding are beside Perez. A small occasional table is between them and slightly to the rear with coffee mugs on each side for the two. A fireplace is in the background between Unz and Perez and plush curtains on the back wall frame the two. (Memo: Our Town, 1998, January 29)

This tranquil scene contrasts sharply with the war metaphor the newspapers presented and the adversarial atmosphere of the televised debates. The interview is staged more like a talk between friends than a discussion over a controversial issue. The angel statue in the foreground sat smiling contentedly at the audience throughout the interview as if giving its blessing. The interviewer seemed supportive of the initiative and it appeared the audience was assumed to be supportive as well. This scene is an example of how dramaturgy can also lull the spectators into acquiescence (Edelman, 1988, 2001; Miller-Kahn & Smith, 2001; Smith, 2004).

Illusion of Rationality

Dramaturgy is a strategy used by politicians to elicit emotional reactions or to mesmerize the spectators into acquiescence. The use of data-based arguments, research, and references to experts in the field are designed to convince the general public that

⁵⁶ KTBN is an affiliate of Trinity Broadcasting Network (TBN), a major network promoting the Christian religion.

there is a problem or crisis that needs a solution and that their policy will solve the problem. The media publish statistics and the results of polls and surveys to convince the public that their reporting is objective and neutral.

Policy entrepreneurs are particularly adept at using data-based arguments to garner support for their policies because numbers are very useful in drawing attention to a policy problem (Kingdon, 1995; Stone, 2002). Measuring a phenomenon such as the growing number of ELs entering public schools in California emphasizes the need to find a solution to the perceived problem. Facts are not neutral, however, as many people assume. Numbers themselves are symbols and metaphors (Stone, 2002). Counting involves judgment about inclusion and exclusion, what to count and what not to count, what to ignore and what not to ignore (Stone, 2002). Ultimately, numbers are invoked to set-the-record-straight and “give an air of finality to each side’s opinions” (Stone, 2002, p. 167). One reporter inadvertently articulated the illusion of rationality concept when she stated in an *Orange County Register* article:

Educators as well as Proposition 227 supporters and opponents can find in various studies information that supports a wide range of viewpoints. (Arrellano, 1998, April 15)

This excerpt from a feature story in the *Fresno Bee* is typical of the oft-repeated statistics espoused by the proponents and appropriated by the media:

The writers of Proposition 227 say bilingual education is failing. They point to these numbers: In 1996-97, 5.6 million students were enrolled in public schools; 1.4 million or 25% have limited English proficiency. And 95% of the students who start the school year not knowing English still don’t know it at the end of the school year; only 5% reached a proficient level of English. (*Fresno Bee*, 1998, May 24)

I investigated to see if there was a pattern in the use of data-based arguments by proponents, opponents, and the newspapers. Descriptive statistics were used in 81% of the newspaper articles that had an orientation opposed to Proposition 227, in 75% of the articles that supported the initiative, and in 77% of the neutral articles. The opponents attempted to counter the proponents' 95% failure rate of BE statistic by pointing out that only one-third of the 1.4 million ELs were actually in a bilingual education program in the 1996 to 1997 school year (Lewis, 1998, May 24; *Week in Review*, May 15, 1998). Reporters informed their readers of these counter-statistics (Asimov, 1998, March 17; Lewis, 1998, May 24). Yet, those statistical arguments did not appear to be effective in swaying the opinion of the majority of voters who were middle-class Caucasian men (Campbell, Wong, & Citrin, 2006; Wolfe, 1999).⁵⁷ In other words, the data-based arguments of the proponents of Proposition 227 served to bolster support for the initiative, not because the numbers were entirely accurate or so completely convincing, but likely because they mapped comfortably onto the assimilationist cognitive frames of the majority of voters (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003; Wolfe, 1999). Bilingual education appears to be contrary to the idea that English is the language of success for individuals and society (Lippi-Green, 1997; Santa Ana & Treviño, 2007; Wolfe, 1999). Opponents were less successful in persuading the general public with their data-based counter-

⁵⁷ According to a study by Wolfe (1999), bilingualism is contrary to the ideologies of the majority of middle-class Americans.

arguments despite their frequent use and the media's reporting of them during the campaign.⁵⁸

The media attempted to appear objective through the reporting of statistics, yet numbers are not neutral. For example, the reporting of the high number of immigrant students and ELs in California's public schools could elicit fear of this mass of children overwhelming the school system.

Democratic Participation as Illusion

The reporting of the results of polls and surveys is another way the media tries to appear technical and objective (Edelman, 2001; Smith, 2004). Public opinion polls play a key function in political spectacle. They serve to create an illusion of democratic participation or to mesmerize the public into thinking they are participating in the democratic process and that their participation actually makes a difference (Edelman, 2001; Smith, 2004). In addition, references to voting are considered by scholars to be an illusion because so few eligible voters cast their ballots (Shaw, 2013; Armato, 2009).

The results of polls or surveys or the mention of voting in elections were found in more than one-third (36%) of the articles. An example of the media's reporting of the Public Policy Institute of California polling data, from the *San Jose Mercury News*, sounds very technical, "The survey of 2,002 California residents was conducted April 1-8. The

⁵⁸ McQuillen & Tse (1996) looked at editorial pieces in media reports and their reliance on educational research for their position on bilingual education from 1984-1994. They found that government officials, other media reports, and institutional representatives were the most frequently cited sources of information on bilingual education.

margin of error is plus or minus 2.5 percentage points.” (Bazeley, 1998, April 17). The other articles were less technical in their reporting. This excerpt from the *Modesto Bee* provides an example, "Statewide polls show about 60 percent of voters support Proposition 227, including about half of the Hispanic voters polled" (Phillips, 1998, May 27).

The problem with polling, as discussed in Chapter 2, is not typically the accuracy of the results per se, but the ambiguous wording of the questions themselves that creates spectacle, for example, an exit poll of the June 2, 1998 election by the *Los Angeles Times* asked the voters' opinions about bilingual education such as "Bilingual education is not effective" and "Prop 227 is poorly written" (Alvarez, 1999, p. 19). The terms "effective" and "poorly" written are vague and subject to various interpretations and, therefore, are ambiguous. Smith (2004) points out, “When public opinion polls, whether conducted poorly or well, substitute for genuine democratic participation, you have a recipe for political spectacle” (p. 27).

The final element of political spectacle I found in the data was a disconnection between the purported goals of the policy (ends) and the means used to measure the policy. These findings indicate that Proposition 227 was primarily a symbolic rather than an instrumental policy.

Disconnection between Means and Ends

Political spectacle proposes a disconnection between means and ends in high-stakes policies such as Proposition 227. Miller-Kahn and Smith (2001) propose there are several ways to determine whether a policy is instrumental, or means-ends, in nature.⁵⁹ One indicator is the time allowed for implementation. Proposition 227 gave districts a short 60 days from its passage to come into compliance with the statute. School districts found it necessary to come up with implementation plans before the state Board of Education came out with their final submission of regulations in December of 1998 (Gándara et al., 2000). A second indicator of an instrumental policy is whether or not there are enough resources available to carry out the policy. The lack of curricular materials for implementing the SEI program and no funds allocated to pay for those materials cast doubt on the ability of school districts to implement the program effectively in the time allotted. Surprisingly, this problem was glossed over in the campaign. Finally, for a policy to be instrumental, it must contain a means of measuring the outcomes or ends. There was no means to measure the success of the statute other than this statement from the Proposition, “All children in California public schools shall be taught English as rapidly and effectively as possible” (Proposition 227). One *San Jose Mercury News* reporter astutely stated:

Although the four-page initiative offers guidelines of how students should be taught, the language allows myriad interpretations. Not even the author, Silicon

⁵⁹ This means-ends or instrumental policymaking process is described by Miller-Kahn and Smith (2001) in their study of a Colorado school district presented in Chapter 2.

Valley software executive Ron Unz, can predict exactly how his measure would be carried out. (Aratani, 1998, May 24)

Yet, school board members, other elected officials, teachers, and administrators were held accountable for its implementation and could be held personally liable for repeatedly refusing to follow the terms of the statute (Proposition 227).⁶⁰

It is interesting to note that Arizona's Proposition 203, which was patterned after Proposition 227 and also authored by Unz, added a section titled, "Standardize Testing for Monitoring Education Progress" (A.R.S. §15-755 as cited in Crawford, 2000). This is evidence that Unz recognized the lack of measures of accountability in Proposition 227 and sought to remedy this omission in Arizona's initiative. The testing provision required all students in Grades 2 and above to be tested in English regardless of their level of proficiency. Wright (2005) claims this provision went unnoticed by the general public as well as both proponents and opponents of the Arizona initiative.

In sum, the predominant strategies used by policy entrepreneurs in the Proposition 227 campaign to garner support for or opposition to their preferred policies were: 1) symbolic language; 2) casting actors; and 3) onstage/backstage actions. Symbolic language such as the broken system metaphor was used to convince the general public that there was a problem with bilingual education and proposed a solution in the form of the new Structured English Immersion (SEI) program. Casting actors was employed by

⁶⁰ In the year after its passage, the change in standardized test scores of ELs became the focus of debate over the effectiveness of the initiative (Gándara et al., 2000; Parish et al. 2002). Parish (2002) found that test scores gained for ELs and all students. ELs continued to score lower than their native English-speaking peers, however.

both proponents and opponents and the media to create leaders and enemies. The media cast Unz as a leader in the fight to improve the educational outcomes for immigrant students and ELs. Media also set the stage for a battle between the proponents and opponents of Proposition 227. Both proponents and opponents portrayed their adversaries as uncaring toward immigrant students and ELs while casting themselves as having the best interests of these students at heart. Onstage/backstage actions were revealed by which immigrant students and ELs were presented onstage as the beneficiaries of the policy while backstage Unz and virtually all Caucasian English-speaking native-born citizens of California actually benefitted from the English-only policy. The Melting Pot ideology of rapid assimilation to U.S. culture and language undergirded the entire Proposition 227 campaign.

In addition, the other four elements of political spectacle were strategically used during the campaign. Dramaturgy permeated the videos in particular since televised events are all about performance. Statistics, research, and references to experts in the field were employed by opponents and proponents during the campaign to make rational arguments to convince voters to support their viewpoints. Yet people often do not base their opinions on rational thinking, but rather on their preconceived ideas regarding an issue, creating an illusion of rationality. Polls, surveys and voting are all examples of democratic participation as illusion since through polls and surveys the outcomes of elections generally appear to be already decided before the small percentage of voters who actually cast their ballot enter the voting booth. Finally, Proposition 227 was an

example of the disconnection between means and ends because there was no means of measuring the outcomes of the SEI program mandated by the initiative.

This chapter used the political spectacle framework as its guide. In the next chapter, I discuss findings that were not directly related to political spectacle. These themes were discovered inductively during analysis and warrant discussion here because they help shed light on ideologies besides that of the Melting Pot that undergirded the Proposition 227 campaign.

Chapter 5

Crisscrossing Ideological Boundaries and Wedge Issues

The issue of local control kept appearing in the newspaper articles as I conducted my study. Local control is usually considered a conservative or Republican core value. Yet, it was the bilingual education advocates, generally thought of as ideologically liberal or progressive, who beat the local control drum during the Proposition 227 campaign. On the flip side, the proponents co-opted the nurturant parent value of the progressives or Democrats with their “English for the Children” campaign logo (Lakoff, 2004; Reich, 2005a). In this chapter, I examine this crisscrossing of ideological boundaries in order to better understand how the proponents and opponents of Proposition 227 attempted to garner support for their viewpoints and policies. I first show how the opponents failed to sway voters to their side with the “loss of local control” argument despite the conservative leanings of the majority of voters.⁶¹ Then, I discuss how policy entrepreneurs Ron Unz and Gloria Matta Tuchman used both nurturant parent and strict father language when drafting the initiative. Next, I cover explanations for this ideological boundary crossing that are found in the literature. Also the strategic purposes of this phenomenon are discussed as they relate to Proposition 227. Finally, I discuss the use of divisive and controversial wedge issues such as race by proponents, opponents, and the media during the initiative campaign.

⁶¹ See Chapter 2 for the Proposition 227 voter demographics.

Crisscrossing Ideological Boundaries

Local Control

Traditionally, local control of education is based on the belief that those closest to the students are the ones best suited to make decisions regarding meeting their instructional needs (Clarke, 2006; García & Kleifgen, 2010; Wirt & Kirst, 2005). A shift away from this assumption can be traced back to the 1983 National Commission on Excellence in Education Report, *A Nation at Risk* (Henig, 2013; Wirt & Kirst, 2005). The findings of the report cast doubt on public schools' ability to educate America's children well enough to stay ahead in the increasingly competitive world marketplace. As a result, governors and mayors began to assume greater control of education policy and reform. The rationale for this change follows the assumption that local school boards are too responsive to parent activists and teacher unions (Hess, 2010; Moe 2011) and not responsive enough to outcomes such as improving the educational achievement of children from low-income households (Henig, 2013). Proposition 227 authorized state control over bilingual education policy and instruction that had fallen back to local school districts because of the California Legislature's failure to reauthorize the Chacón-Moscone Bilingual-bicultural education bill of 1976. Henig (2013) sees this shift to a more all-purpose arena of governance rather than a school-specific one as a potentially positive development that can lead to a broader range of policy options offering a more flexible set of ideas for education reforms.⁶² The shift to state control also opens a

⁶² The concepts of all-purpose and school-specific governance are discussed in more detail later in this chapter under explanations for ideological boundary crossing.

window for non-traditional education policy entrepreneurs such as Unz and Tuchman to get a hearing for their unconventional ideas (Henig, 2013; Kingdon, 1995). Yet, not all new ideas are necessarily better or lead to improved educational outcomes for students as in this case with the failure of Proposition 227 to close the achievement gap between ELs and native-English-speaking students in California (California Department of Education, 2013; Umansky & Reardon, 2014).

The opponents of Proposition 227 attempted to leverage the conservative value of local control to sway voters away from support for the initiative. They echoed the traditional belief that local control is best left to those closest to the students was echoed by opponents. One article in the *Modesto Bee* quoted a Parent-Teacher Association (PTA) official as saying:

School districts should be allowed to come up with a plan that best suits the needs of their community and the languages spoken in the school. (Giblin, 1998, April 27)

Another journalist from the *Fresno Bee* wrote regarding Proposition 227, “It ... restricts the ability of local school districts to develop their own programs” (Rodriguez, 1998, April 23). Four of the sixteen articles (25%) opposing Proposition 227 contained similar statements regarding local control. Four of the thirteen neutral articles (31%) and three of the sixteen supportive articles (19%) also mentioned the local control issue. Three of the five YouTube videos selected for this study had references to local control as well.

The inconsistency of the proponents’ conservative values regarding local control was brought to the attention of voters during the campaign through public opinion

surveys. For example, a poll by the Public Policy Institute of California referred to in the *San Jose Mercury News* found strong support for the measure with 76 percent of the voters in favor of Proposition 227 while 55 percent would favor leaving decisions about bilingual education to local school districts (Bazeley, 1998, April 17). Another article in the *San Francisco Chronicle*, presumably referring to the same poll, stated:

Polls show Californians overwhelmingly support Proposition 227 -- and at the same time strongly support local control. (Asimov, 1998, March 14)

When Governor Wilson vetoed SB 6 that would have kept bilingual education a local affair, an administrator of a school district where 55% of the students were ELs was quoted in the *Fresno Bee* as stating:

He [Wilson] is the one whose philosophy is giving government more local control. ... This bill [SB 6] would have done that, Proposition 227 really strips away local control. (Lewis & Rodriguez, 1998, May 19)

A spokeswoman for Proposition 227 acknowledged the inconsistency between the conservatives' traditional position on local control and the language of Proposition 227 and responded in a *San Francisco Chronicle* article:

Local control in theory sounds good, ... but in practice, *in this situation* [emphasis added], local control won't change anything. When there are entrenched bureaucracies, local control still means lack of control. (Asimov, 1998, March 14)

This response, that local control won't change anything, frames the call by opponents for maintaining local control as upholding the failed status quo in the case of bilingual education policy. The restriction of the contradictory opposition to local control to "this situation" may be an attempt to reassure conservatives that the proponents of Proposition 227 still value decentralization of government in other policy arenas.

Unz and other proponents were also conscious of crossing this ideological boundary, but used another tactic to reassure the conservative voters. They argued that Proposition 277 would actually promote local control in regard to parental waivers. In an early televised debate that aired on Fox40 Sacramento Unz said:

So in other words, the local school district would decide whether or not to grant the waiver. SOME school districts could grant a waiver much more easily than others, and THOSE issues would be under the authority of individual school districts. (Sacramento On-Line, December 12, 1997)⁶³

Another supporter who was a state government official claimed in a supportive newspaper article from the *Daily News of Los Angeles*, “It [Proposition 227] gives more authority and power to the local officials” (Maeshiro, 1998, April 10). No details of why this might be the case or how this would look in practice were mentioned in the article. Proponents also leveraged the nurturant parent value of the progressives in order to gain support for the measure.

Strict Father or Nurturant Parent?

Proposition 227 was given the title, “English for the Children” in the media and advertising during the campaign (see Appendix J). Proponents couched the initiative in the language of caring as was discussed in Chapter 4. One of the names given the new instructional program proposed by the initiative was “Sheltered English Immersion” which elicits connotations of caring with the word “sheltered” although the word “immersion” can have negative sink-or-swim connotations as journalist Sue Perez noted

⁶³ See Appendix I for conventions used in the transcription of YouTube videos. All capitals indicate stress in intonation by the speaker.

in the Our Town Santa Ana broadcast (see Chapter 4). Policy entrepreneurs Unz and Tuchman argue in "Article 1: Findings and Declarations of Proposition 227," as printed in the June 2, 1998 Primary Voter Guide, that the initiative is needed in order to ensure immigrant children can “fully participate in the American Dream of economic and social advancement.” Article 1 also declares in subsection (c):

Whereas, The government and public schools of California have a moral obligation and a constitutional duty to provide all of California’s children, regardless of their ethnicity or national origins, with the skills necessary to become productive members of our society, and of these skills, literacy in English is among the most important.

Later, Article 5 of the Proposition, also states, “All California school children have the right to be provided with an English language public education.” These excerpts from the initiative illustrate the way the nurturant parent value was framed by the authors of Proposition 227. According to the authors, caring for children takes the form of ensuring their economic and social success in order to make them productive members of society. The vehicle to success for immigrant children and ELs is learning the English language through immersion, which is described as a “right” of every child. I surmise this nurturant parent language was intended to gain the support of Democrats who tend to carry this value (Reich, 1988; Lakoff, 2004).

The initiative also contains strict father language. For example, Article 2 of Proposition 227 states, “[A]ll children in California public schools shall be taught English by being taught in English.” The use of the auxiliary verb “shall” denotes a command. I picture a parent wagging a finger at an errant child. The word “shall” is used once in each of the seven sentences in subsection 305 of the initiative. This formal language is

typical of that used in legislation as a whole, however. Therefore, a more definitive example of strict father language is provided from Article 5:

Any school board member or other elected official or public school teacher or administrator who willfully and repeatedly refuses to implement the terms of this statute by providing such an English language educational option at an available public school to a California school child may be held personally liable for fees and actual damages by the child's parents or legal guardian.

The strict father value is illustrated by the sanction of “personal liability for fees and actual damages” contained in the language of the measure. Republicans tend to hold to the strict father value. Therefore, this portion of the initiative may have drawn their support. At the same time, it may have alienated some Democrats.

Opponents called out the strict father nature of the punitive section of the proposal in an attempt to forge alliances with Democrats. One representative of Citizens for an Educated America, Kelly Hayes-Raitt, who opposed Proposition 227, stated during a debate on Fox40 Sacramento:

HERE'S what the Ron Unz initiative will do. It will take ALL limited English speaking children and put them together in ONE classroom, where the teacher, who is FORBIDDEN by the LAW, by this new initiative, and under the threat of a LAWSUIT, from speaking to them in any language other than English. (Sacramento On-Line, December 12, 1997)

The maneuver of drawing attention to the punitive section of the initiative may have backfired and had the effect of alienating Republicans since the strict father is a core value of these voters who made up 40% of registered voters in California in 1998 (Alvarez, 1999). Since Article 5 is the last page of California's Proposition 227, the tough sanctions may have gone unnoticed by both supporters and opponents of the

initiative which could explain the strong support by both parties shown in the polls at the beginning of the Proposition 227 campaign.

Wright (2005) also noted that the voters may not have noticed the section of Proposition 203 regarding the testing for all ELs, as described in Chapter 4. Proposition 203 added the following language (in italics), as compared to Proposition 227, in Section 15-754. Legal Standing and Parental Enforcement:

Any school board member or other elected official or administrator who willfully and repeatedly refuses to implement the terms of this statute may be held personally liable for fees and actual and compensatory damages by the child's parents or legal guardian, and cannot be subsequently indemnified for such assessed damages by any public or private third party. Any individual found so liable shall be immediately removed from office and shall be barred from holding any position of authority anywhere in Arizona public school system for an additional period of five years.

The words in italics strengthened the punitive measures of the initiative by threatening to remove any elected official or administrator from their positions of authority if they violated the terms of the statute.

Unz and Tuchman led with the nurturant parent value and followed up with the strict father value in writing Proposition 227. The opposition's attempts to dissuade support by pointing out the punitive sections of the initiative may have driven Unz to strengthen the section of the statute that addressed non-compliance by educators in Arizona's Proposition 203 (Crawford, 2000). What could explain this seemingly contradictory political behavior?

Explanations for Ideological Boundary Crossing

I found several possible explanations for ideological boundary crossing in the literature. One explanation is the idea of a shift in the politics of school reform from school-based decision making to general-purpose governance (Henig, 2013). Henig (2013) points out that general-purpose governance is closely related to the issue of centralization versus decentralization. School districts are identified as substate single-purpose governments where actual school reform has traditionally been considered to take place. The movement away from local control of schools toward more centralized control such as city mayors and state officials since *A Nation at Risk* has created a shift in power and authority based on the view that public schools are failing students and society (Henig, 2013; McDonnell & Elmore, 1987; Wirt & Kirst, 2005). Support for this perspective is found in the comments by a critic of bilingual education and supporter of Proposition 227 who was president of the San Joaquin Valley Taxpayers Association, “We have lost our faith in them [bilingual educators]. It is time to put this [bilingual education] to an end” (Rodriguez, 1998, April 23). The reporter who authored this article concluded, “[Critics of bilingual education] don’t trust educators anymore.” The assumption that local school districts were incapable of improving the educational outcomes for ELs fueled this sentiment (Ravitch, 2010; Wirt & Kirst, 2005). Ravich (2010) points out that this assumption lacks logic and evidence since some local districts have high achievement while others do have low educational outcomes for students. In addition to low academic outcomes, the belief that local parent activists and teachers

unions wield too much power is implicated (Henig, 2013; McDonnell & Elmore, 1987).⁶⁴ System-changing policies such as Proposition 227 alter the distribution of political power (McDonnell & Elmore, 1987). According to McDonnell and Elmore (1987) in their research on alternative policy instruments, changes in the distribution of money are assumed to follow changes in the distribution of power.

Evidence of the belief that teacher unions have too much influence on local decision making is found in two other measures that accompanied Proposition 227 on the June 2, 1998 ballot. Proposition 223 would have limited the amount of money school districts could spend on administrative costs and would have required state Board of Education oversight and audits of such costs. Conversely, more control of funds by individual school sites was encouraged by this measure. The mixing of state governance and local governance were evident in Proposition 223 which was supported by the teacher unions but rejected by 55% of the voters. A second measure, Proposition 226, would have required employee permission for unions to deduct dues for political purposes from their paychecks. This measure was vehemently opposed by the California Teachers Association among other leading professional unions as the following excerpt from the California Voter Guide illustrates:

⁶⁴ The phenomenon of centralization of education as a means of school reform gained momentum in the 1980s and 90s spurred on by *A Nation at Risk*. In the period of time between the NCEE report and the passage of Proposition 227 (1983-1998) centralization took the form of increased accountability through state-led standards-based reform movements across the U.S. (Henig, 2013; Nicholls, 2012; Wirt & Kirst, 2005). A result of this change was a shift in decision making power from the local to the state or gubernatorial level. The reauthorization of the ESEA in 1994 gave the federal government an opportunity to jump on the “standards-based reform bandwagon” (Wirt & Kirst, 2005, p 47). President George W. Bush succeeded in passing sweeping federal education reform with NCLB (2002) for which the previous Presidents Bush and Clinton had set the groundwork (Smith & O’Day, 1991).

By placing costly new bureaucratic regulations on unions, but not on corporate interests, the backers of 226 are trying to silence unions and give an unfair advantage to corporate interests, starting with the election for Governor this November.

226 will cost state government millions of dollars to implement. And it will cost local governments and schools even more to implement the new bureaucratic rules required of their employees.

(June 2, 1998 California Primary Election Voter Guide/Argument against Proposition 226)

Proposition 226 narrowly failed with 53% of voters marking no on the ballot. What these other measures on the June 2, 1998 ballot indicate is a growing distrust by the general public of district school administrators and growing discontent with the power of unions to influence political outcomes, particularly at the local level (Hess, 2010; Moe, 2011; Wirt & Kirst, 2005). The fact that Proposition 227 passed with 61% of the vote indicates that the local control issue may have been secondary to the issue of English language instruction for immigrant students and ELs in California for the majority of voters. It also suggests that local control may get interpreted to mean teacher union control. As a matter of fact, Moe (2011) found that school board candidates endorsed by the union won 76% of the time in California local elections.

Kingdon (1995) also addresses this phenomenon of crisscrossing ideological stances in his discussion of what he terms, “value acceptability.” What policy entrepreneurs think ought to be done in a policy arena such as bilingual education drives the proposals of both proponents and opponents, not necessarily their party affiliation

(Smith & Tolbert, 2001).⁶⁵ Kingdon found that dominant ideologies such as the proper size of the public sector in relation to the private sector affect different policy arenas differently. For example, he found health issues seemed to be more affected by ideological biases of the public/private nature in American political culture than transportation issues. The ideologies policymakers hold have other value-components such as the themes of efficiency, equity, liberty and choice (Clarke, 2006; Kingdon, 1995; Stone, 2002; Wirt & Kirst, 2005). Consideration of these other values is added onto the liberal-conservative dichotomy when policy actors deliberate a proposal (Kingdon, 1995). Values such as efficiency, equity, liberty, and choice are shared by politicians on both sides of the aisle, but can look different depending upon how they are interpreted (McDonnell & Elmore, 1987; Stone, 2002; Wirt & Kirst, 2005). This normative dimension of policymaking involves judgments based on assumed causal relationships for example, attributing low test scores for immigrant students and ELs to a lack of English language instruction in public schools rather than the lack of bilingual education teachers or a shortage of teachers trained in how to make accommodations for ELs (August et al., 2010; August & Shanahan, 2006; García & Kleifgen, 2010; McDonnell & Elmore, 1987). Table 11 illustrates how proponents and opponents of Proposition 227 crisscrossed ideological boundaries during the campaign.

⁶⁵ See Smith and Tolbert (2001) who tested the partisan underpinnings of votes for or against thirteen California initiatives in 1998 including Proposition 227.

Table 11

Crisscrossing Ideological Boundaries by Proponents and Opponents of Proposition 227

	Conservative Values	Shared Values	Liberal/Progressive Values
Proponents (Conservative)	<p><u>Strict Father Metaphor</u></p> <p>Example: 227 allows suing teachers and school administrators</p> <p><u>Decentralized control</u></p> <p>Examples:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Local control means lack of control 2) Opposed in “this situation” (BE) 3) 227 would promote local control (of parental waiver decisions) 	<p><u>Equity</u></p> <p>Example: All students have the right to learn English</p> <p><u>Equality of Opportunity</u></p> <p>Example: 227 is needed so all students can succeed in society</p> <p><u>Efficiency & Effectiveness:</u></p> <p>Examples:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) BE is too expensive 2) BE takes too long <p><u>Choice:</u></p> <p>Example: Parental waiver</p>	<p><u>Nurturant Parent Metaphor</u></p> <p>Examples:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) English for the Children 2) Sheltered English Immersion <p><u>Centralized Control</u></p> <p>Examples:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) 227 establishes state control of language education policy 2) State Board of Education oversees parental waiver disputes <p><u>Redistributive Economics:</u></p> <p>Example: Government funds for community-based tutoring</p>

Table 11 (Continued)

Crisscrossing Ideological Boundaries by Proponents and Opponents of Proposition 227

	Conservative Values	Shared Values	Liberal/Progressive Values
Opponents (Progressive)	<p><u><i>Decentralized Control</i></u></p> <p>Examples:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Loss of local control 2) 227 restricts ability of local districts to develop own programs <p><u><i>Fiscal Conservatism</i></u></p> <p>Example: 227 costs \$50 million per year for 10 years</p> <p><u><i>Strict Father Metaphor</i></u></p> <p>Example: The putative nature of the initiative that would allow teachers to be sued</p>	<p><u><i>Equity</i></u></p> <p>Example: Federal BE policy</p> <p><u><i>Equality of Opportunity</i></u></p> <p>Example: BE is best way to insure</p> <p><u><i>Liberty and Choice</i></u></p> <p>Examples:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Districts and teachers should be free to decide how best to teach ELs 2) 227 would rob teachers of educational choice <p><u><i>Effectiveness</i></u></p> <p>Example: 227 restricts districts from getting the most effective programs for ELs</p>	<p><u><i>Nurturant Parent Metaphor</i></u></p> <p>Examples:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Students need to be taught in a language they can understand 2) Students will be lost in English-only classrooms

Shared values: Efficiency.

I surmise for proponents of Proposition 227, values such as efficiency and equity overrode concerns of big government or centralized control. For supporters of the initiative, the efficiency argument revolved around the problem of ELs being kept in purportedly expensive bilingual education programs for years at a time and ostensibly not learning English. Efficiency traditionally involves calculating the cost of a policy and how to achieve an objective for the lowest effort or cost (Stone, 2002). Efficient use of resources monopolizes conversation about public policy (Clarke, 2006). “It’s all about the money,” is a common mantra. Yet, determining costs and benefits is not that simple in the real world as the discussion of disconnection between means and ends in Chapter 4 demonstrates. Stone (2002) contends, “Trying to measure efficiency is like trying to pull oneself out of quicksand without a rope” (p. 65). Proponents seemed to believe teaching English efficiently and effectively, meaning in one year using SEI, would benefit ELs and society. At the same time, Proposition 227 called for \$50 million dollars a year for 10 years to be allocated for Community-Based English Tutoring programs.

The opponents jumped on this allotment of funds proposed in the statute and attacked it for being ambiguous and wasteful of taxpayer money. Supporters were quoted in a *Fresno Bee* article as saying, “This (\$50 million) is to ensure that children who are taught in English during the day can get help with homework” (*Fresno Bee*, 1998, May 24). Following this statement, opponents were reported as responding:

A half-billion dollars over 10 years is wasted on untrained adults who are expected to teach what certified teachers have been prepared to do. There is no accountability plan to monitor the instruction.

In a televised debate, Holly Thier, spokesperson for the organization Citizens for an Educated America that opposed Proposition 227 stated:

It also appropriates an additional fifty million dollars a year every year for the next ten years for individuals who pledge to tutor a child in English. So these people. They don't have to tutor one child in English. They just have to sign a pledge card and say I'm gonna tutor a child in English. (Week in Review, May 15, 1998)

This “waste of taxpayers’ money” frame started to gain traction late in the campaign. It may have been a case of too little, too late, however. Newspaper coverage was nearly void of critical discussion of the \$50 million per year for ten years allocated by the measure. Only six of the 45 articles contained any mention of the funds and only two of those six articles contained more than wording from the proposition itself. Both of the articles with more in-depth coverage were from central California newspapers. One was the article from the *Fresno Bee* mentioned above published on May 24, 1998. The other was coverage of a debate between opponents and proponents published in the *Modesto Bee* on April 28, 1998. In this article, the reporter quotes Shelly Spiegel-Coleman identified as an English-as-a-second-language consultant for the Los Angeles Unified School District as saying, “This is just another large government program that takes parents’ rights away from them” (Giblin, 1998, April 28). The proponents took note of the possible decline in support as a result of this argument as indicated by omission of Proposition 227’s Article 4: Community-Based English Tutoring from Arizona’s Proposition 203 (Crawford, 2000).

Shared values: Equity.

Equity is also considered a basic value in education (Wirt & Kirst, 2005). Equity is defined by Wirt and Kirst (2005) as “the use of political authority to redistribute critical resources required for the satisfaction of human needs” (p. 72). Wirt and Kirst (2005) list federal bilingual education programs under this value. Yet, proponents turned the equity argument against bilingual education by claiming that every child has a right to learn English. The mention of “rights” draws on the underlying, more basic value of fairness in regards to “receipt of benefits needed for a better life” (Wirt & Kirst, 2005, p. 72). The initiative states in Article 5, “All California school children have the right to be provided with an English language public education.” A former high school principal and supporter of Proposition 227 stated in a televised debate that aired on KVIE Sacramento:

When are they [ELs] going to learn the English that they should learn and they were born here. They're American citizens. Why deny them that right to learn English first. (CA Capitol Week, September 5, 1997)

Purportedly, the English-only program proposed by Proposition 227, SEI, would teach limited-English-speaking immigrant children and native-born ELs English in one year. It was assumed they then could join the mainstream classroom and progress at the same pace as native-English-speaking students. The continued achievement gap between native-English-speaking students and ELs in California, particularly those of Mexican descent, brings this assumption into question (Ash, 2014; California Department of Education, 2013; Umansky & Reardon, 2014).

Shared values: Choice and Liberty.

I surmise values such as choice and liberty took precedence for opponents of Proposition 227. The local control argument is predicated on the value of choice. Local authorities should have “the opportunity to make policy decisions or reject them” (Wirt & Kirst, 2005, p. 72). Furthermore, teachers should have the choice to use the primary language in the classroom as one tool for teaching ELs. In other words, teachers of ELs should be free to use all the tools at their disposal to teach their students without fear of being sued. One opponent made this point in a televised debate that aired on KVIE Sacramento:

In fact there’s a provision in this initiative that would, uh, make local school district personnel and, uh, teachers liable personally – personally liable for implementing programs that they believe are necessary to serve children. (California Capitol Week, September 5, 1997)

This argument struck a chord with the president of the state Board of Education during testimony before the Board. Yvonne Larsen was reported in a *Daily News of Los Angeles* article as being “troubled by some of the arguments made against the initiative, including that teachers who violate its provisions could become targets for lawsuits” (Hefner, 1998, February 10). Teachers claim to have the knowledge and expertise that make them best suited to teach children. Therefore, they should have the freedom to decide how best to instruct their students. Opponents claimed that ELs should be free or have the liberty to use and receive instruction in their native language. This view of liberty assumes a more flexible and expansive range of human action that could help explain the crisscrossing of

ideological boundaries by policy entrepreneurs in the Proposition 227 campaign.⁶⁶

Again, such ideological boundary crossings are possible because shared values such as equity, efficiency, choice, and liberty can look very different depending on which standards one uses to interpret them (Stone, 2002).

Purposes of Boundary Crossing

The discussion thus far illustrates how ideological boundaries are less rigid than one might think. What purpose or purposes may crisscrossing boundaries serve beyond gathering support for one's viewpoint on a policy? The element of casting actors in the political spectacle framework provides one possible explanation. Political spectacle contends that without an opposing side, a policy will not get off the ground. In other words, promoting a policy requires an adversary or opponent in order to catch the attention of the media and voters. The framing of the Proposition 227 campaign as a war by the media illustrates this point.⁶⁷ Stone's political reasoning conceptual framework comes to the same conclusion and further stresses the strategic nature of this ideological boundary crossing. The list of strategies for such boundary crossings include: 1) forging new alliances; 2) fragmenting old alliances; 3) drawing people into action; and,

⁶⁶ Stone (2002) discusses what she calls the liberty-equality trade-off. One concept of liberty defines it as the absence of restraint. According to this view, government would have to redistribute resources and positions from the advantaged to the disadvantaged in order to maintain equality. This taking away of resources would interfere with the freedom of action or liberty of the advantaged, Stone argues. A second view of liberty sees it as the "availability of meaningful choice and the capacity to exercise it" (Stone, 2002, p. 128). In this view, resources such as power, wealth, and knowledge are necessary or helpful in order to exercise effective choices.

⁶⁷ See Chapter 4 for discussion of Lakoff & Johnson's (2003) "argument is war" metaphor found in the data.

conversely, 4) maintaining the status quo, and lulling people into quiescence (Edelman, 1971; Stone, 2002).

Ideological boundaries are drawn and redrawn in the strategic battle over conflicting policies, i.e., English-only versus bilingual education. Table 11 presents how the proponents and opponents of Proposition 227 crisscrossed ideological boundaries during the campaign. The proponents co-opted the progressive values of nurturant parent, centralized control, and redistributive economics. I surmise the purpose for these preemptive boundary crossings was to forge new alliances with Democratic voters in order to gather political support for the initiative. Initially this strategy proved successful, but as the campaign progressed, the support from Democrats eroded. A Field Institute Poll published in the *San Jose Mercury News* on March 20, 1998 showed 57 percent of Democratic likely voters supported the measure with 29 percent against it and 14 percent undecided (Bazeley, 1998, March 20). Another poll published in the same newspaper two months later on May 29, 1998 showed only 44 percent of Democratic voters would support the proposition (Bazeley, 1998, May 29). At the polls on June 2, 1998, 47 percent of registered Democrats voted yes and 53 percent voted no (*Los Angeles Times/CNN*, 1998, June 2). Support among Republicans also declined over that period of time with the March poll indicating 84 percent support declining to 78 percent in May and 77 percent voting yes at the ballot box. The purported strong showing of support for the measure early in the campaign can be explained by the heavy promotion by policy entrepreneur Unz via his speaking appearances across the state and on various media outlets. The leveraging of progressive values with his pro-immigrant posturing during

the Proposition 187 campaign that sought to deny undocumented immigrants and their children social services, and his capturing 34% of the vote opposite fellow Republican Pete Wilson in the 1994 Primary Election, cast Unz as a leader on the issue of immigrants and immigration. Despite his loss in the gubernatorial race, his stance may have bridged over to the issue of the language education of immigrant children and ELs. The public seemed to be lulled into acquiescence by his rhetoric at first, but, as opponents predicted, support eroded on both the left and the right as people learned more about the contents of the initiative.

The most notable drop in support was among Latino voters. The results of a field poll published in both the *San Jose Mercury News* and *San Francisco Chronicle* indicated that 61 percent of Latinos would support Proposition 227 in March of 1998 (Bazely, 1998, March 20; Gunnison, 1998, March 20). The percentage of Latino supporters dropped to 52 percent in May (Bazely, 1998, May 29). In the *Los Angeles Times/CNN* exit poll, only 37 percent of Latino voters voted yes on the measure. This dramatic decline was attributed to an infusion of money for anti-Proposition 227 advertising late in the campaign, much of which targeted Spanish-speaking media outlets. Unz was noticeably anxious about this slip in support. He even went so far as to chide a large donor with a controlling interest in the Spanish-language television corporation Univision Communications, Inc. by asking, in a *San Jose Mercury* article:

Why is this political donor suddenly so interested in protecting Latino children from learning English in schools? ... Is it because the more English-speaking children there are, the less Spanish-speaking viewers they have? (Bazeley, 1998, May 22)

This influx of funds by opponents came too late in the campaign to sway the majority of voters although it did appear to contribute to the decline in support by Latino voters. With the failure of opponents to defeat Proposition 227 in the courts, SEI became the codified language education program for limited-English-speaking immigrant students and other ELs in California public schools.

To review, opponents of Proposition 227 leveraged the conservative values of decentralized or local control and fiscal conservatism to attempt to fragment old alliances among political conservatives. The appeal to the value of fiscal conservatism based on the \$50 million per year for 10 years allocated by the Proposition may have given some Republican voters pause. This play by the opponents appeared late in the campaign in April and May of 1998 and did not have time to gain traction. Proponents of the initiative successfully co-opted the nurturant parent value held by progressives with their “English for the Children” motto and apparent concern for the future economic and social success of immigrant children. Other values besides the conservative-liberal dichotomy may have played a greater role in the Proposition 227 campaign. Proponents stressed efficiency and equity while opponents emphasized liberty and choice. In addition to the crisscrossing of ideological boundaries, the issue of race was also found intermittently in the articles and videos. In the following section, I analyze this finding and look at how opponents failed at playing the “race card” and proponents attempted to mute race as a factor in the Proposition 227 campaign.

Wedge Issues

Wedge issues are political arenas that are divisive and controversial in nature. Immigration was a wedge issue that was contested in the Proposition 187 anti-immigrant campaign that preceded Proposition 227.⁶⁸ Democrats lost in that battle at the ballot box which made them hesitant to enter the fray when the Alpert-Firestone bill (SB 6), that would have encouraged local control of bilingual education and increased accountability for outcomes, followed closely on its heels. Republican legislators were also hesitant to endorse the bill because polls showed that Latino voters “shifted heavily into the Democratic column in response to GOP sponsorship [of 187],” according to the *San Jose Mercury News* (Ostrom, 1998, April 28). Co-author, Senator Dede Alpert, in a televised interview that aired early in the campaign, admitted she was having difficulty getting legislators on board. When the journalist asked whether her measure, SB 6, would stop Proposition 227, Alpert responded, “I don’t know and I think that my legislation isn’t going to get out [of the legislature] this year.” The journalist asked, “For what reason. Because it’s too hot an issue?” “Yes,” Alpert replied, “because it’s too emotionally charged” (California Capitol Week, September 5, 1997). This lack of support by

⁶⁸ Proposition 187 was discussed in Chapter 1. Briefly, this initiative was passed by the majority of California voters in November of 1994 and was intended to prevent undocumented immigrants from receiving public assistance including public education for undocumented children.

legislators along with the lobbying of CAFE against the bill dealt it a death blow and opened the window for Proposition 227 (Kingdon, 1995).⁶⁹

Unz was prepared for the possibility that Proposition 227 would be viewed as the next wedge issue. Months before the initiative qualified for the ballot he was busy dispelling this notion. The New California Media (NCM) program that aired in the Bay Area in July, 1997 featured Unz as a special guest. The NCM network consists of a number of network journalists who cover California's ethnic communities. Emil Guellermo, the host journalist, introduced Unz by saying:

He started an initiative drive that some say may be the next divisive issue in our state. The next one eighty seven or two oh nine right here in California. (New California Media, July, 1997)

When asked directly by the journalist if this could be the next wedge issue, Unz responded:

I would really hope not. [...] and I really think, you know, potentially this initiative could be much more unifying rather than divisive in that under the right circumstances it could help to get rid of some of the mistrust different groups have for each other.

Guellermo questioned:

So in your heart of hearts the motivation wasn't to climb on any kind of one eighty seven bandwagon. Some kind of slash and burn kind of divisive thing. But really to... what... to better education?

⁶⁹ Kingdon (1995) proposes there are various streams flowing through the political system. The streams come together or join at critical times creating an opportunity for policy entrepreneurs to push their preferred solutions. This phenomenon will be discussed further in Chapter 6.

Unz nodded his head in agreement and then changed the topic to the oft-repeated statistics showing the purported failure of bilingual education. This ambiguous and evasive response indicates an attempt to frame Proposition 227 as potentially unifying rather than dividing different racial and ethnic groups. By distancing himself from the previous Save-our-State initiative considered to be anti-immigrant (187) and the racially-charged affirmative action initiative (209), Unz attempted to diffuse the perception of Proposition 227 as a wedge issue during this interview.

The newspapers also brought up the notion of Proposition 227 being a wedge issue. One *Daily News of Los Angeles* article related the fear expressed by some unnamed persons that the initiative “merely sets up California for another racially charged election season” (Hefner, 1997, October 6). In a quote from this same article Unz says:

I want to make it clear that this is not ‘son of 187,’... It simply says that little children should be taught English when they go to school. (Hefner, 1997, October 6)

The fact that Unz opposed Proposition 187 lent credence to his words.

Race is a wedge issue that was contested in Proposition 209 that eliminated affirmative action in California in 1996, only one year before Proposition 227 was introduced. I found the words “race” or “racial” printed six times in the 45 newspaper articles I reviewed and scrutinized for this study. Supporter Richard Riordan, Mayor of Los Angeles, used it twice when explaining why he was campaigning for the initiative in this quote from the *Daily News of Los Angeles*:

I felt there's been too much propaganda to Latinos that this is a racial issue. ... It's not a racial issue. It's about educating their children. (Orlov, 1998, May 21)

California GOP chairman, Mike Schroeder, also a supporter, disputed the notion that Proposition 227 would become a wedge issue based on race in a *San Jose Mercury News* article:

One of the biggest concerns I had was this initiative would become polarized along racial and ethnic lines. ... So far, that has not happened. (Ostrom, 1998, April 28)

There were no quotes by opponents that used the terms found in the articles. "Race talk" was not absent in the Proposition 227 campaign and proponents tried to mute it by summarily dismissing concerns over the initiative having any racial undertones (Pollock, 2004). As was described in Chapter 2, Pollock (2004) found that racialized language was noticeably absent from public conversations on discipline at Columbus high school as well as in district education policies. Her study showed how this omission actually made race matter more by reinforcing and reproducing racial hierarchies. Nieto (2004) refers to McIntyre (1997), who uses the term "White talk," to describe how Whites avoid talking about race, which serves to insulate them from examining their individual and collective role in perpetuating racism (p. 45).

Other politicians who supported Proposition 227 took a different tactic when discussing the wedge issue of race. Assemblyman Tom McClintock, who won endorsement of Proposition 227 from the California Republican Party despite party leaders' objections, was quoted in the *Daily News of Los Angeles* as saying, "In a nutshell, bilingual education is a racially segregated program which now traps more than

one-fifth of California's children" (Hefner, 1997, October 6). What strikes me most about these quotes by proponents is the incongruity of denying that race is an issue in Proposition 227 while accusing the opponents of racially segregating students in bilingual education classes. This contradictory language and stance may be explained by the tendency of the dominant society to define whiteness as normal (Lee, 2005; Ogbu & Simons, 1998). This often subconscious hegemonic position assumes everything else is abnormal or subject to criticism (Cummins, 2000; Lippi-Green, 1997; Valenzuela, 1999). People of color are sometimes able to recognize racial undertones that the White majority may not see. For example, Reynaldo Ayala, a school board member of a southern California district with a 98 percent Hispanic student population that opposed the measure did not mince words in an article published in the *Orange County Register*:

It would be ridiculous to have our children deny their culture to fit some blue-eyed, blond-hair image of America. (Chey, 1998, May 29)

While the words "race" or "racial" appeared only a few vague times in the newspaper articles, I found race talk was more often couched in the language of civil rights by both proponents and opponents (Pollock, 2004). Sheri Annis, identified as a "spokeswoman for the initiative campaign," in a *Modesto Bee* article stated:

Hispanics are supporting this initiative because they don't want their children segregated for up to seven years in a bilingual program. (Phillips, 1998, March 23).

The use of the word "segregated" elicits images of the Civil Rights Movement and schools separating children by race. Not all Hispanics supported Proposition 227, however, as the above quote by Ayala illustrates. Opponents used civil rights language to

try to negatively frame Proposition 227. A bilingual teacher was quoted in a *Modesto Bee* article:

If 227 passes, we are going to have students sitting in the back of classes wasting time and doing nothing. [...] We're going back to the 1960s.
(Phillips, 1998, March 23)

The references to “sitting in the back of classes” and “going back to the 1960s” conjure up images of racial tensions from the Civil Rights Movement where African Americans were required to sit in the back of busses. By using language that was symbolic of civil rights such as “segregated” and “back of the ...,” both proponents and opponents may have triggered the wedge issue of race. Snow and his colleagues (1986) explain that policymakers may extend their primary frames to encompass interests that are seemingly incidental to their primary goals in order to garner support for their policies from a larger audience. In the case of Proposition 227, both proponents and opponents used the issue of race as such a frame extension. By deciding to put quotes containing references to historical racial tensions into print, newspapers were collusive in evoking the emotionally-charged issue of race during the Proposition 227 campaign.

Closely related to the issue of race is socio-economic status or class (Lee, 2005; Nieto, 2004; Orfield, 2012). Classism was evident in the discourse of Proposition 227. According to Nieto (2004), racism, classism, and other forms of discrimination are instrumental in often unintentionally creating and maintaining barriers to academic success for many students of color. Lee (2005) found that the educators in her study of Hmong immigrant students in a high SES urban high school emphasized the significance of socio-economic class over race. The Hmong students were from low-income families.

While the articles selected for my study contained few direct references to class, some of the most strident language quoted in the articles had to do with class status. Proponent of Proposition 227, Reverend Alice Callaghan, director of an immigration-advocacy group that staged the boycott that inspired Unz to author Proposition 227, was quoted in the *Daily News of Los Angeles*:

What they're [bilingual classes at Ninth Street School] doing is, they're relegating a generation of poor Latino children to careers of nothing but working in sweatshops, cleaning offices or selling tamales on the corner. (Hefner, 1997, October 6)

This sentiment was reiterated by Sherri Annis, spokesperson for English for the Children in a *Modesto Bee* article:

Most people recognize a need to eliminate the current underclass. [...] Immigrants and nonimmigrants want the same thing for their children and that is having a chance to succeed in our society. (Phillips, 1998, March 23)

One LAUSD official who opposed Proposition 227 referred to the issue of economic status or class in a *Daily News of Los Angeles* article:

Mr. Unz knows full well that socioeconomic status has more to do with performance than language does. [...] School districts that have predominantly lower-income students tend to have lower test scores. (Hefner, 1998, February 10)

Lee (2005) viewed references to the class background of students as a code for whiteness at the high school where she conducted her ethnographic study. As code, the term “whiteness” refers to White, middle-class, educated culture being the standard by which students are either accepted as “normal” or viewed as outside the mainstream culture (Lee, 2005).

In sum, the findings presented in this chapter further show the complexity of the politics surrounding language education policy in California. The unexpected theme of local versus state control and the wedge issue of race that appeared in the media coverage of Proposition 227 necessitated further inquiry and explanation beyond the political spectacle conceptual framework that guided my study. The interpretive policy analysis approach allows for this grounded or inductive type of inquiry where themes and topics emerge from the artifacts collected for the case studied (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Yanow, 2000). My inquiry into the local control issue revealed a crisscrossing of political boundaries by both proponents and opponents of Proposition 227. Unz, an avowed conservative, wrote a policy that took control of language education policy away from local districts and placed it under the auspices of the state Department of Education. Opponents, generally considered ideologically liberal or progressive, on the other hand, waved the local control flag in an attempt to sway conservative voters to reject the initiative. This crisscrossing of ideological boundaries indicates that ideologies are not as rigid as is often assumed to be the case. Other themes or values such as efficiency, equity, liberty, or choice sometimes rise to the top when voters evaluate a policy. These are examples of values that people of all persuasions can hold. The way these shared values are interpreted and used to persuade is what makes the difference. In the case of Proposition 227, proponents were effective at emphasizing the values of efficiency and equity. Opponents, on the other hand, stressed the values of liberty and choice with less success, perhaps because their message did not solidify until later in the campaign.

A second surprise finding was the way the wedge issue of race was handled by both proponents and opponents of Proposition 227. Proponents accused bilingual education advocates of misleading Latino voters into believing the initiative was racially-charged. I found no evidence that opponents did indeed use the word “race” during the campaign. Interestingly, proponents were found to accuse bilingual education programs of “racially segregating” ELs in bilingual classrooms. Race talk was more often disguised by using the language of civil rights. Both proponents and opponents used words or phrases reminiscent of the Civil Rights Movement such as “segregated” and “sitting at the back of the class.” By quoting this language, newspapers contributed to keeping the wedge issue of race in the forefront of people’s minds.

In the next and final chapter, I present my conclusions and implications for future language education policymaking with the hope of encouraging more democratic language policies for immigrant students and ELs in the future.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

This study explored how political language matters in language education policies that address the academic achievement gap between immigrant students who are learning English and their native English-speaking counterparts. Specifically, it looked back at Proposition 227, the “English for the Children” direct democracy initiative, which passed with the majority of California voters’ approval in 1998. The primary research question asked how policy entrepreneurs (both proponents and opponents of Proposition 227) attracted support for their preferred language education policies and what political mechanisms or strategies they perceived as most useful. The media are known to play a major role in propagating the claims and viewpoints espoused by individuals and groups on both sides of an issue (Grentzkow & Shapiro, 2010; Johnson, 2008; Schuefele & Tewksburg, 2007). Therefore, newspaper articles and televised interviews and debates posted on the Internet social media site YouTube served as my primary sources of data. Theory-driven descriptive analysis of the selected newspaper articles and videos revealed the creation of dramatic spectacle (Edelman, 1988, 2001; Goffman, 1959; Smith, 2004) by the policy entrepreneurs in cooperation with the media in an attempt to convince likely voters to support specific viewpoints and policies. I reason that an exploratory study such as mine that pays more attention to descriptive evidence than causal proof is warranted insofar as it encourages the discovery of new socio-political phenomena and promises to inform and, perhaps, help mitigate the persistent, limited success the United States has historically shown in achieving both an excellent and equitable system of

language education for immigrant students and ELs. In short, I think of careful description as an important tool that can help inform solutions to educational inequality and the contested arena of language education policymaking.

This chapter begins with a brief summary of the study's findings as they relate to the study's research questions. Next, the implications for future research and language education policy are presented. Finally, data-informed recommendations for the new language education initiative slated for the California ballot in November of 2016 are set forth.

Summary of Findings

Elements of Political Spectacle

To review, the seven elements of the political spectacle conceptual framework are: 1) symbolic language, 2) casting actors, 3), onstage and backstage actions, 4) dramaturgy, 5) illusion of rationality, 6) democratic participation as illusion, and 7) disconnection between means and ends (Edelman, 1988; Smith, 2004). All seven elements were found in the Proposition 227 campaign to varying degrees as presented in Chapter 4. The elements of political spectacle found in my study that were most prominent in answering my research questions were: 1) symbolic language; 2) casting actors; and 3) onstage/backstage actions. To reiterate, the elements are not mutually exclusive, but are presented separately for clarity.

Symbolic language.

Symbolic language serves to gloss over details and to hold the spectators in a fog or spell (Edelman, 1971; Miller-Kahn & Smith, 2001; Smith, 2004). Perhaps the most compelling example of the use of symbolic language found in the data was the “broken system” metaphor generated by the proponents of English-only education to characterize or frame bilingual education. Metaphors can influence education policy (Smith, 2004). The broken system metaphor is derived from the industrial/business metaphor that views schools as factories and students as raw materials (Smith, 2004).⁷⁰ For example, the headline from a *Modesto Bee* article reads, “Bilingual Ed: System Fails, Fix Elusive” (Giblin, 1998, April 27). The opponents apparently were not able to counter the image of BE as a broken system with metaphors of their own such as framing SEI as a “sink-or-swim” program. Research suggests that metaphors such as the broken system metaphor likely fit the preconceptions of the majority of voters who shared Unz’s assimilationist ideology (Lakoff, 2004; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Wolfe, 1999). In other words, the majority of voters may have already carried the industrial/business metaphor and viewed bilingual education as a failed program and, thus were primed to accept the conceptualization of BE as a broken system rather than the sink-or-swim metaphor of the opponents. Lakoff and Johnson (2003) suggest that metaphors go beyond language to include action and that people organize their actions according to the often taken-for-granted metaphors. The use of metaphor was one political mechanism or strategy

⁷⁰ The industrial metaphor can be traced back to the late 1800s in the U.S. during the industrial revolution when there was increased immigration and urbanization (Smith, 2004).

employed intentionally or unintentionally by proponents to garner support for Proposition 227.

Casting actors.

The casting of actors as leaders, heroes, and enemies is used in political spectacle to convince the public to support a candidate or issue or to disparage the opponent or the alternative policy. For example, the media consistently referred to Unz as a “wealthy computer executive” and “Silicon Valley businessman,” terms that carry connotations of high intelligence, success, and status (Hardy, 1998, May 6; Lewis, 1998, May 24; Maeshire, 1998, February 15). On the other hand, Holly Thier, the primary spokesperson for the opposition, was only identified by her affiliation with the opposing organization, Citizens for an Educated America: No on Proposition 227. Thier was virtually ignored by the media, casting her as less influential during the Proposition 227 campaign. The media also cast the proponents and opponents of the initiative as enemies engaged in an epic battle of words. Bilingual education advocates were forced to defend themselves against the attack of the Proposition 227 advocates and vice versa. The “argument is war” metaphor was perhaps uncritically employed by the media to cast the policy entrepreneurs as foes.

In addition, both the proponents and opponents cast themselves as caring for immigrant students and ELs while casting their adversaries in a negative light. For example, proponents of Proposition 227 cast their adversaries as greedy, heartless, and even as lawbreakers. Meanwhile, the opponents cast their adversaries as uncaring, mean-spirited, and misleading the public. For example, a southern California school board

member questioned the priorities of the proponents of Proposition 227 in a *Daily News of*

Los Angeles article:

They don't have the students as their top priority. They want grades to rise and test scores to be high, but yet they're chopping them [ELs] off at the legs.
(Maeshiro, 1998, February 15)

The dramatic image of ELs being crippled and the portrayal of policy entrepreneurs as greedy and uncaring may trigger emotional reactions rather than rational thinking in the minds of the public (Edelman, 1971; Smith, 2004). The general public is relegated to the role of spectator as the battle ensues. But what of the immigrant students and ELs whose educational futures depend upon the outcome?

Immigrant students and ELs were portrayed or cast by the policy entrepreneurs and the media in three primary ways. First, they were viewed as inanimate objects to be moved from one program to another similar to raw materials in the industrial/business metaphor. Second, they were portrayed as an overwhelming mass that threatened to inundate the public schools. Third, they were cast as victims who would be lost, abandoned or crippled by one policy or the other thus disparaging the alternative policy and those who support it. These findings led to the research question of what ideologies undergirded these characterizations of immigrant children and ELs. Investigating the *onstage/backstage actions* element of political spectacle contributed to answering this question.

Onstage/Backstage actions.

The importance of the onstage/backstage actions element of political spectacle is in how spectacle glosses over or even hides the real beneficiaries of the proposed policy. To review, political spectacle claims that benefits are negotiated behind-the-scenes or backstage (Edelman, 2001; Miller-Kahn & Smith, 2001; Wright, 2005). An examination of the data for the onstage/backstage actions of the proponents and opponents resulted in my finding that onstage, immigrant students and ELs were most often presented as the intended beneficiaries of the proposed Structured English Immersion (SEI) program mandated by Proposition 227 while backstage Unz and other proponents apparently reaped the benefits. To illustrate, the English language is declared by Proposition 227 to be “the language of economic opportunity.” Such policy, grounded in assimilationist ideology, places the majority language (English in this case) as the superior language with all other languages represented and viewed as less-than (Lippi-Green, 1997; Valenzuela, 1999). The idea is that those proficient in the majority language tend to receive social, economic, and academic advantages (Bourdieu, 1991; Bowles & Gintis, 1976; Ogbu, 1984). Conversely, those less proficient in the dominant language will likely not receive the same benefits. The continued achievement gap between ELs and native English speaking students seems to corroborate this reproduction model.

Advocates of bilingual education, on the other hand, view knowing more than one language as a benefit to immigrant students, ELs, and society as a whole (Crawford, 1995; Krashen, 1996; Neito, 2004). This pluralistic counter-message was nearly absent

from the media coverage of Proposition 227.⁷¹ The lack of a counterbalance to the assimilationist viewpoint and ideological stance found in the newspaper articles suggests that the media was collusive in propagating and reproducing the Melting Pot ideology of the proponents.

The findings presented thus far were derived deductively. They resulted from close descriptive analyses guided by a thorough conceptual understanding of political spectacle. The framework of spectacle helped to guide me through a large amount of media-data and shed light on how policy entrepreneurs leverage framing as a political tool that works to convey powerful messages via the media. As I have already pointed out, this sort of theory-guided descriptive analysis is important inasmuch as good description can lay the groundwork for the development of assertions and hypotheses upon which causal kinds of research can be developed. Yet a conceptual guide to what to look for in the data has the potential to distract the researcher from important observations that fall beyond the scope of the theory being used. My research approach and design allowed for other findings to emerge inductively from the data. For example, early on in my research I discovered that the issues of “local control” (i.e., centralized versus decentralized government) and “race talk” (i.e., talking or not talking about people in racial terms) were evident in the Proposition 227 campaign (Wirt & Kirst, 2001; Pollock, 2004). Close descriptive analyses of these emergent findings laid the

⁷¹ My study did not include editorials, commentaries or letters to the editor as does other research (Gonzalez-Carriedo, 2012; Wright, 2005). A more diverse representation of opinions can be found in those portions of the newspapers.

groundwork for a deeper understanding of the political strategies policy entrepreneurs employed and shed light on the timing and setting of patterns of effective policy entrepreneurship and framing. Combining these approaches—both deductive and inductive—was helpful in illuminating a wider range of findings. The following findings from the newspaper articles and YouTube videos required explanation beyond the political spectacle framework and were presented in detail in Chapter 5.

Crisscrossing Ideological Boundaries

In my reading and rereading of the newspaper articles and transcripts of the YouTube videos for this study, I noticed the issue of local control came up periodically. To make an advance in my understanding of this phenomenon, I looked at extant literature and determined that this was an example of crisscrossing of ideological boundaries (Stone, 2002). In the case of Proposition 227, opponents, who were usually considered to be progressive or liberal in ideology, claimed that the initiative would restrict local control in an attempt to garner opposition to the measure from the majority of conservative voters who typically value less big government (Lakoff, 2004; Reich, 2006a; Wirt & Kirst, 2005). The media pointed out the conservative proponents' inconsistency on the local control issue (Asimov, 1998, March 14). Proponents responded by admitting this inconsistency while at the same time limiting their stance on local control to the issue of bilingual education. For example, in *The San Francisco Chronicle*, one spokesperson for Proposition 227 stated, "When there are entrenched bureaucracies, local control still means lack of control" (Asimov, 1998, March 14). Unz and other proponents responded that Proposition 227 actually provided more local control

because of the ability of local districts to accept or reject parent waivers requesting bilingual instruction for their child. They failed to mention that the California Department of Education would oversee any disputes between parents and school districts, however (Proposition 227). The movement away from local control of schools since *A Nation at Risk* has created a shift in power and authority based on the view that public schools are failing students and society (Henig, 2013; McDonnell & Elmore, 1987; Wirt & Kirst, 2005). This shift in power is one possible explanation for the boundary crossing of policy entrepreneurs during the Proposition 227 campaign.

Once I discovered this interesting phenomenon, I looked for other instances in the data. Other instances of crisscrossing ideological boundaries in the Proposition 227 campaign included those related to economic issues and shared values such as equity, efficiency, liberty and choice (Stone, 2002; Wirt & Kirst, 2005). For example, the generally progressive and equity-minded opponents attacked the generally conservative and efficiency-oriented proponents for supporting the expenditure of \$50 million per year for Community-based Tutoring. Evaluation of the shared values mentioned above that are supplemental to the liberal-conservative dichotomy provide another possible explanation for this phenomenon (Kingdon, 1995; Reich, 1988; Wirt & Kirst, 2005).

Further evidence supporting the phenomenon of crisscrossing of ideological boundaries came from the change in public opinion poll results over time, especially toward the end of the campaign. For example, both Democratic and Republican voter support for Proposition 227 declined in the last weeks of the campaign. This evidence indicates that ideological boundaries are less rigid and more complex than is often

assumed to be the case. It also indicates how educational institutions have become politicized such that policy entrepreneurs are willing to passionately advocate for their preferred policies and curricular programs regardless of their personal political or ideological backgrounds (Ravitch, 1985).

Wedge Issues

Another finding of my study requiring further investigation was how the media in particular represented Proposition 227 as a wedge issue based on race. Evidence from newspaper articles showed that the terms “race” or “racial” were mentioned by proponents and journalists, but not opponents of the initiative. As described in Chapter 5, Unz and other proponents attempted to distance Proposition 227 from the previous California initiatives 187 and 209 that were considered anti-immigrant and racially-based respectively. At the same time, they accused the opponents of racially segregating ELs in separate classrooms. I found that the issue of race was usually couched in civil rights language by both proponents and opponents of the initiative. For instance, one opponent of Proposition 227 said in a *Modesto Bee* quote, “We’re going back to the 1960s” in a likely reference to the Civil Rights Movement (Phillips, 1998, March 23). Being attentive to the aforementioned surprises in the data allowed me to offer a more rich and elaborative explanation of how political language mattered in the Proposition 227 campaign (Agar, 1980).

In sum, The Proposition 227 campaign had all the characteristics of political spectacle. The creation of political spectacle hides the true beneficiaries of the policies

behind a smoke-screen of symbols and drama, thus relegating the rest of us to spectators who have little knowledge about the educational policies or the individual students whose academic futures depend upon those policies (Wright, 2005). Symbolic language such as metaphor was used to influence likely voters in the Proposition 227 campaign.

Supporters of Proposition 227 presented metaphors and narratives that were permeated with assimilationist ideology that was congenial with the political values of the majority of voters (Kahan et al., 2013; Lakoff, 2004; Wolfe, 1999). The media played a major role in the spectacle by casting leaders and enemies. In addition, immigrant students and ELs were cast by the policy entrepreneurs and the media as objects, an overwhelming mass, and victims. Yet I believe the Proposition 227 campaign was not primarily about English (or Spanish) for the children. Immigrant children and ELs were presented onstage as the beneficiaries while backstage proponents hoped to reap benefits in the form of voter support for their viewpoint and, possibly, higher political status in this contentious battle over bilingual versus English-only education. The symbolic language, casting actors, and onstage/backstage elements of political spectacle were the most insightful in helping to answer my research questions regarding what mechanisms were viewed as most useful by proponents and opponents, how media portrayed policy entrepreneurs and immigrant students, and what underlying ideologies motivated their actions.

Other findings derived inductively from the data showed how policy entrepreneurs engaged in a crisscrossing of political boundaries in order to garner support for their viewpoints. The proponents who were usually considered to be conservative in

leanings opposed local control of curricular decisions regarding BE and supported expenditure of government money for Community-Based Tutoring for immigrant students and ELs. The opponents who characteristically were more progressive in their values, favored local control and opposed the influx of government funds. It appears that the policy entrepreneurs' passion for propagating their preferred policies overrode their partisan and ideological backgrounds meaning they placed winning the battle regarding bilingual education above their political and ethical stances.

Finally, how the media attempted to characterize Proposition 227 as a wedge issue based on race shed light on the way proponents and opponents couched "race talk" in the language of civil rights (Pollock, 2004). Even though proponents tried to distance Proposition 227 from the issue of race, they accused their opponents of being racially motivated. Though infrequent in the data, race is an emotionally-charged issue that may make it matter proportionally more as Pollock found in her study of district-wide education policy reform. The implications of these findings for future research and language education policy are presented in the following section.

Implications for Future Research

Policy Entrepreneurs and the Media

Recently, researchers have paid increasing attention to how the media influences education reform. This research has looked at a spectrum of education policy including federal reforms such as No Child Left Behind (Anderson, 2007), district-wide school choice policy (Miller-Kahn & Smith, 2001), desegregation policy (Smith, 2004), and

language education policy (Gonzalez-Carriedo, 2013; Wright, 2005). Research on both how the media influences education policy and how policy entrepreneurs and other policy actors grab the attention of media is sparse. As described in Chapter 2, Miller-Kahn & Smith (2001) investigated the way newspapers represent leaders and found that one policy entrepreneur can effect policy change with the aid (either wittingly or unwittingly) of the media in the case of school choice policy. Wright's (2005) study of Proposition 203 in Arizona focused primarily on how elected officials responded to the initiative rather than on the policy entrepreneurs who proposed it. He included events such as staged political speeches covered by media as well as newspaper editorials and letters to the editor as data in his study. He found that the media assisted in the creation of spectacle by broadcasting the staged events and by their editorializing and choice of letters to include in the newspapers. More research is needed that investigates the back-and-forth relationship between the media and policy entrepreneurs and how this interplay may influence public opinion.

In conducting my analysis, I discovered the value of looking beyond the literature found in articles and books authored by educational researchers. I found that literature from media studies as well as political science bolstered my analyses. I encourage educational researchers interested in the area of media studies to find colleagues in the communications or media studies as well as political science disciplines to join them in this endeavor. Such interdisciplinary collaboration could extend the knowledge for these fields and possibly reveal new ideas and explanations of the reciprocal dynamic between policy entrepreneurs and the media that might otherwise be overlooked. For example, I

found Kingdon's (1995) classic work on public policies complimented and extended Edelman's political spectacle framework giving me a better understanding of how policy entrepreneur Unz was able to push Proposition 227 to the forefront of the public policy agenda. The following section looks at Kingdon's work in more detail.

Policy Windows and Policy Streams

Chapter 4 described how Unz's background as a grandchild of immigrants combined with the critical political event of the immigrant parent boycott and the failure of the California legislature to reauthorize the Bilingual-bicultural Education Act of 1966 created a policy gap that the SEI program proposed by Proposition 227 was designed to fill. A policy window opened that Unz was quick to step through. Kingdon (1995) proposes policy windows open when there is a joining of the problem, policy, and political streams. The *problem stream* addresses how a problem grabs the attention of important people in and around government. The *policy stream* is conceptualized as the generation of policy alternatives with the ones that have the most likelihood of success rising to the top. The *political stream* is composed of swings in national mood, determination of the balance of support and opposition, events within government such as battles over turf, and consensus building. I surmise that Kingdon's classic research on agenda setting within official government processes under the purview of elected officials can be extended to the direct initiative process with some slight modifications.

Regarding the *problem stream*, in the case of Proposition 227 Unz did not primarily seek to grab the attention of government officials as in the formal agenda-setting process set forth by Kingdon (1995). Rather, he sought to gain the attention of the

media and to garner support from the voting public. As a policy entrepreneur, he was adept at linking his policy solution to the problem and painting BE as the source of the problem via the media. This strategy virtually eliminated BE as a policy alternative elevating SEI to the top of the “policy primeval soup” (Kingdon, 1995, p. 116).⁷²

The *political stream* consists of such things as public mood, pressure group campaigns, and elections results, to name a few (Kingdon, 1995). The political stream appears to be weaker in the initiative process because it does not depend heavily on within government actions such as battles over turf and consensus building. I did detect a change in public mood at the state level rather than national level as Kingdon highlights. A definite swing in public sentiment or mood against special treatment for underprivileged groups was indicated by California Propositions 187 and 209. Also, there seemed to be a growing mistrust of educators and teachers’ unions as indicated by Propositions 223 and 226 which appeared on the same ballot as 227, as discussed in Chapter 4. Rather than events within government such as battles over turf and consensus building, it was the state legislature’s lack of ability to reach consensus and constant battle over bilingual education that provided a policy gap that policy entrepreneur Unz’s proposed Proposition 227 filled. In fact, most government officials avoided taking a stand on the initiative until late in the campaign (Aryal, 1998). Kingdon calls this the

⁷² Kingdon (1995) equates generating policy alternatives to the process of biological natural selection where ideas float around in communities of researchers, academics, interest group analysts, and congressional staffers, to name a few. Many of these ideas (or molecules) float around in the “soup”, but only some last or survive.

“bandwagon” phenomenon where some politicians jump onboard the bandwagon at the last minute so that they will not miss out on the benefits should the policy pass.

It appears all three streams were joined in the case of Proposition 227, albeit with differing strengths, and, consequently, opened a policy window. Further research is needed to determine whether or not the joining of the three streams is evident in opening the window of opportunity for other direct democracy initiatives. Also, research comparing the strength of the streams in the process of opening policy windows and the media’s role in the process would help extend the knowledge.

Significance of Study

This study is particularly relevant because it sheds light upon the issue of how political language matters in language education policy targeting immigrant students and English learners. By analyzing the speech, images, and staging of the Proposition 227 campaign, this research has revealed: 1) the primary ideology expressed either openly or covertly by policy entrepreneurs and the media was assimilationist in general and forced assimilation in particular (Portes & Rumbault, 2001); 2) the media coverage was spectacle rather than objective reporting as shown by the focus on proponents and opponents rather than the details of the policy itself; 3) Onstage immigrant students and ELs were paraded as the beneficiaries of the policy while backstage Unz and non-Hispanic White native citizens of California reaped the academic and economic benefits since they were carriers of the mainstream language and culture (Bourdieu, 1991).

This study was also important because it addressed a gap in the literature concerning how political spectacle is initiated. Both Edelman (2001) and Wright (2005)

suggest that more study needs to be done to reveal the beginnings of spectacles. My study addresses this gap in the literature by tracing the origins of Proposition 227 from quotes by Unz found in the media. Both his personal experiences of having grandparents who immigrated from Italy and his assimilationist views were fertile ground for the development of Proposition 227. Further research is needed to see if there are any patterns such as the influence of the background experiences of the policy entrepreneurs on how policies germinate.

My study extended previous research by finding that political spectacle can apply to news and feature stories alone without including editorials or letters to the editor. News stories that convey basic information such as dates, times and locations, are considered by journalists and readers to be politically neutral, according to Johnson (2008). When news articles include the veiled opinions of journalists as influenced by policy entrepreneurs, however, they can take on the character of an editorial even though they appear in the news or feature sections of the newspaper (Johnson, 2008). In other words, spectacle is not confined to the opinion sections of the newspapers. Journalists and readers alike need to be consciously aware of this lack of neutrality in order to more accurately present and interpret news events. Journalists need to question the assumption that their reporting is neutral simply because they address both sides of an issue in a somewhat equal manner (Aryal, 1998). Readers need to be aware that numbers are not neutral, but are subject to interpretation (Stone, 2002).

Similar to Miller-Kahn and Smith (2001) in school choice policy, I found policy entrepreneurs can influence the outcomes of contested high-stakes educational issues

with the intentional or unintentional collaboration of the media. Unz pushed Proposition 227 through to passage by providing ample amounts of his own time and money. The media played a major role in propagating his views thereby contributing to his success. More studies that focus on the relationship between policy entrepreneurs and the media are needed for comparison to see whether or not these cases are the exception or the rule.

Finally, my study is significant because of its interdisciplinary methodological approach. I drew from media-effects (Aryal, 1998; Gentzkow & Shapiro, 2010; Santa Ana & Treviño, 2007; Johnson, 2008), education (Anderson, 2007; Gibson, 1988; Gonzalez-Carriedo, 2012; Nicholls, 2012; Miller-Kahn & Smith, 2001; Pollock, 2004; Smith, 2004; Valdés, 2001; Valenzuela, 1999; Wright, 2005), and political science (Edelman, 1971, 1988, 2001; Kingdon, 1995; Tatalovich, 1995) literature. I used both a deductive and an inductive approach in my study as discussed earlier. I also employed the latest QSR NVivo software in my coding analysis of the YouTube videos. The Internet is increasingly being used as a tool to disseminate information of all sorts. Political events are quickly and easily broadcast via the Web. Researchers need to take this source of material into account when gathering data and analyzing policies. How to incorporate so-called “big data” into research designs in a convincing manner is quite a challenge (Boyd & Crawford, 2013). The difficulties I experienced in conducting my research and the limitations of my study are discussed in the following section.

Methodological Issues and Limitations

My study focused on a specific case, Proposition 227. I endeavored to present a detailed account of the way policy entrepreneurs used language to elicit support for or

opposition to the initiative via the media. I used an interpretive policy analysis approach to reveal the meanings the initiative had for the policy entrepreneurs and other policy actors. As is the case in virtually all empirical studies, however, this research is not without limitations. I recognize that interpretation is always partial and subject to reinterpretation (Spindler & Spindler, 1982). No one interpretation can fully explain the phenomenon being studied (Erickson, 1986; Hammersley & Atkinson, 2003, Yanow, 1995). The use of the English-speaking news media as my primary source of data gives a limited sample of information and viewpoints. This limitation can be at least partially overcome by studying one specific case in-depth and including multiple observations and various sources of data.

I faced several difficulties in conducting my study. First, I had limited experience with studying media-effects as well as limited background in political science and these limits in my reach across disciplines provided an intellectual challenge. For example, there is terminology unique to each discipline that required my finding additional resources to help me comprehend the complex concepts and terms. Gonzalez-Carriedo's (2012) media study was invaluable in directing me to helpful research as well as providing a model for presenting my data. Again, I recommend educational researchers work with scholars from other disciplines when attempting a study such as this one in order to gain assistance in understanding the terminology and theoretical concepts that pertain to that field of study.

Second, interpretive policy analysis is a relatively new approach to research. There was limited literature available to guide my study. Fortunately, Wright's (2005)

media study used an interpretive policy approach as well as the conceptual framework of political spectacle (Edelman, 1988; Smith, 2004; Yanow, 2000). Reading his work helped me visualize how to analyze my data and report my findings. Similar to Wright, my study did not include personal interviews, so it did not strictly follow the methods of interpretive policy analysis as outlined by Yanow (2000). Altheide (1987) provided a protocol which I adapted for my study. His focus on televised media assisted my analysis of the YouTube videos.

The decision to include YouTube videos was new territory and required extra work and planning on my part. The interpretive concept of researcher as participant was brought to life as I watched the videos. I found myself reacting, sometimes aloud, to the computer screen. My emotions were often aroused as I viewed the videos thus enacting political spectacle as I did my analysis. For example, I observed several contradictions in the responses given by Unz regarding the content of Proposition 227 and potential outcomes of the initiative should it pass that were contained in the televised coverage of the campaign. Admittedly, my initial response was to view these contradictory statements as outright lies intended to mislead the audience in order to further his cause. I became angry and found myself thinking less-than complimentary thoughts about Mr. Unz. On these occasions, I had to step away from my research and purposefully remind myself to refocus on the perspectives of the participants. I strove to be self-consciously distanced rather than directly involved in what was going on (Edleman, 1971) and to return my attention to the meaning that “what is going on here” had for the actors themselves (Agar, 1980; Erickson, 1986; Hammersley & Atkinson, 2003).

Third, narrowing my sample to a manageable size for coding and analysis proved to be quite a task. Studies reviewed for this study that were similar to mine had at least two authors working together and often employed undergraduate students to help with the coding (Ayril, 1998; Brown & Wright, 2011; Santa Ana & Treviño, 2007). For example, Brown and Wright (2011) in their media study of the universal public pre-K movement shared data and cross-checked codes to facilitate analysis. In the future, I would definitely train volunteers or hire others to help with coding the articles.

During analysis I used two different qualitative computer programs to code the data. When I began my study, I selected the Tropes software program because I found a recent media study of for-profit higher-education that used that program (Gramling, 2011). Later, I discovered the latest QSR NVivo 10 program that allows the researcher to import video material and transcribe and code it. In the future I would likely only use NVivo for coding both the articles and videos for this type of study as doing so would provide a more consistent form of analysis.

Fourth, I learned the need for a careful consideration of the data to be selected in a study. My decision not to include editorials and letters to the editor reduced the pool of articles. Choosing two newspapers from each region of California necessitated using ones from larger markets so as to have sufficient articles for my study. The *San Francisco Chronicle* and the *San Jose Mercury News* from northern California are considered major publishing markets. They also had a sufficient number of articles that met my research criterion. I selected the *Fresno Bee* and *Modesto Bee* for the central California newspapers because an interpretive approach seeks the local perspective on

events (Yanow, 2000). I eliminated the *Sacramento Bee* because I noticed that many of its articles were reprints from the *San Francisco Chronicle* or other major newspapers. The southern region had three newspapers that had a sufficient number of articles meeting the research criterion; the *Los Angeles Times*, the *Daily News of Los Angeles*, and the *Orange County Register*. The *Los Angeles Times* alone contained 25 articles that met the research criteria. The other two newspapers had a total of 13 articles that qualified. I decided to focus on the *Daily News of Los Angeles* which was the second major newspaper from the southern region and the *Orange County Register* since they targeted a more local audience. Most media studies only include newspapers from major markets such as the *San Francisco Chronicle* and *Los Angeles Times*. My decision to not include the *Los Angeles Times* may be seen as a weakness in my study. I decided to focus on the less studied media markets in southern California to extend the literature. It would be interesting to apply the same coding to the *Los Angeles Times* articles to see what differences and similarities might arise in comparative analysis and findings. I will leave these comparisons for my future research as well.

In addition, research that compares media reporting in languages other than English is sorely needed. Including Spanish-language media may have provided insight into a diversity of ideological stances and how a wide range of media may influence public opinion as Gozalez-Carriedo (2012) found in his study.

Implications for Language Education Policy

It is clear that Proposition 227 did not succeed in accomplishing its goal of closing the achievement gap between immigrant students whose first language is not

English and native-born, native speakers of English (California Department of Education, 2013; Umansky & Reardon, 2014). My study reveals how underlying ideologies about how immigrant students and ELs should be educated played a role in the origins, campaign, and passage of Proposition 227. Specifically, I found evidence of the Melting Pot ideology in the speech of proponents, opponents, and the reporting of journalists. Other research shows how underlying ideologies influence teaching practices for ELs (Lambert, 1975; Pacheco, 2012; Nicholls, 2012; Olivo, 2003). Language education policy that fails to take into consideration the underlying ideological foundation for the policy will likely cause unintended negative consequences or may even have the opposite outcome from the one(s) intended by the policymakers (Edelman, 2001; Portes & Rumbault, 2001; Stone, 2002; Wildavsky, 1987).

The historical and sociopolitical contexts of language education policy should not be disregarded. Proposition 227 was linked with the earlier contentious Propositions 187 and 209 by the media. Although both Republicans and Democrats were slow to endorse Proposition 227, the media played a role in politicizing the initiative by portraying it as a political battle between English-only and bilingual education advocates (Aryal, 1998; Ravitch, 1985). Knowledge of how the media functions as a mechanism of political and social change can help language education policymakers be more effective in disseminating their views and policies as well as countering the rhetoric of their opponents (Aryal, 1998; García & Kleifgen, 2010).

Top down education policy cannot be successful without the cooperation and understanding of those who are responsible for implementing it (Fullan, 2000; Kelman,

1988; Lipsky, 1980; Mazmanian & Sabatier, 1989; McLaughlin, 1987). Any policy is subject to this limitation. Yet, highly ideological policies such as those related to the issue of language education may be even more vulnerable to this lack of fidelity in implementation. Policymakers should seek input from those who are responsible for implementing the policy to minimize the disconnection between policy requirements and implementation. The lack of clear guidelines from the California Department of Education prior to the required implementation date of fall 1998 left the districts with the responsibility of interpreting the statute themselves. This resulted in confusion and local variations in implementation based on the administrations' preferences regarding how best to educate ELs (Gándara et al., 2000; Parish et al., 2002). Implementation even differed from classroom to classroom within districts (Nicholls, 2012; Olivo, 2003; Pacheco, 2010; Parish et al., 2002).

The initiative process itself also is in need of scrutiny. California is considered a trend-setting state when it comes to citizens serving as so-called "election-day lawmakers" (Smith & Tolbert, 2001, p. 739). Concerns have been raised about the use of direct ballot initiatives to propel candidates' campaigns and increase voter turnout for the favored party. For example, Governor Pete Wilson ran prime-time television ads linking Proposition 187 to his own campaign with images of people running across the California-Mexico border (Campbell, Wong, & Citrin, 2006). While Californians typically support the initiative process, they also are willing to support reform (Baldassare, 2013). Among possible changes are increased legislative involvement via improved communication between the policy entrepreneurs and the lawmakers before an

initiative goes to the ballot, increased public disclosure of funding sources for signature gathering and initiative campaigns, and using volunteers rather than paid workers to gather signatures (Baldassare, 2013).⁷³

Finally, language education policy and the concomitant messages conveyed by policy entrepreneurs and the media should be carefully examined for hegemonic undertones. The limited educational effectiveness of policies with the hegemony of English have been widely documented (Cummins, 2000; Lippi-Green, 1997; Portés & Rumbaut, 2001, 2006; Schmid, 2001; Valdés, 2001; Valenzuela, 1999). English-only and bilingual education advocates agree that learning English is essential to academic and social success. Whether language instruction should allow for use of the primary language or not is the issue. Given the failure of both bilingual education and English-only policies to close the achievement gap, other structural factors such as deep, often institutionalized issues of power such as class and race should be considered when proposing policy solutions. Policy alone cannot address these deeper issues, however. Teachers, administrators, school boards, parents, and students should all be engaged in effecting changes that will lead to more democratic and equitable language education policies for ELs in the future.

⁷³ The most recent example of changes to the direct initiative process in California which encompasses many of these ideas is SB 1253 signed into law by Governor Brown on September 27, 2014. For one, this statute allows for the legislature to engage with proponents of an initiative in order to implement solutions circumventing the need for the issue to go before the voters. Retrieved from <http://gov.ca.gov/news.php?id=18735>

Epilogue

Little did I know when I began my study that language education policy would become the focus of another direct democracy initiative in California. The “California Education for a Global Economy Initiative” (SB 1174) is due to appear on the November 2016 statewide general election ballot. This new bill is intended “to amend and repeal various provisions of Proposition 227” (SB 1174). The bill would, among other things, delete the SEI requirement and parental waiver provisions substituting "that school districts and county offices of education shall, at a minimum, provide English learners with a structured English immersion program" and would "authorize parents or legal guardians of pupils ... to choose a language acquisition program that best suits their child." Taking what I have learned in this study of the Proposition 227 campaign as political spectacle, I make these observations about the new initiative (See Appendix K). First, how SB 1174 is framed is of utmost importance. The periodical article about this new initiative mentioned in the Introduction to my study immediately framed the measure as a bilingual education issue despite the consistent and repeated use of the terms, “multilingual” and “multilingualism” in the bill (Ash, 2014). In fact, the bill does not use the word “bilingual” even once. Bilingual education is an ambiguous term that carries different meanings for different people (Edelman, 2001). A challenge for the proponents of the bill will be to convince the media to frame the bill as a multilingual education rather than a bilingual education bill. Yet, as cognitive metaphor theory would predict, the voters’ predispositions toward languages other than English will likely be triggered by any references to language issues (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003; Mora, 2009).

The title of the bill, “California Education for a Global Economy Initiative,” may be an attempt to frame it as a needed change in education policy in order for California to keep ahead in an increasingly global marketplace. The alternative title is, “California Ed. G.E. Initiative.” Neither title carries the symbolic weight of “English for the Children.” How will this bland title attract the attention of the media much less the voters? The proponents need to coin a phrase or metaphor that will catch the attention of the media and elicit support from the voters. I suggest the phrase “Economic Success for All” might capture the gist of the bill, if it is framed as an economic issue rather than a language issue.

Three types of “language acquisition programs” are listed in the bill: 1) Dual-language immersion programs; 2) Transitional or developmental programs; and 3) Structured English immersion programs. The educational program choices are “not limited to” these three as long as they are “informed by research” and “lead to grade level proficiency and academic achievement in both English and another language” (SB 1174, Sec. 4). I expect the opponents of this bill will point out the ambiguity of this section and question the inclusion of proficiency in “another language.” Also, the phrase “informed by research” opens the door for a debate over the merits of research on bilingual versus English-only education. Such ambiguous language falls under the category of use of symbolic language in the political spectacle framework. In order to avoid eliciting the bilingual education versus English-only education debate, these terms must be more clearly defined in the measure or avoided altogether, if possible (Edelman, 2001).⁷⁴

⁷⁴ Edelman (2001) claims that it is “impossible to formulate a nonambiguous sentence” (p. 80).

A better approach might be to inundate the media with success stories from immigrant students and ELs as well as English-speaking students in dual-language programs that teach languages other than English/Spanish. Stories are a powerful means of persuasion (Stone, 2002). Unz apparently used the story of the immigrant parent boycott to elicit support for Proposition 227. Human interest stories draw the attention of the media and the general public usually because they elicit emotional responses such as fears, hopes, or threats (Edelman, 2001). Inundating the general public with stories of hope for the academic success of ELs via dual-language programs could encourage positive feelings toward those programs. This tactic needs to begin early in the campaign and persist until the day of the election.

Proponents of SB 1174 point to changing demographics within California as an indicator of a shift in political dynamics favoring multilingual education (Ash, 2014). The challenge is to translate that change into results at the ballot box. What might have the most impact on whether or not SB 1174 passes is the change in voter demographics since 1998. A 2014 report by the Public Policy Institute of California found that 62% of likely voters are White (Baldassare, Bonner, & Shrestha, 2014). Latinos make up only 17% of likely voters and Asians make up 14% of likely voters. There are still a much larger percentage of active White voters than Latino or Asian voters in the state. One strategy would be to motivate the 31% of infrequent Latino voters to get out to the polls. Yet, not all Latino voters will necessarily vote yes on the measure. This activation of Latino voters would need to start soon if it is to have any chance of impacting the outcome of the election. The fact that the November 2016 general election on which the

new initiative will appear is also a presidential election may help increase Latino voter turnout. It will likely bring more voters in general to the polls as well, rendering the increase in Latino voters moot.

My study strongly suggests that the ideological leanings of voters may be a better indicator than ethnic background of how the initiative will fare. The PPIC study mentioned above found ideologically 34% of all likely voters are politically liberal, 29% are moderate, and 38% are conservative. The challenge for both proponents and opponents of the new bill will be to persuade the 29% ideologically moderate voters to support their stance. I would recommend targeting those voters in the initiative campaign by using language that is strategically framed to assuage their fears regarding the social and economic impact of the lagging academic achievement of ELs in California public schools. Political spectacle proposes that policies that either evoke fears or reassure the general public can be effective in garnering support for a policy.

I expect the issue of immigration and immigrant rights will also appear in the SB 1174 campaign. The author of the bill, state Senator Ricardo Lara, is the former Chair of the California Latino Legislative Caucus. This organization supports immigrant rights and immigration reform. As my study indicates, immigration issues and language education have been inextricably linked since early in our nation's history. Certainly, these issues are just as contentious today as they were in 1998. I doubt the supporters of SB 1174 will be able to isolate the bill from the immigration debate.

In conclusion, my hope is that meeting the language education needs of immigrant students and ELs will not be pushed to the background in the SB 1174

campaign as it was during the Proposition 227 campaign. The cultural, linguistic, socioeconomic, and racial/ethnic challenges that the majority of immigrant students face in learning a new language and succeeding in a new culture must not be ignored. Policy entrepreneurs and the media must recognize the power of language to influence public opinion. Symbolic language such as sound bites and metaphors do not begin to capture the complexity of the task of educating immigrant students and ELs in California public schools. The assumption that a focus on leaders and data-based arguments are most pertinent to solving the problem of the achievement gap between ELs and native-speakers of English avoids giving serious thought to the underlying ideologies that perpetuate social inequalities (Edelman, 2001). All policy actors and stakeholders, including journalists, need to attend to the ideologies that undergird the viewpoints expressed in political speech and the media and move beyond the English-only/bilingual education debate in order to ensure a successful and meaningful education for this significant population of students in California schools. Authentic change in language education policy reform requires a critical look at how spectacle is constructed by policy entrepreneurs and the media and finding ways to interrupt the dramaturgy. Policy entrepreneurs who advocate for immigrant students and ELs must employ the elements of political spectacle in such a way that this population of students reaps the benefit, not the politicians themselves. If society is to benefit from the improved academic achievement of ELs, then these students must truly be the beneficiaries of any language education policy proposal.

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APPENDIX A

Timeline of Political Events Leading up to Proposition 227 (1965 – 1996)

Year	Legislation Title	Intent
1965	Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (ESEA)	Promotes equal access to education particularly for children of poverty
1968	Bilingual Education Act of 1968 (Title VII of ESEA)	Provides federal aid for schools experimenting with bilingual approaches (does not mandate bilingual education)
1974	<i>Lau v. Nichols</i> (based on Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and guidelines the Office of Civil Rights issued in 1970)	Provides “education on equal terms” for language minority students
1976	Chacón-Moscone Bilingual-Bicultural Education Act of 1976 (AB 1329)	Requires that California school districts provide EL students with equal educational opportunities and calls bilingual education a right for ELs
1980	Bilingual Education Improvement and Reform Act (AB 507) update of AB 1329 (1976)	Mandates that districts provide bilingual instruction for nearly all LEP student in California public schools

1982	<i>Plyler v. Doe</i> (U.S. Supreme Court)	Provides undocumented children the constitutional right to a free public education
1986	Assembly Bill 2813 introduced to extend AB 1329 vetoed by Governor Deukmejian	Extends bilingual education requirements to 1992 (vetoed)
1987	Chacón-Moscone Bilingual-Bicultural Education Act of 1976 (AB 1329) allowed to sunset	Turns control of language education policy over to local districts and schools
1992	California Language Minority Education Act (SB 2026) vetoed by Governor Wilson	Increases number of ELs required for native language instruction. Provides waivers for school districts with shortage of bilingual teachers. (Vetoed)
1994	Proposition 187: “Save Our State” (SOS) initiative ^a	Prohibits illegal immigrants from using health care, public education, and other social services in CA
1996	English Learners Education Reform Act of 1998 (SB 6) never reached a legislative vote	Implements a system of accountability standards for assessment of EL progress

Note. ^aIn 1997, the federal 9th Circuit Court of Appeals declared some of Proposition 187 unconstitutional. California Governor Grey Davis did not appeal resulting in the law never being enforced.

APPENDIX B

Types of Programs for English Learners Available Prior to 1998

Program Label	Definition	Purpose
English as a Second Language (ESL)	Students receive specified periods of instruction either inside or outside the mainstream classroom.	To develop general English-language skills.
Content-based ESL	Students receive specified periods of ESL instruction structured around academic content.	To develop English-language skills and grade-level content knowledge.
Sheltered instruction	Students receive subject matter instruction in English, modified to make it accessible to them at their levels of English proficiency.	To increase understanding and acquisition of English.
Structured immersion	All students in the program are ELs. They receive instruction in English, with an attempt to adjust the level of English to their levels of proficiency.	To teach English and to make subject matter more comprehensible.
Transitional bilingual education	Most students in the program are ELs. They receive some degree of native language instruction.	To transition ELs to English as rapidly as possible.
Maintenance bilingual education	Most students in the program are ELs from the same primary language background. They receive a significant amount of native language instruction.	To develop English-language proficiency and academic proficiency in the native language.
Two-way or dual-immersion bilingual programs	About half of the students are native speakers of English and the other half are ELs from the same primary language background.	To develop academic proficiency in both languages for both groups of students.

Adapted from August & Hakuta, 1997

APPENDIX C

Protocol for Newspaper Articles and YouTube Videos

Newspaper or YouTube video title/area of CA: _____

Date: _____ Year: _____

Page/Section of Article: _____ Orientation of Headline/Article _____

Headline of Article: _____

Length of Article in words: _____ Document Number _____

Length of YouTube Video in minutes: _____ Producer _____

Identified individuals or groups:

Most relevant words, key phrases, metaphors, and/or stories by category:

Element(s) of Edelman's Theory: _____

References:

Relations:

Theme(s):

APPENDIX D

Proposition 227: Article 1

This initiative measure is submitted to the people in accordance with the provisions of Article II, Section 8 of the Constitution.

This initiative measure adds sections to the Education Code; therefore, new provisions proposed to be added are printed in *italic type* to indicate that they are new.

PROPOSED LAW

SECTION 1. Chapter 3 (commencing with Section 300) is added to Part 1 of the Education Code, to read:

Chapter 3. English Language Education for Immigrant Children

Article 1. Findings and Declarations

300. The People of California find and declare as follows:

(a) Whereas, The English language is the national public language of the United States of America and of the State of California, is spoken by the vast majority of California residents, and is also the leading world language for science, technology, and international business, thereby being the language of economic opportunity; and

(b) Whereas, Immigrant parents are eager to have their children acquire a good knowledge of English, thereby allowing them to fully participate in the American Dream of economic and social advancement; and

(c) Whereas, The government and the public schools of California have a moral obligation and a constitutional duty to provide all of California's children, regardless of their ethnicity or national origins, with the skills necessary to become productive members of our society, and of these skills, literacy in the English language is among the most important; and

(d) Whereas, The public schools of California currently do a poor job of educating immigrant children, wasting financial resources on costly experimental language programs whose failure over the past two decades is demonstrated by the current high drop-out rates and low English literacy levels of many immigrant children; and

(e) Whereas, Young immigrant children can easily acquire full fluency in a new language, such as English, if they are heavily exposed to that language in the classroom at an early age.

(f) Therefore, It is resolved that: all children in California public schools shall be taught English as rapidly and effectively as possible.

APPENDIX E

Tropes Textual Analysis of Connection Rate for Top Three Relations by Frequency

Relations	Freq.	Rate
student > england	10	50%
england > speaker	8	80%
migrant > child	6	66.67%

Note: Some of the words that are grouped together as References require interpretation. For example the Reference “england” contains the word “English” as in English language and “migrant” contains the word “immigrant”.

The table shows that the Relations “england” and “speaker” have an 80% connection rate in this article while “student” and “england” have a 50% connection rate. The high connection rates indicate that producing English speakers or students who speak English is the emphasis of this article. The following paragraph shows the *Tropes* printout for the Relations “england > speaker” that has an 80% connection rate.

“Bilingual Education” is an umbrella term for an array of programs intended to help non-**English** speakers learn English without compromising their academics, and the percentage of limited-**English** speakers in each program: Mainstream academics with native **English** speakers, 220,393 (16 percent) These classes are mainly for native **English** speakers. Often, up to half of students enrolled are native **English** speakers who want to learn a second language. She said the waiver rule would apply to native **English** speakers and nonnative speakers alike. Students in the city's bilingual education programs greatly outperformed native **English** speakers on math tests in middle and high school. On a 99-point scale, middle school students who receive bilingual education outperformed native **English** speakers in reading and math

This result can be compared with a connection rate of 15.38% for Relations “student > bilingual_education” which only occurred two (2) times in the article.

Students in the city's bilingual education programs greatly outperformed native English speakers on math tests in middle and high school. On a 99-point scale, middle school **students** who receive bilingual education outperformed native English speakers in reading and math

APPENDIX F

EXAMPLE OF MATRIX FOR NEWSPAPER ARTICLES

METAPHORS	STORIES	ELEMENTS	OTHER
Doc #6			
Machine (BE Act)	Hope (pro) (opp)	SL(Metaphor), O/B, R, CA	
War	Decline (pro) (opp)		
Game			
Mass (#ELs)			
—			
Doc #55			
War (pro-opp)	Strict Parent		Unz quote
Machine (BE)	Civil Rights (taking seat at back)	SL(Ambiguous), CA, R	“not son of 187”
Lost (children)	(staged a boycott)		
—			
Doc #124			
War (pro-opp)		SL(Metaphor)	Little Hoover
Drowning (sink-or-swim)			good quotes

APPENDIX H

List of Nodes Used in Coding Transcripts of YouTube Videos

- | | |
|-------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. Assimilation | 20. Stories |
| 2. Caring | 21. Strict Parent |
| 3. Casting Actors | 22. Symbolic Language (Ambiguous) |
| 4. Civil Rights | 23. Wedge Issue |
| 5. Contradictions | |
| 6. Dramaturgy | |
| 7. ELs | |
| 8. English-only | |
| 9. Framing (Neutral) | |
| 10. Framing (Opposes) | |
| 11. Framing (Supports) | |
| 12. Illusion of Democracy | |
| 13. Local Control | |
| 14. Means Ends | |
| 15. Metaphor | |
| 16. Origins (of Prop. 227) | |
| 17. Problems | |
| 18. Race | |
| 19. Rationality (Illusion of) | |

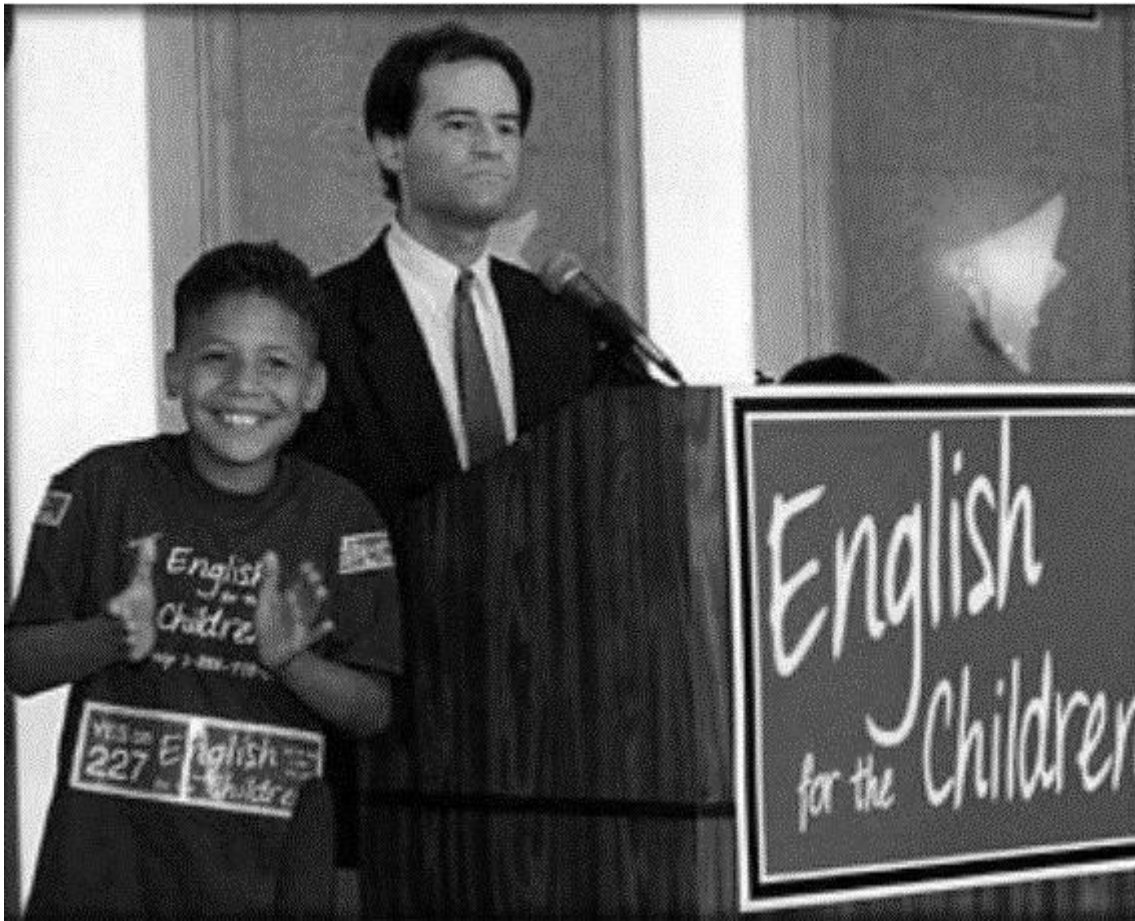
APPENDIX I

Conventions Used in the Transcription of YouTube Videos

- (,) A brief pause within a sentence
- (.) Falling intonation at the end of a sentence or word
- (?) Rising intonation at the end of a sentence or word
- (.) or (...) A longer pause after a sentence or within a sentence
- (--) A restart of a word or phrase
- (()) Unclear speech. A reasonable guess may be provided.
- [] Word or words added for clarification of content.
- [...] Omission of part of the transcript
- (ALL CAPITALS) Stress in intonation. This is to mimic the intonation of the speaker so that the reader can better understand the analysis.

APPENDIX J

Example of How Children are Portrayed by the Proposition 227 Campaign



Retrieved from <http://zembla.cementhorizon.com/archives/006588.html>

APPENDIX K

Media Campaign for the Economic Education for a Global Economy Initiative (SB 1174)

Things to Do:

- Create a short title to be used in promoting the initiative
- Create an image that visually represents the intent of the initiative
- Identify a single spokesperson for the media to approach for information
- Present a succinct, consistent message to the media
- Provide numerous success stories from students and parents of alternative language acquisition programs including native-speakers of English
- Emphasize the economic benefits of the policy
- Emphasize parental choice and local control provisions of the policy
- Emphasize benefits for all children
- Emphasize equal opportunity for all children

Things Not to Do:

- Do not rely heavily on research results, experts, or statistics to convince voters
- Do not overemphasize multilingual education
- Do not vilify Proposition 227
- Do not underestimate the importance of ideological factors surrounding language and immigration issues

Questions to Address:

- What is the problem the initiative seeks to solve?
- How will the policy solve the problem?
- Who will benefit? What are the costs?
- How will results be measured?
- Who will be held accountable and by whom?
- How will the campaign be financed?