Research and Policy Considerations for English Learner Equity

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Abstract
English learners (ELs), students from a home where a language other than English is spoken and who are in the process of developing English proficiency themselves, represent more than 10% of the U.S. student population. Oftentimes, education policies and practices create barriers for ELs to achieve access and outcomes that are equitable to those of their non-EL peers. Recent education research—often using experimental and quasi-experimental designs—provides new insights on how to evaluate EL policies, as well as how best to alter current policies to yield more equitable outcomes for ELs. Topics discussed include (a) EL classification and services, (b) language of instruction, (c) access to core content, and (d) assessments.

Keywords
English learners, equity, policy, reclassification, bilingual education, tracking, access, assessments, accountability, accommodations

Introduction
Currently, one in five students in U.S. public schools speaks a language other than English at home (Ryan, 2013). Roughly half of these students, more than four million children, are in the process of developing proficiency in English and are classified as English learners (ELs; U.S. Department of Education, 2015). Forty years ago, in the landmark case Lau v. Nichols (1974), the Supreme Court ruled, “[T]here is no equality of treatment merely by providing students with the same facilities, textbooks, teachers, and curriculum; for students who do not understand English are effectively foreclosed from any meaningful education.” Citing Title VI of the Civil Rights Act (1964), which prohibits discrimination on the basis of “race, color, and national origin” in any federally funded program, the Court held that school districts were obligated to take “affirmative steps” to effectively educate students acquiring English. But which affirmative steps best enable school systems to meet ELs’ needs has long been contested.

Here, we overview empirical research on four topics crucial to ensuring the court-mandated equitable education for ELs, policies for: (a) classifying students as ELs and then reclassifying students as English proficient; (b) using students’ primary languages for instruction; (c) accessing grade-appropriate instruction in the content areas, while students are in the process of acquiring English; and (d) designing meaningful assessment and accountability systems for ELs.

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Although other topics, such as school funding and teacher education, are also important in providing an equitable education for ELs, we focus on these four areas because the empirical research base in these areas is the most robust. After reviewing the research in each area, we discuss policy implications.

**Classification as EL and Reclassification as English Proficient**

Determining which students should be considered ELs and which services they should receive is one of the most fundamental, yet challenging, issues for policy makers. Research on the topics of initial classification (as EL) and reclassification (as English proficient) has focused on two primary policy-relevant questions: (a) Once a student is classified as an EL, how many years does it typically take for the student to attain English proficiency and thus be reclassified? and (b) How do policy makers establish appropriate criteria for initial classification and subsequent reclassification to ensure that students who need services are receiving them?

Research on the question of time to reclassification suggests that the answer rests on a number of factors, including characteristics of the student and the criteria used—but in general, attaining English proficiency takes considerable time. A frequently cited study (Hakuta, Butler, & Witt, 2000) used cross-sectional data and concluded that oral English proficiency took 2 to 5 years for the majority of students, whereas proficiency in English language arts (ELA) took about 4 to 7 years for most students. More recently, researchers have used “survival analysis,” calculating time to a particular milestone with longitudinal student-level data (e.g., Conger, 2009; Thompson, 2015a; Umansky & Reardon, 2014). Although these survival analysis-based studies used similar methods, their varying conclusions illustrate how the criteria established by different districts affect the expected time horizons. For example, although some demographic groups took more or less time on average, the median time to attain the required level of English language proficiency (ELP) in New York City was about 3 years (Conger, 2009). By contrast, two different large urban districts in California (Thompson, 2015a; Umansky & Reardon, 2014) required several more criteria, including a core content test of ELA and teacher evaluations. These California studies found that median time to reclassification was about 6 to 6.5 years, and in each district, more than one quarter of students were not reclassified after 9 years. Taking these studies together, the earlier (Hakuta et al., 2000) estimated time frames remain consistent with the new research findings, suggesting that most students take multiple years to be reclassified and that timing to reclassification varies considerably, due to both individual and structural factors.

Turning now to the question of how to establish appropriate criteria for classification and reclassification, the time-to-reclassification evidence makes clear that criteria vary substantially across states and even across districts within states (Linquanti & Cook, 2015; National Research Council, 2011). However, the types of criteria used typically consist of (a) measures of ELP, (b) measures of academic achievement, and (c) teacher input. A measure of ELP is the most common and basic requirement to attain English-proficient status. Such criteria are in place to ascertain whether or not a given student requires ongoing English support (as an EL) or can be mainstreamed in school (as a former EL). Although the test-developer intent for an ELP assessment is to measure the construct of ELP, not to attach interpretation to a particular test value or to create a binary category of EL or non-EL to receive different services (Haertel & Ho, in press), research suggests that ELP tests should be the primary factor in reclassification decisions (Linquanti & Cook, 2015; Umansky et al., 2015).

The academic content-area criteria for reclassification are more controversial. Most common is the inclusion of a standardized measure of ELA achievement. Less frequent is the inclusion of standardized measures of math achievement or grades. The main arguments for including achievement measures are to ensure (a) that a given student is academically prepared to succeed in a mainstream environment, and (b) that EL programming provides sufficient academic content to EL students (Linquanti, 2001; Ragan & Lesaux, 2006). Critics counter (a) that ELs should not be required to meet academic requirements that native English speakers need not meet to be in mainstream classes, (b) that EL students should not be held accountable for poor academic performance that may, in part, stem from the provision of less-than-adequate educational opportunities as ELs, and (c) that academic assessment of ELs is plagued with validity and reliability issues (e.g., Abedi, 2004; Solórzano, 2008). Several studies also found that academic achievement measures (e.g., ELA tests) tend to take on a more prominent role in restricting reclassification eligibility at higher grade levels (Robinson, 2011; Umansky & Reardon, 2014). Thus, high-performing long-term ELs may not lack English proficiency, but rather core content tests impede their reclassification.

Another important dimension of whether criteria are “appropriate” extends beyond psychometric and philosophical concerns, focusing instead on evaluating the effects of existing classification and reclassification criteria on subsequent achievement and graduation. Significant effects of reclassification at a test-based, policy-specified threshold would suggest misalignment between the services/settings provided to ELs before and after they are reclassified (Robinson, 2011). Thus, the ideal situation would be no effects of reclassification on achievement, which would suggest a smooth transition from EL to a reclassified status. More specifically, policy makers should consider the student’s linguistic needs and services/settings provided to different groups of students when establishing thresholds for reclassification eligibility on tests of English proficiency (Robinson, 2011). For example, if the policy sets a low reclassification bar in terms of ELP, when students are still
benefiting from services intended for ELs, then we would expect reclassification to have negative effects on subsequent achievement and graduation. Conversely, if the policy sets the bar too high, when English supports are not needed, and time might be better spent on other learning opportunities, then students who barely failed to meet the criteria will underperform relative to their otherwise identical peers who were reclassified.

The collection of studies on reclassification effects (Robinson, 2011; Robinson-Cimpian & Makowski, 2015; Robinson-Cimpian & Thompson, 2015) using “regression discontinuity designs,” a rigorous quasi-experimental technique that compares the outcomes of students just below the threshold (who remained ELs) with those just above (who were more likely to be reclassified), suggest that: (a) by setting test-based thresholds, policy makers have tremendous influence over when a student is reclassified; (b) given the services available in a district, a misplaced threshold can lead to substantial negative effects on achievement, course-taking, and graduation, for either the students who remain ELs inappropriately or those who are reclassified prematurely; (c) policy makers can shift the thresholds to change the effects of reclassification; and (d) even at the same threshold, different districts can have different effects depending on their unique set of services and circumstances.

Research-Based Policy Recommendations Regarding (Re)Classification

- Recognize that students vary in the time required to reach English proficiency, but that most research suggests the average time to proficiency is between 4 and 7 years.
- Avoid setting a pre-determined maximum number of years for receiving EL services.
- When making classification and reclassification decisions, emphasize more construct-relevant factors (e.g., ELP scores) and deemphasize less relevant ones (e.g., academic test scores).
- Understand that reclassification can have effects on subsequent student outcomes.
- Do not assume that schools or districts with higher reclassification rates are necessarily serving students better—in fact, they may be removing beneficial services too soon, and in turn, causing lower graduation rates.
- Evaluate criteria used in reclassification decisions. Use rigorous methods for these evaluations whenever possible, then follow-up with districts identified as reclassifying students too soon or too late given the services/setting available.
- Adjust reclassification thresholds/criteria, realign services, and provide additional supports to struggling schools and districts accordingly.

Language of Instruction

Perhaps the most heated debate in EL policy has been whether and to what extent students’ primary languages should be used for instruction. Proponents of English-only models suggest that if students are exposed to more English, they will learn English more quickly (e.g., Rossell & Baker, 1996). These arguments undergird the restrictive language policies enacted by several states, which prohibit the use of languages other than English for instruction (Gándara & Hopkins, 2010). On the other hand, proponents of bilingual education assert that by learning academic content in their primary language while developing English proficiency, students will be able to understand content-area instruction and ultimately transfer skills and knowledge from their primary language to English (e.g., Cummins, 2000).

On balance, the vast literature on this question suggests that in the medium to long-term bilingual programs have, at best, moderate positive effects, and at worst, no negative effects on students’ acquisition of English and on their content-area achievement in English. Five meta-analyses conducted over the past 30 years all concluded that bilingual programs had significant small to moderate positive effects on outcomes in English, including English proficiency, ELA, and math (August & Shanahan, 2006; Greene, 1997; Rolstad, Mahoney, & Glass, 2005; Slavin & Cheung, 2005; Willig, 1985). A separate meta-analysis (Rossell & Baker, 1996) came to the conclusion that bilingual programs had negative effects on student outcomes, but a variety of problems with the inclusion criteria for this meta-analysis raise questions about it (Greene, 1997). Considering only studies using experimental methods, bilingual education showed small-to-moderate positive effects (approximately 0.3 SDs) on English language outcomes (Greene, 1997; Slavin & Cheung, 2005).

Four studies that occurred too recently to be included in these meta-analyses provide additional information about whether and to what extent ELs’ primary languages should be used for instruction. A randomized controlled trial enrolled students in either a transitional bilingual program or an English-immersion program (Slavin, Madden, Calderón, Chamberlain, & Hennessey, 2011). Although students in the English-immersion setting scored higher on English reading assessments in the primary grades, by fourth grade, there were no significant differences on these assessments for the students in the two programs.

Two other studies also found initial advantages on outcome measures in English for ELs in English-only programs. However, these two studies were able to analyze student outcomes over a longer period of time, and found that at the secondary level, ELs in bilingual programs ultimately outperformed their peers who received English-only instruction (Umansky & Reardon, 2014; Valentino & Reardon, 2015). The first of these studies (Umansky & Reardon, 2014) analyzed the time necessary for Latino ELs to be reclassified as fully English proficient when enrolled in English-only
instruction or three different types of bilingual programs. Students in English-only instruction were initially more likely to reach English proficiency, but by high school, students in bilingual programs had surpassed this group in English proficiency likelihood. The second study (Valentino & Reardon, 2015) compared ELs’ performance in ELA and math through middle school. Similarly, they found that ELs in bilingual programs had lower ELA and math scores in early elementary school than ELs receiving English-only instruction, but test score growth rates of ELs in bilingual programs, particularly dual immersion programs, significantly exceeded growth rates for ELs in English-only classrooms. This led to better long-term outcomes for ELs in bilingual programs, though results varied somewhat by subject, ethnicity, and type of bilingual program. Although these two studies are not experimental, they used a rich set of controls, including demographic characteristics, students’ initial English proficiency, school-level effects, and parents’ preferences for school and program type.

Finally, a recent large-scale quasi-experimental study analyzed the causal effect of dual immersion programs on outcomes for ELs and native English speakers, using data from Portland, Oregon, which uses a lottery to assign students to immersion programs (Steele, Slater, Miller, Zamarro, & Li, in press). This study found small but significant positive effects of dual immersion on English reading outcomes for both ELs and native English speakers (ranging from 0.13 SDs in fifth grade to 0.22 SDs in eighth grade). By middle school, ELs in immersion programs were significantly more likely to be reclassified as English proficient than a control group of their peers who applied for but did not win slots in immersion programs. This effect was stronger for ELs whose native language matched the partner language used in the immersion program (i.e., for Spanish-speaking ELs enrolled in Spanish–English dual immersion programs). Students who won slots in immersion programs had scores on math and science assessments administered in English that were statistically indistinguishable from their peers in English-only classrooms, even though students in immersion programs received math and science instruction at least partially in the partner (non-English) language through fifth grade. Given the promise of dual language immersion programs, several states including New York and Oregon are currently funding their expansion (Harris, 2015; Manning, 2014).

While bilingual programs’ effects on outcomes in English are important, it is also useful to consider other outcomes. Not surprisingly, students in bilingual programs have significantly higher outcomes on assessments given in the partner languages used in bilingual programs than students in English-only programs do (Barnett, Yarosz, Thomas, Jung, & Blanco, 2007; Greene, 1997). These positive outcomes on assessments in other languages are important in light of recent studies demonstrating that full bilingualism is associated with a variety of positive long-term outcomes. For example, bilingualism is associated with lower dropout rates, higher earnings, and higher educational attainment (Callahan & Gándara, 2014). Additional experimental research has shown that bilingualism produces a variety of cognitive health benefits, including stronger executive function and lower incidences of Alzheimer’s (Adesope, Lavin, Thompson, & Ungerleider, 2010; Craik, Bialystok, & Freedman, 2010).

**Research-Based Policy Recommendations Regarding Language of Instruction**

- Eliminate restrictive language policies currently in place in several states, which prohibit the use of languages other than English for instruction.
- Given the particular promise of dual immersion programs, consider incentivizing the development and/or expansion of dual immersion programs.
- Ensure that evaluations of bilingual programs consider long-term student outcomes, at least past elementary school, to avoid drawing inaccurate conclusions about program effectiveness.

**ELs’ Access to Core Content**

Access to core content lies at the heart of federal law concerning the education of EL students. Law and regulation regarding the education of ELs are framed around ELs’ twin rights: to support learning English and to provide access to grade-level core content. Yet ensuring students’ right to equitable and full access to core content has proved elusive. Research identifies four main ways in which access to core content is frequently limited for ELs: (a) English-only instruction without appropriate accommodations, (b) weak or slow-paced curriculum in separated classes for ELs, (c) tracking into low-track (low-level) classes, and (d) exclusion from core subject area classes.

**English-Only Instruction Without Appropriate Accommodations**

Despite the *Lau v. Nichols* ruling that English-only instruction without accommodations effectively bars ELs from access to content, ELs continue, at times, to be placed into such classrooms. Teachers widely report being insufficiently prepared to work with their EL students (Gándara, Maxwell-Jolly, & Driscoll, 2005). Furthermore, research suggests that the “sink or swim” placement of EL students may be more acute in some core subject areas, like math (Hopkins, Lowenhaupt, & Sweet, 2015). The frequency of this practice also varies considerably by school and district. When it occurs, however, it severely limits ELs’ ability to access and learn content, particularly among ELs with low levels of English proficiency.
Weak or Slow-Paced Curriculum in Separated Classes for ELs

ELs are often placed into classrooms (at the elementary school level) and core content-area classes (at the middle and high school levels) that enroll only or primarily other EL students. The purpose of this placement is to ensure that ELs are in classes that use pedagogical practices that are accessible to ELs. Yet often these classes offer diminished, slower-paced, or less rigorous content (Dabach, 2014; Harklau, 1994). Teachers struggle to provide grade-level core content instruction in English to students who are not English proficient (Gándara et al., 2005). Teachers may also have lower expectations of their EL students, resulting in inferior instruction and content-coverage (Blanchard & Muller, 2015; García-Nevarez, Stafford, & Arias, 2005). In addition, EL-specific classes tend to be taught by less qualified and less experienced teachers (Dabach, 2015; Gándara, Rumberger, Maxwell-Jolly, & Callahan, 2003). Finally, EL students in these classes have little exposure to English-speaking peers and meaningful content-based dialogue in English, key to English acquisition (Dabach, 2014). Isolation in these classes with inferior content directly influences students’ opportunity to learn, and it also often generates social stigma toward ELs (Thompson, 2015b).

Tracking Into Low-Track Classes

ELs tend to be over-represented in remedial and low-track classes, and under-represented in advanced placement, honors, and other upper-track classes, compared with their English-proficient peers. In addition, ELs are more likely to be in slower versus accelerated course sequences, such as math course sequences in middle and high school (Thompson, 2015c). Part of this disproportionality is due to ELs’ lower average academic performance, which results in placement into lower-track classes. However, ELs may have lower academic outcomes for a host of reasons. One reason is limited understanding of material taught in English without sufficient modifications. Indeed, this is one of the main rationales for bilingual instruction; students are less likely to fall behind academically if they have access to content-area instruction in a language they understand while they are simultaneously acquiring English.

Some of the disproportionality in course placement, however, is a direct result of classification as an EL (Umansky, 2014). For example, EL-classified students may be ineligible for advanced or grade-level classes and even reclassified students (former ELs) may be automatically routed into remedial-level courses (Kanno & Kangas, 2014). This is problematic because lower-track classes offer less exposure to content, and use more passive and rote pedagogical practices (Oakes, 2005). While providing rigorous core content, such as high-track math courses, in ways that allow ELs access to the material can be a technical challenge, particularly for newcomer students, case studies of particular schools and programs offer examples of how this can be possible. For example, a group of California high schools successfully used online math and science curriculum in Spanish with newcomer students, enabling students to learn grade-level content in their primary language while they learned English during other parts of the school day (Hopkins, Martinez-Wenzl, Aldana, & Gándara, 2013).

Exclusion From Core Subject Area Classes

Schools and districts vary widely in course placement practices for ELs (Estrada, 2014). In some cases, ELs have full access to core content instruction, and in others, their EL status prevents or limits enrollment in core courses (Callahan, 2005; Callahan, Wilkinson, & Muller, 2010). For example, Arizona’s policy to place ELs in 4 hours of daily English language development (ELD) instruction severely limits the amount of time students can be exposed to academic content (Lillie, Markos, Arias, & Wiley, 2012). Even in states and districts with far less extreme English language instruction policies, daily ELD classes often crowd out or replace core content-area classes and instruction, especially ELA. In middle school, evidence from one school district in California shows that on average more than one-third of EL students are not enrolled in a full course load in any given semester (Umansky, 2014). Exclusion from core instruction and core subject areas can severely curtail students’ ability to meet graduation and post-secondary enrollment requirements, and can slow students’ progression through school.

Research-Based Policy Recommendations Regarding Core-Content Access

- Provide more guidance, monitoring, and accountability to ensure that ELs are provided with equitable access to core content, including college-track and advanced-level courses.
- Provide support and evaluate efforts to avoid crowding out of academic access by English language instruction. Two possibilities that require more evaluation are extending the school day/year for ELs and integrating language and content instruction into the same classes.
- When possible, consider making core content instruction available in students’ primary languages while students are in the process of learning English, particularly for newcomer students.
- Provide targeted professional development on ways to provide grade-level content to students who are acquiring English proficiency both in separated EL classes and in mainstream classes.
- Learn from districts and schools that have implemented models enabling ELs to enroll in full course loads and college-track courses.
Assessments and Accountability for EL Students

In accordance with federal law under No Child Left Behind (NCLB; 2002) and the Every Student Succeeds Act (ESSA; 2015), all students in Grades 3 to 8 must be assessed annually in ELA and math. In addition to meeting “adequate yearly progress” for the population of students in a school, NCLB stipulated that annual growth targets must be met for subpopulations, such as ELs. This subpopulation requirement for school-level accountability brought revitalized attention to many long-standing concerns regarding the validity and reliability of standardized academic assessments for ELs (Abedi, 2004). In addition to the student-level implications of invalid and unreliable assessments, there are school-level implications as well because schools with lower-than-expected achievement gains for ELs could be labeled “in need of improvement.” This section focuses on three prominent assessment issues: (a) how assessments of ELs relate to accountability, (b) consequences of invalid and unreliable assessments, and (c) how to make assessments for ELs more valid and reliable.

As noted, the standardized assessment scores of ELs have been used for school-level accountability, both through contributing to the school’s overall score and to the subpopulation score. Unlike some subpopulations (e.g., racial minorities), however, the label of EL is transitory for most students, which creates a state of constant flux, as students move in and out of this category. This category instability presents challenges for assessing subpopulation growth, as the highest achieving students tend to exit the EL category each year. As Abedi (2004) notes, several states proposed using a “once LEP [limited English proficient], always LEP” accounting strategy, but this was not allowed. Ultimately, NCLB was amended to include in the EL accountability category students who are currently ELs or were reclassified in the previous 2 years, while the new ESSA increases the number of years since reclassification to 4. Failing to include former ELs as part of the “ever EL” category overestimates achievement gaps and underestimates progress made by students who were once ELs (Hopkins, Thompson, Linquanti, Hakuta, & August, 2013; Saunders & Marcelletti, 2013). Moreover, because ELs’ content-area assessment scores are highly correlated with their English proficiency levels, ELs at the beginning stages of learning English are extremely unlikely to meet grade-level standards on ELA and math assessments, affecting schools’ accountability ratings (Hopkins, Thompson, et al., 2013). Therefore, more realistic expectations for ELs’ content-area assessment scores should be established, taking into account their level of English proficiency and their time in U.S. schools (Hopkins, Thompson, et al., 2013).

In addition to school-level accountability concerns related to which students to include in the EL subgroup, the validity of assessments for ELs can substantially affect measures of “teacher value-added” (i.e., the average amount of year-to-year achievement gains students experience with a specific teacher). Value-added analysis has its own criticisms, which we will not discuss here (but see, for example, Reardon & Raudenbush, 2009; Rothstein, 2010). Instead, we highlight some recent criticisms directed at the inclusion of EL scores in value-added estimates: (a) most tests are less reliable at the lower and upper end of the achievement distribution, and ELs tend to be concentrated in the lower end; (b) inconsistent use of accommodations across time and location adds variation in the measures within teachers over time, as well as between teachers; (c) the responsibility for educating an EL is often shared across a number of teachers (e.g., a classroom teacher and an English as a Second Language [ESL] teacher), thus making it difficult to determine the precise contributions of each teacher to a student’s growth; and (d) the influence ELs have on value-added estimates depends in part on the methodology used for calculating teacher value-added (Jones, Buzick, & Turkan, 2013; Lakin & Young, 2013). Beyond accountability consequences, assessments have a direct impact on the education of individual ELs themselves. For example, assessments are typically used to determine (a) EL and English-proficient status, (b) special education identification, and (c) academic track (remedial, grade level, honors, etc.) placement in core content-area classes. Invalid or unreliable assessment results among ELs can jeopardize their appropriate and equitable placements in all three of these areas (Linan-Thompson, 2010).

Given the importance of assessments to schools, teachers, and individual students, we now focus on a principal method for improving assessment validity and reliability for ELs—accommodations. Testing accommodations come in a variety of forms, including extra time, bilingual dictionaries, and test translations. Different accommodations vary substantially both in their effectiveness (Kieffer, Lesaux, Rivera, & Francis, 2009) and in the advantages they might provide to ELs over other students (e.g., dictionaries; Abedi, Hofstetter, & Lord, 2004). Across the various forms of accommodations, test translations may lead to the biggest improvements in validity on average (Kieffer et al., 2009; Robinson, 2010). However, translations have notable limitations and obstacles, including: (a) The language of instruction should match the language of the test, and thus translations may not be appropriate for ELs largely instructed in English (Hofstetter, 2003); (b) Ensuring that a translated test assesses the same construct as the English version requires substantial time, effort, and resources (Hambleton, Merenda, & Spielberger, 2004); (c) Some states do not permit the use of test translations on standardized exams (Rivera & Collum, 2014); and (d) The method of creating a translated test (e.g., back-translation, forward-translation) varies across states and tests, potentially affecting quality (Rivera & Collum, 2014).

One promising approach to accommodations incorporates computers in assessing the needs of individual ELs and in
administering the appropriate accommodations. A computer-based algorithm to determine the most appropriate accommodation for each student (Kopriva et al., 2007) helped students perform substantially better than if they were given a random accommodation. Technology may also help in other ways—for example (Abedi, 2009), providing pop-up definitions (when hovering over selected words) to both ELs and non-ELs assessed via a computer can improve assessment validity for ELs while not providing them with an unfair advantage.

**Research-Based Policy Recommendations**

**Regarding Assessments**

- For school accountability, consider using the category of “ever EL” instead of “currently (or recently) EL.”
- Establish academic achievement expectations that take into account students’ English proficiency and time in the school system.
- If using value-added methods for teacher or school accountability, consider the consequences of using invalid and unreliable assessments of ELs, and adjust accordingly, either by not including ELs’ scores or by improving validity and reliability through accommodations.
- Enact policies that allow for a wide range of accommodations because no single accommodation works for all students.
- Assess students to determine the most appropriate accommodation(s) and provide them.

**Conclusion**

ELs’ access to equitable education is affected by a wide-ranging set of education policies, including those governing the type of instruction they receive and the language of that instruction, their access to curriculum, and the ways that they are assessed, even when they are no longer considered ELs and no longer subject to these policies. EL policies frequently vary across schools, districts, and states, and can change substantially over time, adding further instability to the educations of this habitually underserved group. This article highlighted findings from rigorous research studies—often using experimental or quasi-experimental designs—to discuss the implications of policies and practices for ensuring ELs have equitable educational opportunities and experiences. Many current policies and practices should be reconsidered in light of the research conclusion.

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**Note**

1. Dual immersion programs enroll both English learners and native English speakers, with the goal of developing bilingualism and biliteracy for all students.

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