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POLICY ENTREPRENEURS, NARRATIVES, AND POLICY CHANGE
by

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Abstract

POLICY ENTREPRENEURS, NARRATIVES, AND POLICY CHANGE

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The goal of this dissertation is to uncover how policy entrepreneurs use narratives to influence policy change. Prior studies have attributed scientific evidence to policy change and neglected narratives as an attributing factor. Primarily, narratives have been considered value-laden and unsystematic. However, this study hopes to enrich the policy change literature by using the Narrative Policy Framework to examine systematically how powerful actors use beneficial and failure narratives to influence policy change. This study will demonstrate that policy change does not solely occur due to exogenous events and can be ascribed to the storylines created by powerful actors to sway public opinion.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Policy change is a phenomenon that many scholars have researched for decades. The majority of theories including Policy Streams, Punctuated Equilibrium, and Advocacy Coalition Framework examine links between policy change, timing, institutional changes, crisis, and policy learning (Baumgartner & Jones 1993; Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith, 1999). Many of these frameworks recognize the contribution of policy entrepreneurs and narratives given the legislative policy venue. There remains limited research on how policy entrepreneurs (defined as actors who use resources such as money to influence policy change) use narratives to influence policy change in a direct democracy venue, such as ballot initiatives. Policy entrepreneurs play a pivotal role in problem definition, as they define issues and networks to create support to help secure desired policy change. Thus, narratives are the way that policy entrepreneurs often communicate and influence the actors that coalesce around particular issues. The narratives that emerge can be used to convey policy beliefs, which can result in policy change. Thus, narratives are considered a factor and a strategy utilized to influence policy change. This dissertation aims to build on the limited research attributing policy change to the narratives told by powerful actors to sway the public. Consequently, this dissertation can enrich the study of the policy process by attributing policy change not only to scientific evidence but also to the narratives that are conveyed by policy entrepreneurs.

Purpose

Scholars such as Baumgartner and Jones (1993), as well as Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith (1999) have attributed scientific evidence such as policy learning and crises to policy change. However, much remains to be known as to how policy entrepreneurs use narratives to influence policy change. Specifically, this study examines how narratives conveyed by powerful actors influence policy change. This research uses Jones and McBeth's (2010) Narrative Policy Framework (NPF) to examine systematically the types of narratives policy entrepreneurs use to

affect policy change. Multiple scholars have examined the strategies utilized by policy entrepreneurs (Biermann & Siebenhuner,2009; Baumgartner & Jones,1993; Brouwer & Biermann ,2011; Kingdon,1984; King & Roberts,1987; Meijerink & Huitema,2010; and Weissert (1991). Few scholars have examined the strategies used by policy entrepreneurs to influence policy change (Mintrom & Norman, 2009). However, the prior mentioned scholars, casually indicate narratives as one of the strategies used by policy entrepreneurs. These studies did not unpack the narratives used by policy entrepreneurs nor did the studies examine how the narratives influenced policy change.

Significance and Research Approach

Significance

This dissertation is hopefully significant for three reasons. Foremost, the research aims to contribute to the NPF Scholarship. The majority of NPF research has focused on environmental and energy policies in the legislative policy venue (Crow, 2010; Jones, 2013; Mcbeth & Shanahan, 2004). This study uses NPF to analyze education policy in a direct democracy policy venue, namely ballot initiatives. The research also hopes to broaden the scope of the application of NPF across policy domains and venues. Furthermore, this study intends to allow for generalizations across policy domains and policy venues. Lastly, this dissertation hopes to contribute to the policy entrepreneurship literature by systematically analyzing how policy entrepreneurs use narratives to stimulate policy change (Baumgartner & Jones, 1993; Brouwer, 2015; Crow, 2010; Meijerink & Huitema, 2009).

Research Approach

A comparative case study is used to study the narratives used by key policy entrepreneurs in coalitions opposing bilingual education. Determining how to educate Limited English Proficient (LEP) students has been a hot topic in the United States. American Nationalism coupled with assimilation ideologies has heavily influenced instructional methods

(Ovando, 2003). Many Americans are afraid that teaching LEP students in their native language for an extended period of time will hinder their ability to learn English quickly (Ovando, 2003). Other Americans discourage short-term bilingual education because it can stifle the academic growth of the LEP student (Cummins, 1998). As a response to the debate, there have been many policies passed across the United States to determine how to educate LEP students.

Specifically, this study uses four state level ballot initiatives, named the “English for all Children” Initiatives, as a case to examine the narratives of key policy entrepreneurs. These policy entrepreneurs created the English for the Children coalition to expand the policy issue. This study is a comparative case study, thus it analyzes the policy outcomes in four different states, with a particular focus on the policy entrepreneurs and narratives utilized. Most American schools use the transitional bilingual education instructional format (Baker & de Kanter, 1981). In this case, students are taught in their native language for a limited amount of time and transition into comprehensive English instruction. This process takes approximately 1-3 years (Cummins, 1998). Cummins’ research regarding “linguistic interdependence” and “common underlying proficiency,” encourages the widespread use of transitional bilingual education (Garcia, Flores, & Chu, 2011, p. 5). According to Cummins (1998), students can gain proficiency in English by using the basic concepts of their native language. However, in other states, policy stability has not been observed, and this policy is not what guides bilingual education policy.

In 1996, Ron Unz created English for the Children coalition to eradicate bilingual education. Ron Unz proposed state level ballot initiatives, which limited the time an LEP student could be taught in their native language to one year. Ron Unz along with other key policy entrepreneurs within the English for the Children coalition was successful in getting propositions on the ballot in four states and changing the bilingual education policy to English immersion, which strictly teaches LEP students in English, in three out of those four states.

California, Arizona, and Massachusetts all realized policy change (Crawford, 1997). However, the pro-bilingual coalitions were successful in maintaining the policy in Colorado. English for the Children was the coalition against bilingual education. This alliance was created by leading policy entrepreneurs: Ron Unz, Maria Mendoza, Rita Montero, and Lincoln Jesus Tamayo (Crawford, 1997). Consequently, in three of the four states, students have only one year to learn in their native language.

This comparative case study provides a context for examining this issue because Ron Unz, Maria Mendoza, Rita Montero, and Lincoln Tamayo employed strategies that banned bilingual education in three of four states where the policy was on the ballot in the United States. The strategies used by the policy entrepreneurs produced policy change across the country within a five-year span. The change in policy placed significant restrictions on how to educate LEP students across the United States. In studying California's Proposition 227, Arizona's Proposition 203, Colorado's Amendment 31, and Massachusetts Question 2, my primary focus is on understanding the types of narratives executed by the policy entrepreneurs in California, Arizona, Colorado and Massachusetts.

Policy entrepreneurs aim to change policy by redefining problems, using policy images, or actors' connection to the policy to have minimal conflict, strong collaboration, and additional power within their coalition. Policy entrepreneurs do this through the use of policy narratives, which are constructed stories about an issue or event, complete with a beginning, middle, and end; a sequence of events and positions; and characters, plots and causal relationships (Roe, 1994; Shanahan, McBeth, & Hathaway, 2011). Specifically, this research builds on the work of Kear and Wells' "Coalitions are People: Policy Narratives and the Defeat of Ohio Senate Bill 5" (2014). This research focuses on the narratives used by coalitions in a direct democracy policy venue. However, the research only focuses on the outcome of one initiative, the Ohio Senate Bill 5 in one state. This study analyzes the results of four initiatives in a four different states (McBeth, Shahanan, Arnell, Hathaway, 2007). As referenced earlier, policy narratives have

been identified as a factor that influences policy change. However, much remains to be known as to how narratives are used by policy entrepreneurs to influence policy outcome.

Narratives can exaggerate the problem definition to highlight failures. Consequently, policy narratives can be a way to influence policy outcomes. Narratives travel through numerous channels and entrepreneurs use these channels to try to manipulate the results of policies (Jones, Jenkins-Smith, 2009). Narratives have been excluded from traditional theories of policy change because scholars have considered narratives as value based and random (Fischer, 2003; Mcbeth, Shanahan, Arnell, & Hathaway, 2007; Stone, 2002). Since narratives were regarded as arbitrary, they could not be measured consistently to provide valid data. However, others argue that policy is inherently value-based, and narratives are a visible outcome of differences in policy beliefs among policy entrepreneurs (Fischer, 2003; Mcbeth, Shanahan, Arnell, & Hathaway, 2007; Stone, 2002).

Furthermore, they become a tool that policy entrepreneurs use to shape the policy process, build support around a particular policy solution and influence policy change. Policy beliefs and policy strategies may not be exclusively random; rather they may be stable and predictable under certain policy circumstances. Traditional policy change theorists can show how groups act strategically with the NPF methodology (Jones, Shanahan, & McBeth, 2014). Some research has focused on how narratives are used by policy entrepreneurs to affect policy outcomes given a direct democracy policy venue. However, it has been limited to a few policy issues (Fischer, 2014; Mintrom & Norman, 1996).

This dissertation research focuses on how policy entrepreneurs manipulate the elements of narratives to achieve policy change. Specifically, the research focuses on the strength of failure and beneficial narratives crafted by policy entrepreneurs in support of their policy position. In Mintrom and Norman's (1996) research, policy entrepreneurs highlighted the benefits of the proposed policy to influence policy outcome. As well, policy entrepreneurs emphasized the failures of the existing policy, which influenced policy change. Accordingly, this

dissertation intends to explore how policy entrepreneurs use policy narratives to influence policy outcomes in four ballot initiatives and to determine if the same relationships emerge. Precisely, is there a connection between the strength of policy narratives used by policy entrepreneurs and ballot initiative policy outcomes? Specifically, in this dissertation, the following hypothesis is tested:

1. A policy entrepreneur that seeks policy change will use one or more narrative elements to influence policy change. The incidence of policy change can be predicted based on the strength of the narratives that emphasize benefits of the proposed policy and/or the failures of the existing policy
 - a. The incidence of policy change will be controlled for ethnicity, media representation, and majority political party affiliation.

The chapters that follow provide an overview of the primary literature, research questions, methodology, and findings. Specifically, in chapter two the literature on policy change theories, narratives, how policy entrepreneurs affect policy change is reviewed, highlighting the strengths of a narrative approach to examine the strategies of policy entrepreneurs and coalitions. Lastly, the literature review discusses how researchers have studied the history of bilingual education and how narratives would allow for a clearer explanation for policy change. The third chapter explains the methodology used to evaluate the narratives employed by English for the Children policy entrepreneurs. The fourth chapter presents the results. Finally, the fifth chapter concludes with a discussion of the implications of the research and provides ideas of how particular narratives may be used for the future. Mainly, this chapter discusses how including narratives along with scientific evidence as factors that attributes to policy change could enrich the policy change literature.

Chapter 2

Review of Literature

This section provides an overview of the literature on policy change. Secondly, this chapter examines the literature that interprets policy change from the angle of incorporating narratives. Additionally, this chapter provides an analysis of previous studies that have examined how policy entrepreneurs influence policy change. Furthermore, this section emphasizes the limitations to the previous studies and suggests how policy narratives could be the answer to the constraints. It also provides a history of bilingual education policy changes and English for the Children Policies. The current section highlights what scholars attribute to policy change such as the case with the bilingual education policies.

What affects policy change?

Policy change is an exceptionally complex process. There is a multitude of aspects that affect how and why policies change. Currently, Policy Streams, Punctuated Equilibrium, and Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF) are the dominant theories that have contributed to the study of policy change (Mcbeth, Shanahan, Arnell, & Hathaway, 2007; Sabatier, 1999; Baumgartner & Jones, 1993). The premise behind Kingdon's Policy Streams, policy entrepreneurs seeks windows of opportunity to attach solutions to a problem in order to change policy. Based from Baumgartner and Jones' Punctuated Equilibrium, policy entrepreneurs capitalize on punctuations in the subsystem to change policies. These punctuations could include change in leadership, crises, etc... Furthermore in Sabatier's Advocacy Coalition Framework, policy actors who share similar beliefs form coalitions to change policy or keep policy status quo given their resources. Overall, according to these three theories, the reasons for significant policy change are due to changes in policy image, learning processes, and external events respectively. Foremost, policy image is the way policy is understood and interpreted scientifically and emotionally (Baumgartner & Jones, 1993). Policy images are closely associated with venues. Policy venues are comprised of institutions and groups with the

power to influence policy (Baumgartner & Jones, 1993). Examples of venues could include levels of government or the media. Learning processes involve becoming privy to new information and when new information becomes available, the policy will change (Bennett and Howlett, 1992, Sabatier, 1981, Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith, 1993).

The study of policy change varies along constructive and external assumptions. Positivist approaches to studying policy change have placed a greater reliance on external shocks, or exogenous factors, such as changing economic conditions or technological advances that influence public opinion or knowledge (Fischer, 2003). External shocks and policy learning are the reasons for policy change. External shocks tend to occur when unforeseen events occur outside of the policy subsystem. These shocks call for rapid policy change because the new problems upset the interests of the existing coalitions. Consequently, the change in public opinion changes the individuals' ideas and preferences, which affect policy change (Fischer, 2003; Mabeth, Shanahan, Arnell, & Hathaway, 2007; Stone, 2002). Specifically, positivist scholars' heavy reliance on external or exogenous shocks has overlooked other reasons for the change.

In contrast, post-positivist researchers have increasingly recognized the importance of the construction of storylines and narratives. Storylines streamline the facts and values in a belief system to affect policy outcomes (Fischer, 2003; Mabeth, Shanahan, Arnell, & Hathaway, 2007; Stone, 2002). The storyline provides a way of thinking about a problem, instead of analyzing the problem. Thus, a storyline allows for people with somewhat different beliefs to be part of the same coalition. Furthermore, storylines offer new discourses that can cause people to have new ideas about their role in society, which in turn can invoke change to the current policies. In sum, storylines are compelling when redefining problems to help change policy (Fischer, 2003; Mabeth, Shanahan, Arnell, & Hathaway, 2007; Stone, 2002). A summation of the differences between positivists and post-positivists can be viewed in Table 2-1 on the subsequent page.

Table 2-1 Positivist and Post-Positivist Approach

	Positivist Approach	Post-Positivist Approach
Policy	External Shocks	Storylines
Change	Policy Learning	

Note: Adapted from "The Intersection of Narrative Policy Analysis and Policy Change Theory," by M.K. McBeth, E.A. Shanahan, R.J. Arnell, and P.L. Hathaway, *Policy Studies Journal*, 35, p. 87-108.

Ultimately, from a post-positivist perspective, narratives become an important component that can aid in influencing policy change. Scholars indicate that policy entrepreneurs aim to change the policy image to realize policy goals (Eyestone, 1978). This dissertation research emphasizes a post-positivist approach to understanding policy change. The following section elaborates upon the literature that informs the theoretical framework and approach adopted.

Policy Entrepreneurs: Policy Image and Policy Change

Since the 1970s, scholars have connected policy entrepreneurs to policy change (Mintrom and Vergari, 1996). Policy entrepreneurs discover unfulfilled needs, suggest ways to satisfy those needs, take risks, often monetary risks, and coordinate networks. Key to the effectiveness of policy entrepreneurs are opportunity structures, image change and problem redefinition (Kingdon, 1984, 1995; Mintrom & Norman, 2009). Opportunity structures, also known as windows of opportunity, are defined as external factors that powerful actors can use to frame problems to influence public opinion (Kingdon, 1984, 1995; Mintrom & Norman, 2009). Mintrom and Norman (2009) express how policy entrepreneurs seek windows of opportunity in two ways: by staying knowledgeable about potential issues across jurisdictions or by comprehending the concerns of others in a given context and appealing to society's emotions to change policy. Policy entrepreneurs take advantage of policy windows and opportunity

structures by aligning themselves with people who have various skill sets and knowledge to assist with changing policy (Meir, 1995; Mintrom, 2000).

Within opportunity structures, policy entrepreneurs manipulate policy image to realize policy change and reframe problems (Robert and King, 1991; Mintrom & Vegari, 1996; Mintrom & Norman, 2009; Brouwer & Bierman, 2011, Brouwer, 2015). Perhaps, the two most prominent studies regarding policy entrepreneurial strategies were executed by Meijerink and Huitema (2010) as well as Brouwer and Biermann (2011). The first study was performed by Meijerink and Huitema (2010) who analyzed the strategies of policy entrepreneurs by performing a comparative analysis of water policy changes in fifteen countries. Second, Brouwer and Biermann (2011) examined the strategies of policy entrepreneurs by conducting interviews with policy entrepreneurs involved in the Dutch water policy change. The studies highlighted the importance of manipulating policy images when realizing policy change. Scholars in both studies indicate that policy entrepreneurs used opportunity structures to define the problem to seek policy change. In essence, policy entrepreneurs adjusted the problem definition and solution to realign with other actors.

Additionally, both studies indicate that policy entrepreneurs took advantage of problem windows by emphasizing crises in the media. The policy entrepreneurs used the media to magnify the problem, which helped to build support for new policy alternatives. Furthermore, policy entrepreneurs used particular words and emphasized and deemphasized certain points to appeal to the public. Brouwer and Biermann (2011), found that policy entrepreneurs see problem definition as one of the most crucial components to realize policy change. As a result, more solutions were born along with more support.

Limitation of Previous Studies

The previously mentioned studies provide a general overview of strategies utilized by policy entrepreneurs. However, a general overview of strategies does not provide in depth

understanding of how policy entrepreneurs use language to transform the narrative around a particular policy. Granted, all the studies have indirectly linked the strategies of policy entrepreneurs to change policies. The studies briefly refer to the rhetoric used by the policy entrepreneurs to change policies. In both prior mentioned studies, policy entrepreneurs admitted to magnifying the problem and adjusting the problem definition to appeal to more people. However, both studies lack an in-depth examination of the distinct narratives used by policy entrepreneurs to define the problem and its association with policy change. Hence, there remains a need for an explicit analysis over how narratives emerge from policy entrepreneurs using opportunity structures to define the problem to change policies. Scholars should analyze the narratives to gain a deeper understanding of how and why policies change. The next section examines how narratives affect policy change.

Narratives and Policy Change

Narratives gained popularity as a method influencing policy among scholars in the 1990s. Post-positive scholars who implemented narrative methodologies were Emery Row (1994), Frank Fisher and John Forester (1993), Maarten Hajer (1995), and Deborah Stone (1999). According to Stone (2012), narratives are used to define the problem to gain support to realize policy change (Sabatier, 2007). Scholars such as Pralle (2006) and Jones and McBeth (2010) have found that coalitions use narratives to maintain their coalition or divide opposing coalitions. According to McBeth et al. (2007), there are approximately five narrative strategies that are utilized by coalitions and include: 1. Identifying Winners and Losers, 2. Construction of Benefits and Costs, 3. Use of Condensation Symbols, 4. The Policy Surrogate, and 5. Scientific Certainty and Disagreement.

Winners and Losers

Characters are identified as winners or losers within a policy narrative. Depending on the volatility of the issue, winners can be determined by the legislation at the time. Otherwise, if

the political issue is too volatile, then the coalition's perception will identify who is a winner or loser. In other words, if a coalition believes they are winners then their narratives will display winner characteristics. According to Baumgartner and Jones (1993), winners contain issues by encouraging status quo or maintaining the policy image. The primary goal of winners is to keep the coalition small; thus, there is more compromise amongst beliefs and more power within (McBeth et al., 2007, Riker, 1962). According to Kingdon (1984), policy entrepreneurs look for opportunities to change the existing policy. Given the nature of a policy entrepreneur, he or she will be the loser. Losers aim to alter the current policy and will tell losing narratives to expand the issue.

Construction of Benefits and Costs

Losing groups attempt to change policy by expressing how the current policy is costly to most and beneficial to few (Baumgartner & Jones, 1993). In essence, losing groups promote attention to the issue, in order, to gain more support towards changing the existing policy. However, winning groups desire to keep the same policy; consequently, the narratives express how status quo is beneficial for most and costly for few.

The Use of Condensation Symbols

Stone (2002), Baumgartner and Jones (1993) and McBeth et al. (2007) all discuss how symbols are embedded in narratives to provide clarity on a policy issue. Losing groups use more symbols than winning groups. Primarily, losing groups convey failure narratives that use symbols to frame the issue negatively in an attempt to garner more support for policy change. As stated before, winning groups desire status quo and using symbols could stimulate the losing group, which could result in policy change. As discussed by Stone, winning coalitions are more likely to use symbols such as "freedom, free-market, decentralized government" to

restrict the scope of the conflict. Whereas, losing coalitions will use symbols such as “equality, justice, and civil rights” that expand the scope of conflict (Stone, 1988, p. 122).

Policy Surrogate

Some policy issues are a part of a larger policy issue. Therefore, actors within a coalition are treating a potentially simple policy issue as a surrogate for a more complex issue (Nie, 2003). Losing groups are always utilizing policy surrogates to ignite more support for policy change (McBeth et al., 2007). For example, ending bilingual education might be a policy surrogate for stopping immigration.

Scientific Certainty and Disagreement

Scientific data includes studies performed by researchers concerning a particular policy issue. Winning groups attempt to minimize conflict and are prone to use science as the argument for status quo; while losing groups will disagree with scientific data, in order, to initiate conflict. As a result, the losing groups hope to create more attention for policy change.

Policy Narratives As A Policy Entrepreneur Strategy

It is probable that policy entrepreneurs use the same strategies used by coalition members to influence policy change. The two prior studies (Meijerink & Huitema, 2010; Brouwer & Biermann, 2011), on policy entrepreneur strategies, emphasize how policy entrepreneurs redefine the problem and magnify the issue to realize policy change. These strategies are quite similar to the policy narrative strategies which state that coalitions who identify themselves as losers will attempt to gain more supporters by conveying a story of decline, emphasizing high cost of the existing policy, and promoting the issue in a negative light. Researchers might gain a better understanding of how policy entrepreneurs affect policy change by determining what policy narrative strategies is employed. Ultimately, narratives are

the catalysts that policy entrepreneurs and coalitions use to stimulate policy change. However, the use of a narrative framework to study policy change has not been broadly accepted (Fischer, 2003; McBeth, Shanahan, Arnell, & Hathaway, 2007). Despite the answers that narratives can provide explaining policy change, there are still debates surrounding the usage of narratives to study policy change. Perhaps, this hesitance is due to positivist scholars' struggle to scientifically measure how narratives affect policy change. Positivists view narratives as not falsifiable and highly interpretive. Positivist scholars follow an empirical approach to policy change, which forgoes the discursive practices that could help fully explain the how and why policy changes (Fischer, 2003). However, more recently, due to recent findings using the NPF, many positivist scholars acknowledge how narratives are one of the strategies used to influence policy change (Jones, McBeth, Shanahan, 2014). The succeeding section provides an overview of the NPF.

Narrative Policy Framework (NPF)

As mentioned prior, positivist scholars did not accept narratives as a factor or strategy used in the policy making process. In fact, Sabatier refused to include narratives as part of the policy making process in his 1999 book, "Theories of Policy Process." Sabatier stated that he would "not give credence to an approach that was not clear enough to be wrong" (Sabatier, 2000, p. 137), which was the catalyst for Michael Jones' (2010) article, "Clear enough To Be Wrong." In the article, Jones explains how NPF uses science to measure social reality. NPF "applies an objective epistemology to a subjective ontology" (Jones, Shanahan, McBeth, p. 294, 2014). McBeth and Shanahan's (2004) NPF has changed this negative outlook by including a way to measure how policy narratives contribute to policy change.

The primary goal of NPF is to explain how belief- laden policy narratives infiltrate scientific information, influence public opinion, and policy change. A narrative includes a setting

that is regarded as the policy problem, characters based on Stone (2002) and Ney (2006), which include villains, heroes, and victims. A plot has a beginning, middle, and end, as well as, a moral of the story that is the appropriate or 'right' policy solution. According to the NPF, narratives are strategies that use the four elements to persuade or control policy outcomes (Jones, Shanahan, & Mcbeth, 2014). The NPF proposes the measurement of policy narratives as a way to examine how strategies are utilized to influence government decisions resulting in policy (Shanahan, Jones, & McBeth, 2011).

The basics of NPF include understanding policy issues, problems, and definitions through narratives. NPF is based on Stone (2002) whose "Policy Paradox" explains how literary devices such as characters, plot, colorful language, and metaphors are used to analyze policy narratives. In essence, the goal is to define the problem to portray a political problem so that one's favored course of action appears to be in the broadest public interest.

NPF Core Assumptions

The NPF has five core assumptions, which include social construction, bounded relativity, generalizable structural elements, simultaneous operation at three levels, and homo narrans model of the individual. Social construction is a flexible connotation on different objects or processes developed by persons or groups linked to public policy. Bounded relativity explains how social constructions vary to create different policy realities. However, variation is bounded by belief systems, ideologies, and norms. Generalizable structural elements describe that every narrative has a general structure that includes a plot, setting, and characters. Based on the NPF, policy narratives operate on three levels of analysis: micro (individual), meso (group or coalition), and macro (cultural). The micro level focuses on how policy narratives influence individuals' opinion regarding a policy outcome. The meso level analyzes how policy narratives

affect the formation and stability of coalitions. The macro level, which is the least developed, examines how policy narratives influence culture within institutions such as government.

On each level of analysis, four elements include a unit of analysis, classes of variables, casual drivers, and types of actors. The classes of variables are tools used to measure the causal relationship between policy narratives and policy change (Mcbeth, Shanahan, Arnell, & Hathaway, 2007; Mcbeth & Shanahan, 2004). These variables are rooted in theories from various academic fields including communications, political science, policy science, psychology, and humanities (Mcbeth, Shanahan, Arnell, & Hathaway, 2007; Mcbeth & Shanahan, 2004). Each level of analysis incorporates different theories; however, this dissertation will highlight the theories utilized in the meso level. This dissertation will use the meso level, since the intention is to determine how a coalition of policy entrepreneurs uses narratives to influence policy change. The dominant theories utilized in the meso level include Deborah Stone's policy narrative elements, Pralle (2006) and Jones & McBeth (2010) narrative elements (Figure 2-1).

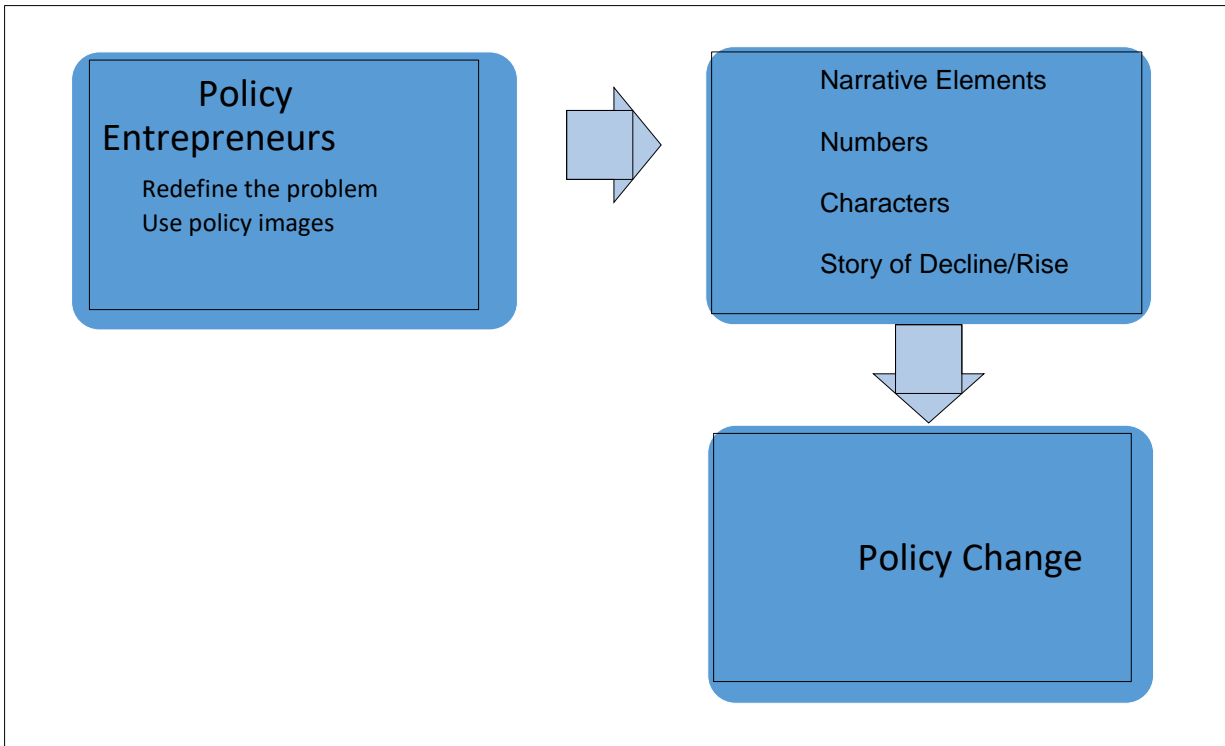


Figure 2-1 Policy Entrepreneurs' Narrative Strategies

Adapted from "Branching out, digging in: Environmental advocacy and agenda setting."

By S.B. Pralle, 2006, Washington D.C.: Georgetown University Press.

The following section examines the narratives incorporated in bilingual education policy subsystem— the case study for analysis. The subsequent section analyzes the different narrative techniques used in the past applied to the English for the Children case study.

Case Study

Narratives and the History of Bilingual Education Policy Change

Narratives can be uncovered throughout the history of bilingual education. There have been narratives such as nationalism and immersion incorporated into research, which has shaped policy within the subsystem. Narratives of failure and decline overshadow bilingual education policies. Carlos Ovando (2003) and Heinz Kloss (1998) fault American Nationalism as one of the many reasons for a flawed bilingual education system. Additionally, the narrative of control is clear as Kloss (1998), author of *The American Bilingual Tradition*, states Americans feared that immigrants would enforce their culture in America. During the early 1900s, there were many students in need of bilingual services; however, America did not have a bilingual education program (Ovando, 2003). Ovando (2003) and Kloss (1998) both affirm that Americans held immigrant students accountable for their learning and refused to provide assistance in the schools. This concern was expressed via many acts such as the Naturalization Act of 1906, which prevented immigrants from speaking their native language (Kloss, 1998). Ovando (2003) highlights the fact, that American Nationalism was exceptionally extreme during the World Wars. In fact, Ovando (2003) expresses that the American government actively discouraged teaching foreign languages in schools by supplying additional funds to English-only schools.

Ovando (2003) attributes the 1965 Immigration Act as a catalyst for implementing the bilingual education system in America. The 1965 Immigration Act encouraged the migration of more Asians and Latinos to America, which changed classroom demographics (Ovando, 2003). As a result, the Bilingual Act of 1968 was passed to teach the growing LEP student population

English (Ovando, 2003). Ovando (2003) suggests that the government did not specify how to implement bilingual education services. Thus, America went through a “Melting Pot” phase, which, means that Americans felt all immigrants should shed their culture and adapt to the American culture (Black, 1995, p. 1). Susan Black states that the “Melting Pot” narrative heavily influenced the early bilingual education policies (1995, p. 1). However, in 1974, bilingual education went through another metamorphosis with the help of the *Lau v. Nichols* lawsuit (Nieto, 2009). The parties of *Lau v. Nichols* case involved “eight hundred Chinese students” and the San Francisco school district (Nieto, 2009, p. 64). The students were not successful because the district only provided instruction in English (Nieto, 2009). David Nieto (2009), author of *A Brief History of Bilingual Education in the United States*, pinpoints that the findings from the *Lau v. Nichol*’s case helped to promote different bilingual education policies in America. Over the years, there have been several policies at the state-level that have enforced and prohibited bilingual education.

English for the Children Ballot Initiatives Overview

Indeed, the classroom has experienced a great transformation over the course of fifty years. What was once a homogeneous classroom, filled with native English speakers, has changed to a more diverse classroom comprised of Limited English Proficient (LEP) students (Ovando, 2003). The American education system continues to undergo renovations to respond to the growing number of LEP students. Currently, bilingual education policies are not effective, and many LEP students are failing out of school (Garcia G, 2000). Educators, scholars, policymakers, and politicians have long debated over the reasons for faulty policies. Beginning in 1996, the English for the Children Coalition responded to the chaotic debate by conveying a failure narrative to promote policies to ban bilingual education across the United States; the policies passed in three states. Thus, the bilingual education policies in California, Arizona, and Massachusetts radically changed from providing to prohibiting bilingual education to students.

There were several policy entrepreneurs involved in promoting the English for the Children policies. All the policy entrepreneurs defined the problem and used narratives to change policy. The next section examines the narrative techniques used to analyze English for the Children in the past.

Narrative Approaches Applied to English for the Children Initiatives

Previous studies over the English for the Children Initiatives have examined the types of narratives conveyed by the coalition members. For instance, scholars have considered the failure narratives expressed in the campaign. Johnson (2010) and Wright (2005) indirectly pinpoint that Unz, Mendoza, Montero, and Tamayo stressed the failure of the existing policy. The research indicates that the leading entrepreneurs emphasized the alarming failure rate of Limited English Proficient (LEP) students to promote the idea of no bilingual education to realize the policy goal (Yamagami, 2012, Wright, 2005, Johnson, 2010, Crawford, 2014). Former analyses suggest that policy entrepreneurs and coalitions use language as a valuable apparatus to sway the public's opinion on bilingual education. However, the past studies have not operationalized the relationship between narratives and policy change.

Hypothesis

While prior studies have analyzed the strategies of policy entrepreneurs, the intention of these studies did not examine how the narratives used by policy entrepreneurs affected policy change. The focus of this study is to uncover the strengths of narratives used by policy entrepreneurs to influence policy change given certain opportunity structures. In contrast to the previous studies, this dissertation aims to analyze the linkage between narratives and the change in the bilingual education policy by using the NPF. It is the nature of policy entrepreneurs to seek an opportunity to amend the existing policy (Baumgartner and Jones, 1993). As Stone (1993) mentions, emphasizing narrative elements such as numbers, story of decline/rise, and characters will appeal to a broader audience and inspire others to get involved

to change the policy issue. As a result, the following hypothesis is associated with narratives attribution to policy change.

1. A policy entrepreneur that seeks policy change will use one or more narrative elements to influence policy change. The incidence of policy change can be predicted based on the strength of the narratives that emphasize benefits of the proposed policy and/or the failures of the existing policy
 - a. The incidence of policy change will be controlled for ethnicity, media representation, and majority political party affiliation.

It is expected that incorporating policy narrative strategies will provide a clearer picture to determine if policy entrepreneurs use multiple narratives elements, in order, to realize policy change. It is anticipated that Ron Unz, Maria Mendoza, Rita Montero, and Lincoln Jesus Tamayo used many narrative elements such as referring to the existing bilingual education program as a failure to the Latino people (Cisneros, 2009). Such narratives might suggest that the Latino people are victims of the failing bilingual education system.

Chapter 3

Methodology

This study employs associative and descriptive techniques to study the particular narratives that policy entrepreneurs use to influence policy change. Specifically, a comparative case study approach of English for the Children campaigns in California, Arizona, Colorado, and Massachusetts will be utilized to determine if narrative strength can help predict policy change in the English for the Children Initiatives of California, Arizona, Colorado, and Massachusetts.

The fundamental hypothesis of interest is:

1. A policy entrepreneur that seeks policy change will use one or more narrative elements to influence policy change. The incidence of policy change can be predicted based on the strength of the narratives that emphasize benefits of the proposed policy and/or the failures of the existing policy
 - a. The incidence of policy change will be controlled for ethnicity, media representation, and majority political party affiliation.

Chapter 2 emphasized the important roles of policy entrepreneurs and narratives in explaining the policy change. Additionally, chapter 2 expressed the need for a systematic way to analyze how policy entrepreneurs utilize narratives to influence policy change. The NPF can be used to examine systematically the ways policy entrepreneurs manipulate narrative elements to affect policy change.

A mixed-methods research strategy is employed that supports the associative and descriptive nature of the research. This chapter discusses the study design, the multiple data collections, and data analysis actions that is applied to test the research hypotheses presented in this study. Furthermore, the chapter emphasizes the methodological issues and limitations.

Research Design: Qualitative Method, Multi-Case Study

Based on the goals of the study, a case-study research design is determined as the best design to allow for the examination of the policy outcomes and narratives in California, Arizona, Colorado, and Massachusetts.

Comparative-Case Study

Case studies are conducted to ascertain how certain conditions attribute to a phenomenon. As stated by Yin (2009), case studies are the most appropriate research design when the objective is to answer how or why. Additionally, case study design provides more clarity regarding certain social phenomena such as the case with policy change (Yin, 2009). Specifically, this research design utilizes a comparative-case study to analyze how the narratives conveyed in the English for the Children Initiatives in California, Arizona, Colorado, and Massachusetts are associated with policy change. These four cases were selected because policy entrepreneurs' coalition, English for the Children, was the catalyst for the anti-bilingual initiatives across the four states. As a result of the initiatives in California, Arizona, and Massachusetts, all realized a policy change to stop bilingual education. However, there was no policy change in Colorado; thus, the existing policy was upheld, and students are still offered bilingual education. A comparative-case study is most appropriate because it provides the researcher with a more comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon. Analyzing California, Arizona, Colorado, and Massachusetts allows the researcher to determine that the associations are more reliable and not just happenstance. The researcher can determine if the relationship is valid because all of the cases involve different actors. As mentioned by Stake (2010), comparative case studies allow the researcher to construct a general explanation for every case.

Qualitative Methodology

A qualitative method is employed; however, quantitative techniques are utilized to analyze the data. Qualitative methods are most appropriate when attempting to test more complex hypotheses and are often relied upon to capture the rich data necessary to analyze narratives (Jones, Shanahan, & McBeth, 2014). The qualitatively coded data are created through the use of content analysis, a dominant method for categorizing narratives and the NPF. The NPF is considered a bridge between non-positivists and positivists mixing the qualitative method of analyzing narratives from different media sources with the quantitative technique of applying statistical tests to determine the significance and correlation between narratives and other aspects of the policy process (Jones, Shanahan, & McBeth, 2014).

Research Setting/Context

The cases for this analysis include the English for the Children campaigns in California, Arizona, Colorado, and Massachusetts. Policy entrepreneurs in all four states utilized narratives with the intent to aid in changing the bilingual education policy. Initially, teachers in all four states could teach Limited English Proficient (LEP) students in their native language. However, the objective of the proposed policy aimed to eliminate bilingual education. Consequently, LEP students would have to be taught only in English.

California Initiative

In 1997, Ron Unz and Gloria Tuchman first proposed the initiative, Proposition 227, English for the Children, to ban bilingual education. The policy entrepreneurs quickly emphasized how the high school drop-out rate of LEP students correlated with the existing policy.

Arizona Initiative

In 1999, Maria Mendoza and Hector Ayala proposed an initiative, Proposition 203, similar to the California policy. Mendoza and Ayala were also frustrated with the current policy and highlighted how LEP students were failing. Thus, the proposed policy would eliminate bilingual education. In 2000, the proposed policy was passed, and bilingual education was banned in Arizona.

Colorado Initiative

In 2000, Charles King, Joe Chavez, and Tom Tancredo introduced an initiative similar to the proposed initiatives in California and Arizona. The policy was ruled unconstitutional. Additionally, Ron Unz distanced himself and English for the Children coalition from this initial effort. Unz denied an association with the first policy due to Tom Tancredo's anti-immigration stance. Two years later, in 2002, Rita Montero with the assistance from Ron Unz, proposed another initiative, Amendment 31, in Colorado to ban bilingual education. However, the English for the Children initiative in Colorado was unsuccessful. The existing bilingual education policy was upheld.

Massachusetts Initiative

In 2002, Lincoln Tamayo, Christine Rossell, and Rosalie Porter, proposed Question 2, which aimed to ban bilingual education. The English for the Children initiative in Massachusetts was successful in eliminating bilingual education.

Data Collection Methods and Variables

Variables

The variables in this study are the narrative strength in each case along with the policy outcome for each initiative.

Narratives

The narrative strength can be weak, moderate, or strong. These variables are created using content analysis.

Content Analysis

The narratives are coded by using content analysis, a dominant method used by NPF researchers (Jones, Shanahan, & McBeth, 2015). Specifically, content analysis is a qualitative method that includes coding articles based on predetermined categories to create variables that can be used in a statistical model (Giannantonio, 2008). There are three main types of qualitative content analysis, which include conventional, directed, and summative (Hsieh, 2005). This study employs a directed content analysis, which starts with the NPF to guide the creation of the predetermined categories. Content analysis is performed to code the narrative strengths to test the hypothesis.

A codebook is developed that is used to code the data based on a predetermined theoretical framework. As discussed in Chapter 2, narratives have defined components that allow the researcher to analyze what constitutes a failure or benefit. A codebook diminishes the level of subjectivity that occurs in content analysis. The codebook provides the researcher with a systematic way to code narratives. The codebook is developed using a deductive approach based on theory. The categories are developed based on the policy narrative theories from Stone (2002), Baumgartner and Jones (1993) and McBeth et al. (2007).

Secondly, the variables are constructed based on the weak, moderate, and strong beneficial and failure narratives established by the policy narrative (Stone, 2002; Baumgartner & Jones, 1993; McBeth et al., 2007). As summarized in table 3-1, an article that includes either numbers in favor of the proposed policy and/or against the existing policy, story of rise in favor of the proposed policy and/or story of decline against the existing policy, or characters (heroes for the proposed policy and victims for the existing policy, will be coded as 1. A 1 indicates that the narrative is weak and has 1 element that is either for the proposed policy or against the existing policy. An article that includes 2 of the elements (numbers & story of decline/rise, numbers & characters, story of decline & characters) will be coded as 2. A 2 indicates a moderate narrative. A narrative that includes all three elements (numbers, story of decline/rise, characters) will be coded as 3. A 3 indicates a strong narrative.

Table 3-1 Code Book

Coding Item	Explanation	Lists
<p>Failure or Beneficial Narrative</p> <p>1=Weak</p> <p>2=Moderate</p> <p>3=Strong</p>	<p>Weak--- A document or video that conveys a narrative that constructs the benefits of the proposed policy or the failure of the existing policy. The narrative contains one of the following elements: a number, a story of decline/rise, or a victim/hero character. The definition of a number is statistics used to express the failure of the existing policy or success of the proposed policy. The definition of a story of decline is words that describe the education services of English Language Learner (ELL) students as worse and not improving with the current policy (bilingual education policy). The definition of a story of rise is words that describe the education services of ELL students will improve with the proposed policy (English Immersion policy).</p> <p>The definition of victim (ELL students) is a person who is harmed by the current policy (bilingual education policy).</p> <p>The definition of hero (English for the Children policy) is a person who will save the victims (ELL students) with the proposed policy (English Immersion policy).</p> <p>The definition of a villain (supporter of bilingual education) is a person who is harming the ELL students.</p> <p>Moderate- A document or video that conveys a narrative that constructs the benefits of the proposed policy or the failure of the existing policy. The narrative contains two of the following elements: a number, story of decline/rise, or a victim/hero character. The definition of a number is statistics used to express the failure of the existing policy or success of the proposed policy. The definition of a story of decline is words that describe the education services of ELL students is worse and not improving with the current policy (bilingual education policy). The definition of a story of rise is words that describe the education services of ELL students will improve with the proposed policy (English Immersion policy).</p> <p>The definition of victim (ELL students) is a person who is harmed by the current policy (bilingual education policy).</p> <p>The definition of hero (English for the Children policy) is a person who will save the victims (ELL students) with the proposed policy (English Immersion policy).</p> <p>The definition of a villain (supporter of bilingual education) is a person who is harming the ELL students.</p> <p>Strong-- A document or video that conveys a narrative that constructs the benefits of the proposed policy or the failure of the existing policy. The narrative contains all three of the following elements: a number, story of decline/rise, or a victim/hero character. The definition of a number is statistics used to express the failure of the existing policy or success of the proposed policy. The definition of a story of decline is words that describe the education services of ELL students is worse and not improving with the current policy (bilingual education policy). The definition of a story of rise is words that describe the education services of ELL students will improve with the proposed policy (English Immersion policy).</p> <p>The definition of victim (ELL students) is a person who is harmed by the current policy (bilingual education policy).</p> <p>The definition of hero (English for the Children policy) is a person who will save the victims (ELL students) with the proposed policy (English Immersion policy).</p> <p>The definition of a villain (supporter of bilingual education) is a person who is harming the ELL students.</p>	<p>List the numbers, story of decline/rise, and/or the victim/hero character in the document or video:</p> <p>List and identify the phrases, paragraphs in the document or video:</p>

Intercoder Reliability

As Singletary (1993) states, “intercoder agreement is near the heart of content analysis; if the coding is not reliable, the analysis cannot be trusted” (p. 247). To establish reliability when coding narratives a Kappa is performed. Two coders establish intercoder reliability on 10 percent of the narratives. The results were significant as the coders agreed 78% for the narrative strength of each narrative (Figure 3-1). It should be noted NPF scholars have published work when agreement between coders is between 75% to 100% agreement among two coders (Jones, Shanahan, & McBeth, 2015).

Case Processing Summary						
	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
NS1 * NS2	34	100.0%	0	0.0%	34	100.0%

NS1 * NS2 Crosstabulation

			NS2			Total
			Weak	Moderate	Strong	
NS1	Weak	Count	19	3	0	22
		Expected Count	12.3	7.1	2.6	22.0
	Moderate	Count	0	7	0	7
		Expected Count	3.9	2.3	.8	7.0
	Strong	Count	0	1	4	5
		Expected Count	2.8	1.6	.6	5.0
Total	Count		19	11	4	34
	Expected Count		19.0	11.0	4.0	34.0

Symmetric Measures

		Value	Asymp. Std. Error ^a	Approx. T ^b	Approx. Sig.
Measure of Agreement	Kappa	.788	.097	6.213	.000
N of Valid Cases		34			

a. Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b. Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

Figure 3-1 Intercoder Reliability Results

Weak Narratives

Foremost, a beneficial narrative is identified as a phrase, statement or paragraph that highlights the benefits of the proposed policy. Likewise, a failure narrative is identified as a phrase, statement or paragraph that highlights the failures of the existing policy. Weak, beneficial, and failure narratives include one of the following elements; numbers, a story of rise/decline, or a hero/victim character. Specifically, an example of a beneficial narrative with one element, story of rise is expressed, in a 2001 *Boston Globe* article (Eberstien, 1998). In the article, Lincoln Tamayo stated, "I've seen what a strong education and ability to learn English has done for me and my ability to provide for my wife and children, and I want that for every kid who comes here not speaking English." The previously mentioned phrase is an example of a story of rise. Tamayo is expressing how English immersion is a success. If a document or video conveys a narrative that constructs the benefits of the proposed policy by using one narrative element such as a story of rise, then the document or video it is coded 1 for weak.

Moderate Narratives

Moderate, beneficial, and failure narratives include 2 of the following narrative elements: numbers, story of rise/decline, hero/victim characters. For example, in a 1998 *Los Angeles Times*, entitled "Bilingual Ed Shortchanges Latino Kids." Unz reveals how the current policy is harming Latino students. The Latino students are portrayed as the victim. In the same article, Unz states that "bilingual education is utterly useless as well as unsuccessful," indicating a story of decline (p.1). If a document or video conveys a narrative that constructs the failure of the existing policy or the benefit of the proposed policy using two of the narratives elements, then it is coded 2 for moderate.

Strong Narratives

Strong, beneficial, and failure narratives include 3 of the following narrative elements: numbers, story of rise/decline, hero/victim characters. For example, in a 2001 interview on *New England's Five on Five*, Ron Unz, states that bilingual education does not work indicating a story of decline. As well, Unz portrays students as the victim stating that they will not graduate. Unz also uses numbers when he mentions that students are failing the MCAT at two to three times the rate that other kids are. If a document or video conveys a narrative that constructs the failure of the existing policy or the benefit of the proposed policy using three of the narratives elements, then it is coded 3 for strong.

Data Collection Sources: Policy Narratives

Data on policy narratives is collected from a variety of sources. Similar to prior studies (Meijerink and Huitema, 2010, Brouwer and Biermann, 2011), narratives from newspapers, memos, reports, e-mails, policy documents, and videos are used in this dissertation to highlight how language was used to influence policy change. In prior NPF scholarship, the number of narratives analyzed has ranged from 75 to 300. According to Jones, Shanahan, and McBeth (2015), there is no ideal number of documents that researchers should obtain. Rather the number of documents is dependent on the availability of the documents and the nature of the research (Jones, Shanahan, & McBeth, 2015). Documents that are examined include newspaper articles, newspaper editorials, journal articles, and Ron Unz's English for the Children publications and videos. The newspapers are recovered from the LexisNexis database from (June 1, 1997, to December 1, 2002). The LexisNexis database allows the researcher to examine narratives from competing coalitions. Within the LexisNexis database, under "all news" there are seven different key phrases used to research the narratives of Pro English and Pro Bilingual Education coalitions. These search phrases include: Proposition 227, Proposition 203, Amendment 31, Question 2, English for the Children and Massachusetts,

English for the Children and California, English for the Children and Colorado, Ron Unz English for the Children, No on 227, Rita Montero, Lincoln Tamayo, English Plus More, and No on 203 (Table 3-2).

Table 3-2 Data and Data Sources

Data	Data Sources
Newspaper Articles and Newspaper editorials	Lexus Nexus—Los Angeles Times, Arizona Republic, Boston Herald, Denver Post
English for the Children Publications	Onenation.org
English for the Children Campaign Videos	English4theChildren Channel on youtube https://www.youtube.com/channel/UC_GdUCm_JyaY09agYljn6gg
Percentage of Hispanics	Census Bureau
Percentage of Bilingual Speakers	Census Bureau
Party Affiliation	California Secretary of State Arizona Secretary of State Colorado Secretary of State Massachusetts Secretary of State

Policy Outcome

The policy outcome variable is a dichotomous variable constructed using the results of the four elections from the four initiatives ranging from 1997 to 2003. It has a value of 1 if the state experienced a shift in policy and a 0 if the state did not experience a change in policy. If the elections results were for the English for the Children policy, then the policy change is coded 1 for yes. However, if the election results did not support the proposed policy, English for the Children then the policy change variable is coded 0 for no.

Data Sources and Collection: Policy Change

The policy change variable requires data on the election results. Election results are collected from the Lexis Nexis database and the Education Commission States (ECS) state policy database. The keywords in the query include the names of the proposed policies: “California Proposition 227, Arizona Proposition 203, Colorado Amendment 31, and Massachusetts Question 2.”

Contextual Factors

According to Sabatier (1999), exogenous factors, such as a change in presidential administrations, crises, and policy learning, influence policy change over time. Consequently, it is acknowledged that the percentage of the Hispanic population in each state could also attribute to policy outcome. The percentage of Hispanic variable is coded 0 for below the national average 15% of the population and 1 for above the national average of 15%. Other contextual factors such as media representation, and the percentage of Democrats and Republicans in each state are qualitatively assessed to better determine the relationship between narratives and policy outcome. Multiple NPF studies have qualitatively analyzed how contextual factors could contribute to policy outcome. For instance, Andrew Kear and Dominic Wells (2015) used descriptive statistics to qualitatively assess how voter registration could influence partisan narratives and policy outcome. The scholars provided the percentage of voters who identified as Republican and Democrat by region. Then they expressed how the

percentage of republican and democrats could affect the types of narratives conveyed within each region (Kear & Wells, 2015). Furthermore, McBeth et al. (2015) utilized descriptive statistics to analyze how presidential administrations could influence the types of narratives conveyed by each coalition. The authors divided the amount of different narratives conveyed by the Clinton and Bush administration (Mcbeth, Shanahan, Arnell, & Hathaway, 2007).

Data Organization and Management

The organization of the collected data is presented in Table 3-3. The unit of analysis is the narratives that occur in an election year. Each narrative passage (defined as a phrase, statement, or paragraph that includes a narrative) is assigned a "Narrative Id". Each narrative passage is identified as being related to the appropriate cities within each state in the case study, California, Arizona, Colorado or Massachusetts). A separate database contains the data collected for each state such as the percentage of Hispanics. For each year, state and city, this data is merged using state, city and year ID. Each narrative passage is also linked to the year of the ballot initiative at the given time. The narrative passage is then coded if it is a weak,

moderate, or strong narrative. Finally, the narrative passage is associated with the policy outcome for that year (policy change).

Table 3-3 Data Organization and Management Plan

Narrative ID	State ID	City ID	Year ID	Percentage of Hispanic Population	Narrative Strength	Policy Outcome
	California	Los Angeles	1997	Less than 15% or higher-1	Weak-1	No-0
	Arizona	Sacramento	1998		Moderate-2	Yes-1
	Colorado Massachusetts	Glendale	1999		Strong-3	
		Santa Ana	2000			
		San Jose	2001			
		Phoenix	2002			
		Tucson				
		Denver				
		Colorado Springs				
	Boston					
	Worcester					
	Springfield					

Data Analysis

Quantitative Techniques

The analysis is examined from the perspective of the policy outcomes of the four ballot initiatives. Three of the four ballot initiatives were successful in changing policy; while one ballot initiative resulted in defeat and policy remained unchanged. According to the NPF, policy change is associated with the narrative elements expressed each narrative. Thus, this study uses a binomial logistics test to determine if policy change can be predicted by narrative strength. As well, this study utilizes an odds ratio to determine how strongly policy change and narrative strength are related to each other.

Binomial Logistics Test

Previous NPF studies have used a binomial logistics test to analyze narratives (Jones, Shanahan, & McBeth, 2015). This approach is desirable because all the hypotheses within the

NPF consist of testing if policy outcomes are predicted by policy narratives (Jones, Shanahan, & McBeth, 2015). A binomial logistics test is most appropriate because the test aims to predict the probability that an event will occur in one of two categories of a dependent variable based on the continuous or categorical independent variables. (Urdan, 2001; Wagner, 2013). The prediction proves to be significant if the p significance is .05 or less (Urdan, 2001; Wagner, 2013). Specifically, this study examines if policy outcome is predicted by narrative strength.

Odds Ratio

An odds ratio is used to determine how strongly narrative strength is related to policy change. Odds ratio test provides the odds that an outcome will occur (Rudas, 1998). Notably, this study employs an odds ratio to analyze the odds policy will change given a weak, moderate or strong narrative. The farther the value is from 1 the greater the strength of the relationship (Rudas, 1998).

Methodological Limitations

The limited scope and biases of the study could lead to validity, reliability, and replicability issues. Foremost, the limited scope of study could be perceived as a problem as the study only involves four states or one policy venue. As a result, there could be an over generalization of the associations. Over generalization causes erroneous findings and causes the study not to be replicable. Additionally, biases could be an issue; since the study employs content analysis. The researcher has the authority to code the narratives with some degree of subjectivity. Once again, subjectivity causes unreliable results that are not valid and not replicable. Despite the limitations above, a comparative-case study and codebook can mitigate the previously mentioned issues. A comparative-case study counteracts the over generalization problem. The researcher can gain a clearer more precise explanation of the proposed associations because each of the four cases solidifies the hypotheses. Also, the study

integrates the findings from this policy venue with findings from other studies to substantiate the results and conclusions.

Chapter 4

Analysis and Findings

This chapter is based on policy images, policy narratives, and policy outcomes. This analysis explores the relationship between the policy narratives and the policy outcomes in California, Arizona, Colorado, and Massachusetts. The crucial aspects to this research include how do narrative elements influence policy outcomes. Furthermore, does the strength of the narrative attribute to policy change. First, there is a cross case analysis which includes a quantitative analysis of how narrative strength influences policy outcome, as well as, social contextual factors that could attribute to the policy outcome in all the cases. Afterwards, political contextual factors along with narratives are qualitatively examined per case to gain clearer understanding over how narrative elements and narrative strength attribute to the policy outcome. The mixed methods study design serves to establish triangulation within the data analysis. Triangulation can be established by qualitatively and quantitatively analyzing the same phenomenon (Creswell & Miller, 2000; Jick, 1979).

Cross-Case Analysis

Cross case analysis is utilized to amalgamate the findings from multiple cases (Khan & VanWynsberghe, 2008; Stake, 2010; Yin, 2012). This method is especially useful when there is a central question or hypothesis explored by multiple cases. There is an analysis of the similarities and differences between cases with a focus on the quantitative data and the social contextual factors that could attribute to the policy outcome in each case. Foremost, this section provides statistical data that supports the hypothesis. Also, this section provides a discussion over the social and political contextual factors which include media representation, percentage of Hispanic population and the percentage of Democrats and Republicans in each state which might also influence policy change.

Quantitative Analysis

The quantitative analysis focuses on the relationship between policy change, the dependent variable, and narrative strength, the independent variable of interest. The relationships are analyzed using data from four initiatives ranging from 1997 to 2003. Each initiative is analyzed from the time it was placed on the ballot until the time of the election (see Table 4-1). The policy change variable is constructed using the results of the four state-wide elections from four initiatives over this time period. It has a value of 1 if the state experienced a change in policy and a 0 if the state does not experience a change in policy. A failure narrative is identified as a phrase, statement or paragraph that highlighted the failures of the existing policy. A beneficial narrative is identified as a phrase, statement or paragraph that highlights the benefits of the proposed policy. Furthermore, the variables are constructed based on weak, moderate, and strong beneficial and failure narratives established by the policy narrative. The narrative strength variable is derived from the Narrative Policy Framework. As mentioned previously, the narrative elements are used as strategies to help sway policy. A beneficial or failure narrative is defined as using one of the following elements: numbers, story of decline/rise, or hero/victim characters. These narratives are coded as 1, indicating a weak narrative. A beneficial or failure narrative that uses two of the following elements—numbers, story of decline/rise, or hero, victim, villain characters is coded as 2 indicating a moderate narrative. A beneficial or failure narrative that uses three of the following elements— numbers, story of decline/rise, or hero, victim, villain characters is coded as 3, indicating a strong narrative. All four ballot initiatives aimed to eliminate bilingual education. Thus, the use of beneficial narratives to boast about all the positive outcomes of the proposed policies is of interest in this study. The use of failure narratives to discredit the existing policy that they aimed

to change is another point of interest. A binomial logistic test is performed to determine if the incidence of policy change could be predicted using weak, moderate, and strong beneficial and failure narratives. The results of the binomial logistics test are discussed focusing the hypothesis described below.

Hypothesis:

1. A policy entrepreneur that seeks policy change will use one or more narrative elements to influence policy change. The incidence of policy change can be predicted based on the strength of the narratives that emphasize benefits of the proposed policy and/or the failures of the existing policy
 - a. The incidence of policy change will be controlled for ethnicity, media representation, and majority political party affiliation.

Binomial Logistics Test

A binomial logistic regression was performed to ascertain the effects of narratives on the likelihood that policy will change. The logistic regression model was statistically significant, $\chi^2(2) = 35.675$, $p < .0005$. The model explained 28.6% (Nagelkerke R^2) of the variance in policy change and correctly classified 73.6% of cases. The narratives predictor variable was statistically significant (as shown in Table 4-1). Policy change is 2.192 times more likely to occur when moderate narratives are conveyed than weak narratives. Likewise, policy change is 8.117 times more likely to occur when strong narratives are conveyed than weak narratives.

Table 4-1 Binomial Logistics

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
NARRATIVEID	337	1.00	337.00	169.0000	97.42775
POLCHANGE	337	.00	1.00	.7240	.44766
NARRATIVESTRENGTH	337	1.00	3.00	1.8991	.79912
HISPPOP	337	6.80	64.70	25.5245	10.41955
Valid N (listwise)	337				

	B	SE	Wald	df	P	Odds Ratio	95% CI for Odds Ratio	
							Lower	Upper
Narrative Strength			26.148	2	.000			
Narrative Strength (1)	.785	.294	7.151	1	.007	2.192	1.233	3.897
Narrative Strength (2)	2.094	.422	24.586	1	.000	8.117	3.548	18.572
Hispanic Population (1)	2.998	.734	16.677	1	.000	20.048	44.755	84.528
Constant	-.072	.195	.138	1	.710	.930		

Contextual Factors

California, Arizona, and Massachusetts all experienced policy change; however, the bilingual education policy in Colorado remained unchanged. Contextual factors can provide insight on why policies change or remain unchanged. Contextual factors affect decisions given the setting at the time of the events (Cooper & White, 2012). According to Cooper & White (2012) there are historical, political, and social contextual factors that can attribute to occurrences of events.

Social and Political Contextual Factors

For this comparative study, the social and political contextual factors that could provide a clearer picture for the policy outcomes include media representation, the percentage of Hispanic population, and the percentage of Democrats and Republicans in each state. The information from the graphs was from the 1990 and 2000 census which is within the same time frame of the four ballot initiatives stemming from 1998- 2003. This section refers to the figures below to discuss each contextual variable as it pertains to all four cases.

Media Representation

The media representation of the initiative campaign varied in all four states. The three states that realized policy change had the greatest amount of media representation; however, Colorado experienced the least amount. California, Arizona, and Massachusetts experienced media coverage in two to four cities. Media representation is measured by calculating the percentage of cities in each state that provided media representation over the campaigns. Figure 4-1 shows California had the highest amount of media coverage as compared to all of the four states. Media coverage was mainly in one city in Colorado. Perhaps, the lack of media coverage in Colorado could attribute to the initiative failing to pass (see Figure 4-1).

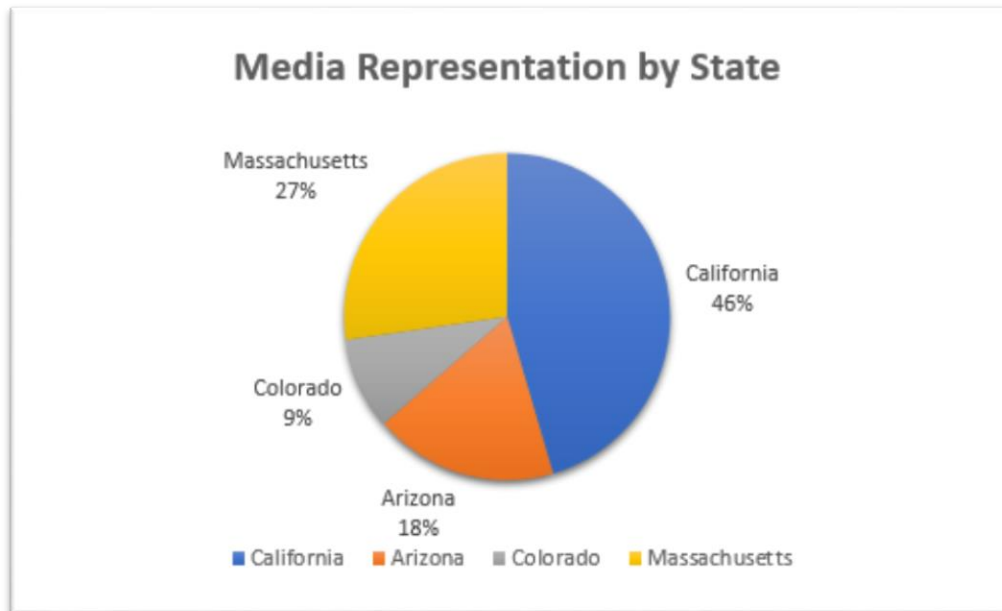


Figure 4-1 Media Representation by State. Author's Own Analysis. V. Cartwright (2017).

Percentage of Hispanic Population

As suggested by the binomial logistics test, the states with a higher Hispanic population were more likely to experience policy change as compared to states with a lower Hispanic population. As shown by the figure 4-2, most cities that received the most media representation had a considerably greater Hispanic population than the state average. One reason could be attributed to Anglo-Americans feeling threatened by the Hispanic population. There is a sense of competition for public goods such as education for Anglo children versus Hispanic children. In a sense, Anglos feel that Hispanics would take over. Therefore, Anglos are more than likely to favor the English immersion policy (Barker & Giles, 2004).

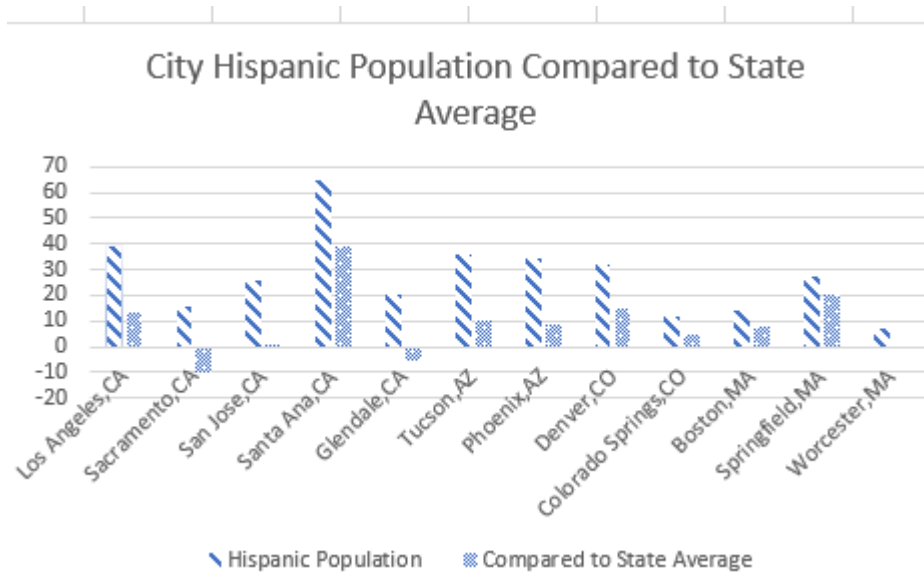


Figure 4-2 City Hispanic Population Compared to State Average. Adapted from Census

Data 2000, Census Data 2010

Percentage of Democrats and Republicans

During the early 1990s, bilingual education was not contested by the Republicans nor the Democrats on the federal level (Miguel, 2004). This lack of opposition was primarily due to the republicans seeking more votes from Latinos. Although in the mid-1990s, there was a growing opposition towards bilingual education. This opposition was due to the Bilingual Act of 1994 and the Republicans gaining control over Congress and the houses. In fact, the growing opposition became a bipartisan issue, the Democrats agreed with the Republicans to gain political clout (Miguel, 2004). At the local level, there were many ballot initiatives proposed to eliminate bilingual education across the country. Per figure 1, California, Arizona and Massachusetts all had a higher percentage of Democrats and still passed the bill to eliminate bilingual education. Thus, the ban against bilingual education appears to be a bipartisan issue.

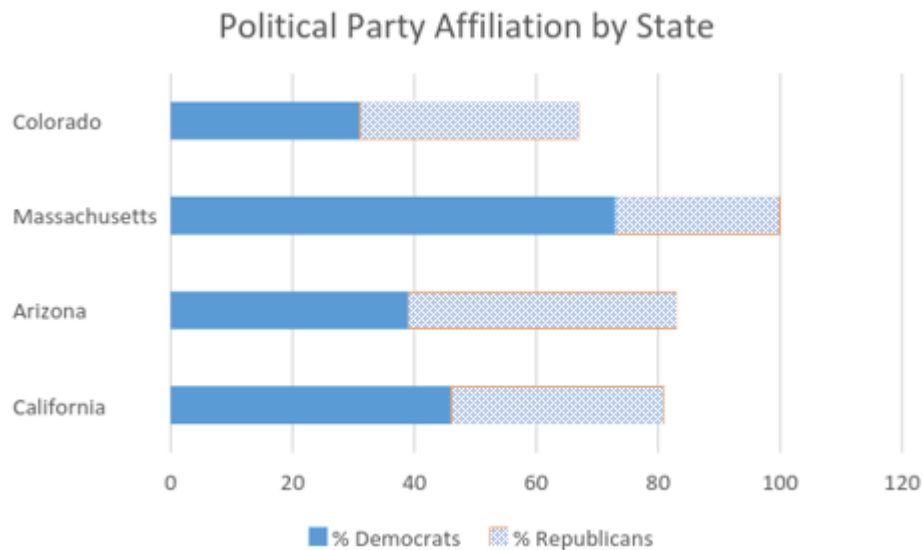


Figure 4-3 Political Party Affiliation by State. Adapted from Census Data 2000, Census Data 2010.

Qualitative Analysis

Certainly, statistics alone can only provide a partial analysis of any event. Qualitative analysis portrays a more holistic view as to how policy change is influenced by the strength of

the narrative conveyed by policy entrepreneurs. As well, this section will delve deeper into the historical contextual factors and actual narratives conveyed in each case (Fischer & Forester, 1993)

California

In 1997, Ron Unz and Gloria Tuchman proposed the initiative, Proposition 227, English for the Children, to ban bilingual education. In California, 61% of the population voted for the initiative. As a result, California citizens voted to ban bilingual education and to enforce English only instruction. The reason for the passing of the initiative could be attributed to the strong narratives conveyed by the policy entrepreneurs. California had a considerable amount of strong narratives. Perhaps, the strong narratives could be ascribed to California's high Hispanic population. According to the 1990s census, the Hispanic population was a quarter of the entire population. As well, Hispanics made up to 40% of the population in Los Angeles. Los Angeles received the most media representation covering the English-only initiative. Policy entrepreneurs garnered great support for this initiative due to Anglos feeling of contention that Hispanics would take over. Another reason for these strong narratives could be accredited to the historical contextual factors during the time of the proposed Proposition 227.

Historical Contextual Factors

In the late 1980s and early 1990s, California had experienced high tensions regarding immigration. Immigration policies and English only policies were prominent in California. For instance, in 1986, California proposed Proposition 63, which made English the official language. Afterwards, in 1994, Proposition 187 was proposed to end benefits of illegal immigrants. Thus, the introduction of Proposition 227, in 1998, banning bilingual education seemed befitting. However, policy entrepreneurs, shied away from the negativity of the previous propositions.

True, the policy entrepreneurs espoused strong narratives; yet, they used narrative elements to frame the proposition as a benefit for the Hispanic population

California Narrative Elements

According to the figure 4-4, policy entrepreneurs utilized characters in 25% of narratives, numbers in 35% of narratives, and story of decline/rise in 40% of narratives.

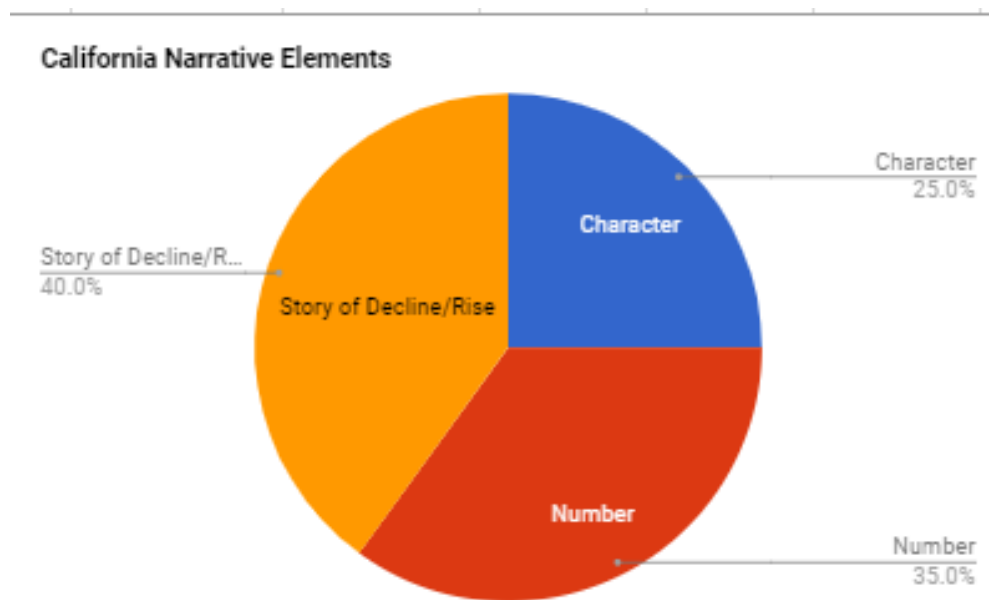


Figure 4-4 California Narrative Elements. Author's Original Analysis.

Characters

During the California election, the policy entrepreneurs wanted to appear sympathetic to the Hispanic students and their parents. Consequently, the policy entrepreneurs emphasized how the existing bilingual education policy victimized Hispanic students. The victim character was used several times as evident by the following policy entrepreneurs,

Jon Fleischman, campaign manager stated, “The people most excited by our initiative have been the people most affected by bilingual education; the most energy has come from the people it has most failed.” (Bazeley, 1997)

Sara Divito Hardman, leader of the California branch of the Christian Coalition argued that “multiculturalism has failed our children” and is “hurting our country.” (Trounstine, 1997)

And, Jaimie Escalante said, “Prior to beginning his Calculus AP class at Garfield H.S., [he] had worked to eliminate the school's "bilingual education" classes, which were holding students back academically.” (Escalante, 1997)

Numbers

Numbers were used frequently by policy entrepreneurs in California's campaign. The policy entrepreneurs used numbers in many ways. First, they wanted to express how the existing policy was failing the students by highlighting the failure rate and drop-out rate. Moreover, the policy entrepreneurs emphasized the Hispanic parents' support for the proposed policy with the use of poll numbers. These illustrations are evident from the following narratives:

The polls show over 80% of parents want their children to learn English and do not want bilingual education. (Unz, 2010)

One-fourth of California students — or about 1.3 million — don't know English, and only 5 or 6 percent of those students learn English each year. That's an annual failure rate of 95 percent. (Unz, 2010)

Story of Decline/Rise

Policy entrepreneurs used stories of decline and rise the most in their narratives. The entrepreneurs stress how current policy of transitional bilingual education was not effectual. Furthermore, the policy entrepreneurs convey that the proposed English-only policy would help the students learn English most successfully.

Help get the word out, and this next school year will be the last burdened by the failure of bilingual education. (Unz, 1997)

Unz stated, “Bilingual education must go because it does not successfully teach children English and is too costly. Bilingual education [is] a bizarre government program.” (Munoz, 1997)

The system [of bilingual education] is so obviously unworkable that it has to be changed. (Unz, 2010)

Larry Bowler stated, “Has bilingual education failed as a program, absolutely.” (Unz,2010)

Narrative Strength

According to figure 4-5, the policy entrepreneurs told mostly moderate and strong narratives throughout the campaign. Specifically, they used two to three narrative elements in most of their narratives to influence policy change. This section examines narrative strengths expressed by the policy entrepreneurs in California.

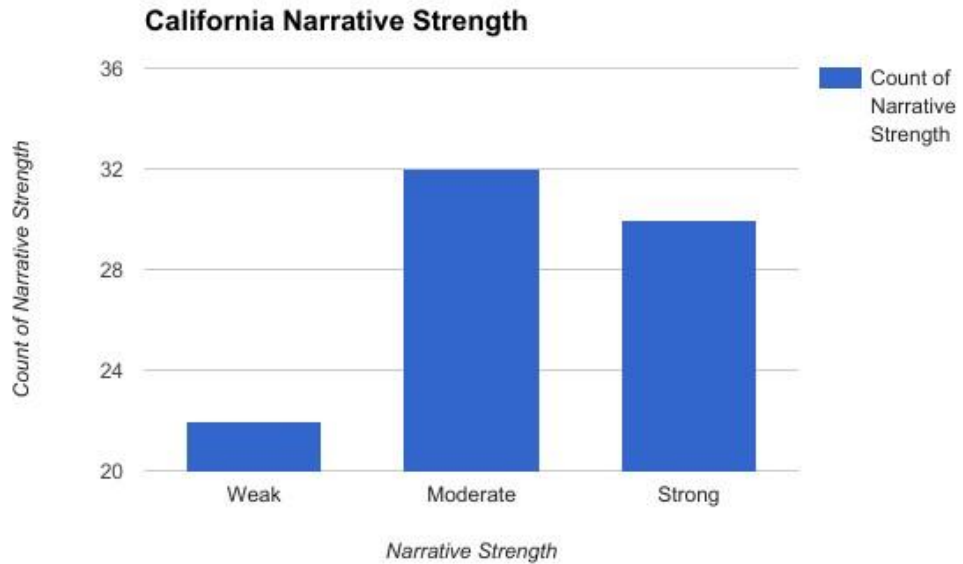


Figure 4-5 California Narrative Strength. Author’s original analysis

Strong Narrative

The majority of the strong narratives which include all three elements numbers, victim character, and a story of decline/rise focused on the failure of the existing policy. The policy entrepreneurs repeatedly emphasized how the current policy victimized the students for multiple years. Additionally, they continued to state how the proposed policy would rescue the students from the failure of the existing policy. The examples of strong narratives conveyed by the policy entrepreneurs are exhibited below.

Latino Beat stated:

After three decades of ivory-tower academicians using children for their experiments, there is no valid reason to allow them to continue their costly failure. It's time the voters take control and pass the model proposed in Proposition 227. In the end it will meet the needs of all 1.3 million English learners. Now that our disastrous thirty-year old experiment with Spanish-only so-called "bilingual education" is being exposed by the media, public support is evaporating and our "English for the Children" initiative threatens to put bilingual education out of business once and for all. With jobs and government funding at stake, the profiteers are running scared.(Unz,1998)

Today, 23.1% of all California schoolchildren don't know English. With your help, we'll send the current system to the junkyard in June 1998, begin teaching English to all the children in our schools at that point, and achieve something closer to 99% fluency among California schoolchildren by January 1999. Let's get the job done! (Unz, 1997)

Moderate Narratives

The moderate narratives contained two of the three narrative elements examined in this study. The majority of the moderate narratives included the story of decline or rise and the character. Once again, the policy entrepreneurs continuously stressed how Hispanic students were victims of the existing bilingual education policy. In combination with the victim character, the policy entrepreneurs uttered a story of rise. Examples of the moderate narratives expressed in California include:

My own view is that immigrants and their children should be assisted in learning English as rapidly as possible, in order to better their lives and those of all Californians. (Unz,1997)

Escalante believes that for students to succeed, “they have to dominate the English language. [I] point to [my] experience as an immigrant from Bolivia, a parent and a teacher, to justify [my] support of this measure. [I] am convinced that bilingual education stunts the growth of students.” (Rodriguez & Gonzalez, 1997)

English for the Children reduced to a single sentence, our initiative would simply ensure that all the little immigrant children in California are sent to school and taught English so that they can become successful members of American society. (Unz, 1998)

Weak Narratives

Evident from table, compared to strong and moderate narratives, policy entrepreneurs in California told the least amount of weak narratives. Mentioned previously, the policy entrepreneurs told a story of rise or decline the most in weak narratives. They continued to stress the need for change and the opportunity for success with the proposed policy. The following narratives provide examples of weak narratives with a focus on a story of decline or rise.

Unz exclaimed, “Today in California, bilingual education is a dismal failure. The theory behind bilingual education is nuts. And in about four months, we’re going to be able to get rid of it.” (Aratani, 1998)

Governor Wilson called, the present practice of teaching non-English-speaking children in their own language in the early grades: “one of the great misfired good intentions of our time. . . . I think it has failed. Whether or not that outweighs the merits of seeing to it that children gain access to opportunities . . . by becoming fluent in English as soon as possible is a question I’ll have to decide.” (Vanzi, 1998)

California Summary

In summation, California policy entrepreneurs shared multiple strong and moderate narratives that focused on uplifting the victimized Hispanic students. The entrepreneurs provided many examples of Hispanic students being stifled by the existing bilingual education policy through the use of numbers and stories of decline.

Arizona

In 2000, the citizens of Arizona voted to change the bilingual education policy. The new policy prohibited LEP (Limited English Proficient) students from learning in their native language. The Arizona policy entrepreneurs were empowered by the success of the California campaign (Barker & Giles, 2004). Additionally, the timing for an English-only instruction policy was suitable due to recent policies and laws that were passed in Arizona. The following section describes the previous policies and laws in detail which provided a solid ground for the proposal of ending bilingual education.

Historical Context

In 1988, Arizona passed Proposition 106 which required every citizen to speak English in the workplace. However, in 1990, the proposition was ruled unconstitutional violating the first amendment. In the mid 1990s, California and Texas passed strict immigration laws. As a result, immigrants diverted to Arizona where the laws were less restrictive. The influx of immigration led to stricter immigration policies in Arizona. There were two laws passed in 1997 that targeted immigrants. First, Arizona, made English its official language. Second, Operation Restoration was enacted, which detained anyone who looked Hispanic. Law officials could detain anyone who they perceived as an immigrant just by their physical appearance. All of these policies and events allowed for policy entrepreneurs to sway the public to change the existing bilingual education policy. Similar to the California campaign, the policy entrepreneurs used narrative elements to appear as advocates for the Hispanic students.

Arizona Narrative Elements

Per the figure 4-6, Arizona policy entrepreneurs used numbers with less frequency accounting for 25% of the time. However, characters and a story of decline were utilized more frequently approximately 35% and 40% of the time respectively.

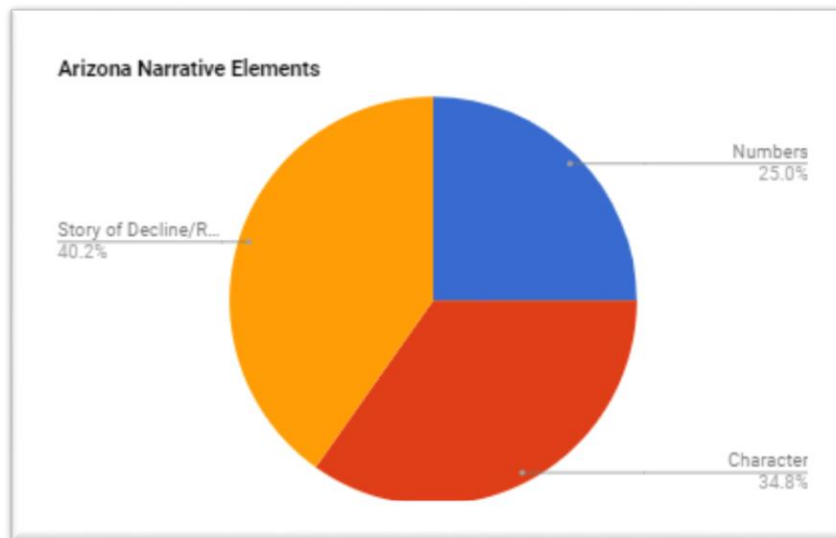


Figure 4-6 Arizona Narrative Elements. Author's Original Analysis.

Characters

In the Arizona campaign, the policy entrepreneurs depicted the Hispanic students and parents as victims. Additionally, the policy entrepreneurs began to characterize themselves as heroes and the existing bilingual education policy as a villain. The use of characters in the Arizona campaign are presented below by Ron Unz and Hector Ayala. Ron Unz is clearly portraying himself as a hero for the children. Hector Ayala stresses how the Hispanic students are victims and diminished by the current bilingual education policy.

Unz stated: “ I personally think children should be taught English in schools. I think it makes a lot of sense, I also think that the people of Arizona should have the right to decide whether children in Arizona are taught English. All I’m doing right now is helping to make sure that people have the right to vote on it.” (Collins, 2000)

Hector Ayala stated, “Hispanic students are demeaned when people tell them they are the only ones in the world who can’t be taught by immersion. That’s condescending.” (Bustamante, 2000)

Bilingual education is an evil system of racial discrimination that has destroyed the education of countless Hispanic children in our state (Mendoza & Ayala, 2000)

Numbers

Arizona policy entrepreneurs used numbers to emphasize the inefficiency of the existing bilingual education policy. Numbers were also utilized to give prominence to the amount of people who supported the proposed English-only instruction policy. Some examples of how policy entrepreneurs used numbers are shown below. Hector Ayala uses numbers to stress the amount of people who disapprove of current bilingual education policy. Meanwhile, Ron Unz uses numbers in the form of time to stress how the current bilingual education system is inept.

Hector Ayala stated, “We found out when we organized two years ago that there were thousands of parents out there who were already dissatisfied.” (Collins, 2000)

Ron Unz stated, “Two-thirds of the children in our own Tucson district who finally learn enough English to leave the bilingual program have spent eight years or more in that program.” (Mendoza & Ayala, 2000)

Story of Decline/Rise

The Arizona policy entrepreneurs told more stories of rise than in California. One reason for the increase of the story of rise could be attributed to the success of the prior California campaign. The policy entrepreneurs all expressed how the current bilingual education policy was intended to benefit the students; however, it failed the students. Furthermore, Ken Noonan points out the progress made from the transition to English immersion.

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 (Mendoza & Ayala, 1999)

Mendoza stated, "Bilingual education was (supposed to be) a process to learn English. But bilingual educators have strayed from that philosophy, and now they have pushed learning English to the back burner. Now it's the preservation of culture, heritage and native tongue." (Garcia, 2000)

Ken Noonan stated, "But when California had to scrap bilingual education, Noonan, one of the founders of the California Association of Bilingual Educators, soon saw the benefits of English immersion. Now I see kids learning to read English in second and third grades when it used to be fourth and fifth grades." (Mendoza & Ayala, 1999)

Narrative Strength

The policy entrepreneurs told approximately equal amount weak, moderate and strong narratives (figure 4-7). The narratives all stressed the importance of learning English in order to be successful. Policy entrepreneurs also compared the success of the Hispanic students in California with the English immersion policy to the prospective success in Arizona. The next section will provide the strong, moderate, and weak narratives conveyed by the policy entrepreneurs.

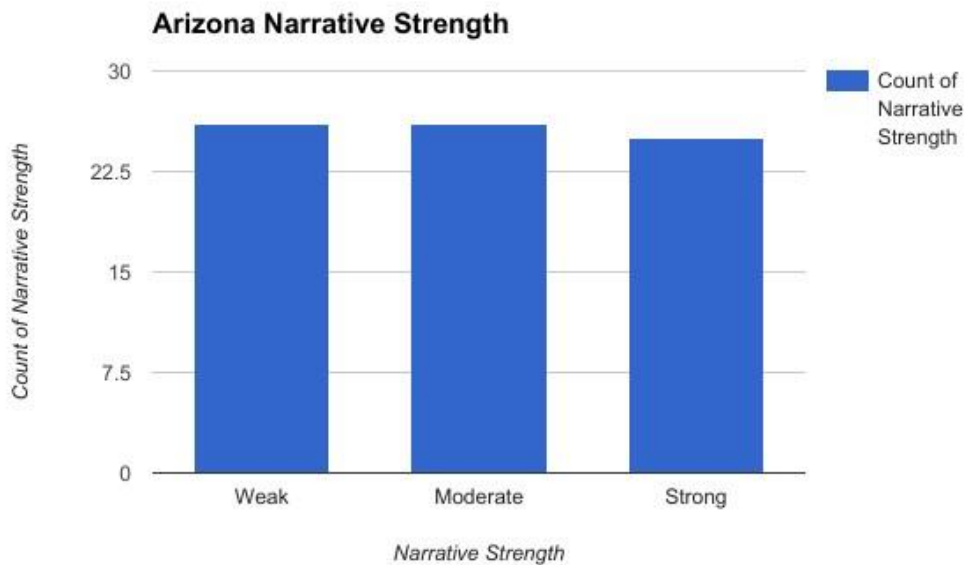


Figure 4-7 Arizona Narrative Strength. Author's Own Original Analysis.

Strong Narratives

The strong narratives within the Arizona campaign were similar to the strong narratives within the California campaign. For instance, all the narratives depicted the Hispanic students as victims. However, there were some differences between Arizona and California. Foremost, the strong narratives in Arizona characterized the existing bilingual education policy as the villain. Furthermore, the policy entrepreneurs continuously highlighted how the Hispanic students in California were improving due to the new English immersion policy. In the following narratives, Salmon, Ayala, Mendoza, and Unz all provide examples of the previously mentioned elements.

Salmon stated:

After California abolished bilingual education, test scores among immigrant students went up. [With the current bilingual education program], only 5.5 percent of bilingual students in Arizona become proficient in English. If 95 percent of the kids fail, then the program ought to be dumped. Bilingual education is a “boondoggle” that after 30 years has failed to produce the intended results

of teaching immigrant students to be proficient in both their native language and English. Also bilingual education is the reason for the high dropout rate among Hispanic students in Arizona. (Gonzalez, 2000)

Hector Ayala and Maria Mendoza exclaimed:

By opposing Proposition 203, The Republic is endorsing Arizona's existing system of Spanish-only, so-called bilingual education, which prevents tens of thousands of poor Hispanic children from being taught to read, write and speak English. Bilingual education is an evil system of racial discrimination that has destroyed the education of countless Hispanic children in our state. We have worked for years with immigrant parents, whose children are being destroyed by this cruel Spanish-only system. Our Proposition 203 is similar to California's Proposition 227, which passed in 1998 against the same opposition from the same corrupt bilingual-education industry. (Mendoza & Ayala, 2000)

Rita Montero stated, "Bilingual education was designed to teach poor Hispanics English and it has not done that in the last 30 years. The program is failing." (Watson, 2000)

Moderate Narratives

The moderate narratives in Arizona were mostly comprised of characters and story of decline and rise. The policy entrepreneurs constantly brought up the success in California indicating a story of rise. Additionally, the entrepreneurs espoused a story of decline by emphasizing the current failing bilingual education system. The narratives below provide examples of the moderate narratives voiced in Arizona.

Unz exclaimed:

During the California campaign, the strongest argument made by the opposition was that Prop. 227 was overly sweeping, a drastic and risky educational change which would harm the academic performance of immigrant students. Now that the outstanding test scores from post-227 California have deflated this argument, pro-bilingual advocates in Arizona seem to be grasping at straws. (Gallagher, 2000)

Elia Cox stated:

I believe that the quality of education in public schools has deteriorated both in academics and discipline. I would never want her (daughter) in bilingual education because I believe it contributes to poor education by detracting from teachers' concentrating on core subjects. I have seen

bilingual education become an obstacle to Spanish-speaking children becoming proficient English speakers. (Cox, 1999)

Ayala stated, "An ineffective system of bilingual education that leaves far too many students illiterate in two languages." (Holm, 1999)

Weak Narratives

The majority of the weak narratives included story of decline stressing how the current bilingual education policy was a failure and needed to be changed. Secondly, the policy entrepreneurs depicted the Hispanic students as victims and the bilingual education supporters as villains. Mendoza, Martinez, and Unz all display the previously mentioned elements in the narratives below.

Mendoza stated, "This opposition does not scare me,, referring to protesters. They are more concerned about preserving their roots than about educating Mexican-American children." (Samuelson, 1999)

Mike Martinez stated, "The present system (bilingual education) is faltering and plagued with many serious problems." (Navarrette & Martinez, 1999)

Unz stated:

Bottom line: It (bilingual education) doesn't work. It's (bilingual education) never worked and therefore we should get rid of it. I agreed to help finance Proposition 203 after meeting with Mendoza and Ayala and hearing the 'horror stories' of how bilingual education wasn't working. (Gonzalez, 2000)

Arizona Summary

Overall, the narratives expressed in Arizona were similar to the narratives communicated in California. Like the narratives in California, the narratives in Arizona depicted the Hispanic students as victims of the current bilingual education system. Yet, the Arizona policy entrepreneurs introduced themselves as heroes and bilingual education, as well as,

bilingual education supporters as villains. Moreover, the story of rise was more pronounced due to the success of California's campaign

Colorado

The Colorado campaign is noticeable; since, it is the only campaign that resulted in no policy change. There are three specific circumstances that could attribute to the policy outcome. First, Colorado was not the only English Immersion campaign occurring at the time. In fact, there was an English Immersion campaign occurring in Massachusetts. True, there were separate policy entrepreneurs in each campaign; however, Ron Unz was the primary policy entrepreneur for both campaigns. His funds and time were split between Colorado and Massachusetts. Second, even though the scope of this research focuses on the policy entrepreneurs for English immersion it is worth mentioning the policy entrepreneurs who supported bilingual education provided more resources. Specifically, Pat Stryker donated three million dollars to campaign opposing English immersion (Fitzgerald, 2011). Colorado had the most support against English immersion compared to all of the three campaigns. Third, there was a prior attempt to get an English immersion policy on the ballot. The next section will describe the prior policy and its connection to the policy outcome.

Historical Contextual Factors

Prior to 2002, there was a proposal for English only instruction in 1999 set to appear on the 2000 General Election ballot. (Diaz, 2008) The policy entrepreneurs who spearheaded the earlier English immersion policy were Charles King, Linda Chavez and Tom Tancredo. Tom Tancredo was an extreme conservative who strongly supported anti-immigration laws. As a result, Unz was not a part of the first attempt and deliberately stated his disapproval of the policy because it was lead by people who was not for the well-being of Hispanics. Lacking the needed

funding and support, the proposal was challenged for being misleading. Thus, the Supreme Court ruled the policy unconstitutional and never made it to the ballot.

However, two years later, Unz along with Rita Montero Jeanine Chavez revitalized the English-immersion policy. Rita Montero was a left-wing democrat who appeared to have Hispanics' best interest in mind.

Perhaps, the failed attempt to realize the proposal on the ballot last time could have caused the policy entrepreneurs to take a more indiscreet approach which resulted in more weak narratives with fewer narrative elements.

Colorado Narrative Elements

In Colorado, numbers were used less frequently accounting for over 25% of the narratives. The use of a story of decline and rise was used approximately 34% of the narratives. However, characters were use the most which was used in approximately 40% of the narratives (figure 4-8).

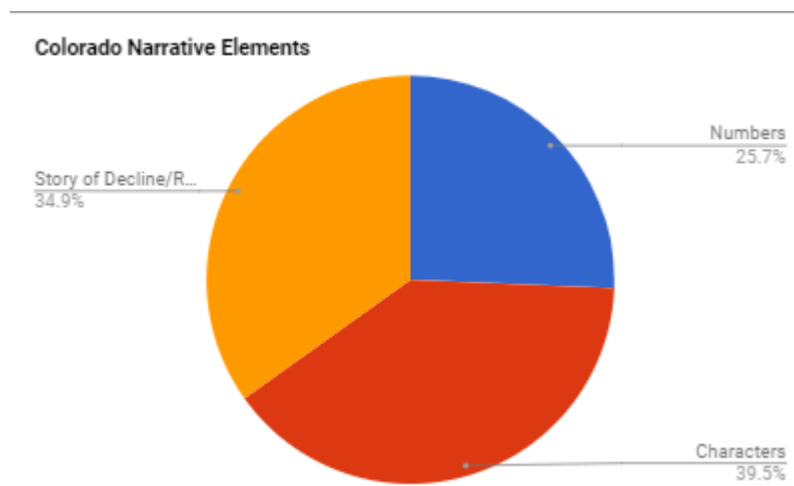


Figure 4-8 Colorado Narrative Elements. Author's original analysis.

Characters

Like in the California and Arizona campaigns, the Colorado policy entrepreneurs appealed to the populace by depicting the Hispanic students as victims of the bilingual education system. However, the Colorado policy entrepreneurs increased the intensity by representing bilingual education supporters as villains. In fact, the villain character was used just as frequently as the victim character. In general, the policy entrepreneurs used characters in a more abrasive manner as compared to the other policy entrepreneurs. In the following narratives, Rita Montero and Ron Unz referred to bilingual education supporters as radicals and vampires who were robbing Hispanic students from a good education.

Rita Montero stated, "The concept (bilingual education) has been hijacked by radicals like she used to be who have turned it into 'the last bastion of the Chicano movement.' Bilingual educators have exploited Hispanic children to perpetuate their jobs." (Hubler,2001)

Unz and amendment co-author Rita Montero of Denver contended, " that segregating Hispanic students in bilingual classrooms hurts their chances of learning English and succeeding in the American labor market. " (Hubler, 2002)

Authors Unz and Rita Montero of Denver said, "educators deserve to be penalized if they ruin Hispanic kids' lives. Native-language instruction prevents kids from learning English, they say and that puts the benefits of mainstream America out of reach." (Hubler, 2002)

Montero called, "[heiress Pat Stryker and other Anglo parents] vampires who suck the lifeblood out of Hispanic kids' schools so their own schools can thrive." (Hubler,2002)

Numbers

As mentioned earlier, numbers were used with less frequency as compared to the other elements. The policy entrepreneurs mainly utilized numbers to emphasize the high failure rate of Hispanics in bilingual education programs, the success rate of English immersion programs,

and the growing support for the English immersion policy. The following narratives from Ron Unz depict how numbers were used.

Statewide polls by third-parties reported support running at 68% in one and 70% in the other, numbers identical to within the margin of error. Although these huge apparent leads of between 40 and 50 percentage points will surely shrink during the course of an actual campaign, they indicate that Colorado voters are likely to follow those in California and Arizona in dismantling Spanish-only instruction. (Unz, 2002)

Colorado's statewide academic tests showed a fascinating though hardly surprising pattern: limited-English students who were not enrolled in bilingual education programs outscored those who were so enrolled in every grade and every subject area. (Unz, 2002)

Instead, in less than four years after the passage of the initiative in California the test scores of over a million dents have nearly doubled. They've been rising rapidly. (Unz, 2002)

Story of Decline/Rise

The policy entrepreneurs in Colorado focused on a story of decline rather than rise. All of the stories of decline were more timid, admitting that the bilingual education program had the potential to be great but turned out to be a failure. Rita Montero expresses the previously mentioned sentiment in the following narratives.

Rita Montero stated, "Bilingual education, is a program with great intentions that went far astray." (Hubler, 2001)

Rita Montero stated, "(A Transitional Native Language Instruction Model classroom) is a Spanish-speaking educational ghetto." (Montero, 2002)

Rita Montero stated, " I think bilingual education started off with good intentions but has turned into a monster that doesn't succeed." (Hubler, 2002)

Narrative Strength

According to figure 4-9, there was a great disparity between the amount of weak narratives compared to the amount of moderate and strong narratives articulated in the Colorado campaign. Particularly, the policy entrepreneurs expressed weak narratives that had used the character element the most

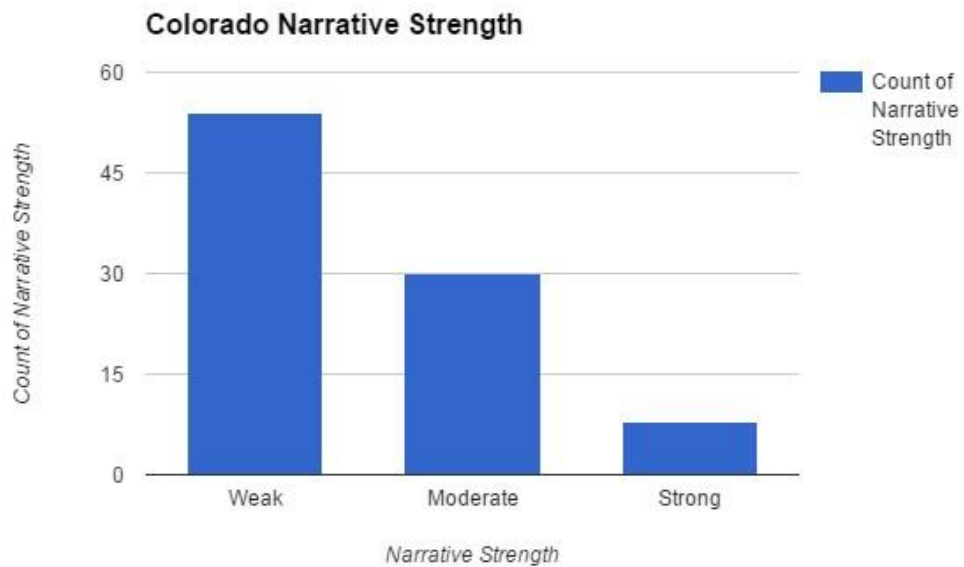


Figure 4-9 Colorado Narrative Strength. Author's Own Original Analysis.

Strong Narratives

The Colorado policy entrepreneurs told the least amount of strong narratives, in fact, there were only 8 strong narratives expressed during the entire campaign. Once again, in the following narratives, Hispanic and immigrant students are depicted as

victims of the bilingual education system. Furthermore, bilingual education supporters are represented as villains who are ruining the lives of Hispanic students. Numbers are utilized to reiterate the failure of the bilingual education policy and the success of the English immersion policy in California. Thus, the strong narratives shared the same message as in the other campaigns. What follows are some of the strong narratives conveyed in the Colorado campaign.

Montero stated:

For more than 20 years, so-called 'bilingual education' programs have destroyed the educations and even the lives of tens of thousands of young children. In 1998, a similar initiative was put on the ballot in California, and it passed. Since then, the test scores of more than a million immigrant students in the state have nearly doubled, and the founder of the California Association of Bilingual Educators has become a complete convert to English immersion and a strong supporter of the initiative. The people were right and the politicians were wrong. Now we have a chance to give immigrant students in Colorado the same academic boost they were able to get in California by passing Amendment 31. The only real supporters of these failed bilingual programs are the people who make their living from them, as well as a few deluded Anglos. Over the last decade, the number of non-English-speaking children has risen by 160 percent in Colorado. They make up 61,240 of our student population, and every year the numbers continue to grow. Public education has failed to provide these children with an adequate English education, and consequently the dropout rate continues to soar and the learning gap continues to widen. That is why I became involved almost eight years ago in the effort to stop these discriminatory educational attacks against Hispanic and other immigrant children. The real culprits are the Spanish-only educational bureaucrats who inflicted this suffering on innocent children. As a result, immigrant children often leave Colorado schools never knowing how to read or write or sometimes even speak English properly. As illiterates in two languages, they can't get good jobs or go on to college, and are forced to work as janitors or laborers or become trapped in a life of welfare or crime. The classes may be called 'bilingual,' but in most classes Latino children are segregated in Spanish-speaking educational ghettos, where students spend years learning barely any English at all, despite the desperate wishes of their parents. (Montero, 2002)

Colorado voters should note that while nearly all the leading opponents of bilingual education in their state are Hispanic, advocates of bilingual education still haven't managed to find a single prominent Hispanic willing defend their disastrous Spanish-only system, which has already destroyed the lives and educations of so many young Hispanic children. (Unz, 2001)

With the dramatic rise of post-Prop. 227 immigrant test scores in California, fueling this determination, and numerous national surveys of Latino adults overwhelmingly confirming its popularity. Denouncing "English for the Children" as anti-Latino has now become just too silly an

argument for anyone to continue to make. UAs a result, generations of politicians, Latino and Anglo alike, stayed in their political foxholes watching mutely as other generations of Hispanic youngsters failed to properly learn to read or write or even speak English, even while bilingual appatchiks grew fat off government contracts to preserve this misery. Soon other groups of grassroots Latino activists were organizing to overturn thirty years of educational disaster in Arizona, in Colorado, in Texas, and elsewhere throughout the country. (Unz, 2001)

Moderate Narratives

The two narrative elements used the most in the moderate narratives were a story of decline/rise and characters. The policy entrepreneurs in Colorado mostly included a story of decline or rise when referring to the current bilingual education system. They also included a story of rise pertaining to the English immersion policy. The victim and villain characters were used with great frequency related to immigrants and bilingual education supporters respectfully. The succeeding narratives are samples of the moderate narratives told during the Colorado campaign.

Montero states:

Bilingual education has had more than enough chances to prove itself and has failed. Some say it's a flawed educational theory, while others say it's a good theory doomed by inadequate resources - that it could work but never will, They needed enough bodies to justify the teacher's salary. I assume bilingual education is a disaster everywhere: 'Denver has had probably the longest history with bilingual education, and as the largest bilingual program in the state of Colorado, if they've been at it for all of these years, and they can't get it straight, imagine what the smaller districts are struggling with.' bilingual education condemns immigrants to being 'illiterate in two languages. Hubler, 2002)

Given the rapid and dramatic subsequent rise in the academic test scores of over a million California immigrant students, I hope our initiative in Colorado will achieve an even greater victory. (Unz, 2001)

Unz stated, "Rising test scores in California prove that banning foreign languages from instructional use improves student performance." (Hubler, 2001).

Weak Narratives

As mentioned previously, policy entrepreneurs produced the most weak narratives. The weak narratives utilized the character narrative element most frequently. The policy

entrepreneurs seemed to stress how the immigrants were victims of the bilingual education system. Bilingual education supporters were regarded as villains who were preventing immigrants from succeeding in America. In fact, it appears the policy entrepreneurs resulted to name calling.

Chuck Green and Rita Montero expressed:

Kids who aren't required to learn English as quickly as possible are at a great disadvantage, and it's a form of abuse to hold them back on so-called 'cultural' grounds. In many cases, the bilingual bureaucracy has become a fiefdom whose primary goal is to capture as many students as possible and hold them hostage for as long as possible. (Green, 2001)

This widespread perception is largely mythical. Although some union leaders do support bilingual education, many, perhaps most, quietly do not, but fear to voice their views given the notorious fervor of bilingual advocates. In fact, Albert Shanker, the legendary (and legendarily pugnacious) founder of the modern American teachers' union movement, was for decades our nation's most determined national opponent of bilingual education. Other conspiratorial conservatives have speculated that Latino politicians and administrators are the true force behind this program, viewing it as a means of maintaining the cohesion of their ethnic base by preventing Latino children from learning English. This view is equally mythical, with most Latino politicians and administrators actually regarding bilingual programs with a mix of skepticism or even outright opposition; their silence or mumbled public support derives largely from their similar fear of provoking the organized fury of bilingual backers. (Unz, 2002)

Montero stated, "Forcing young Latino students into separate Spanish-almost-only classes might reasonably be regarded as a form of de facto racial segregation" (Unz, 2002).

Colorado Summary

The narratives told in Colorado had a terser undertone as compared to other campaigns. The policy entrepreneurs took a more aggressive approach which resulted in personally attacking their opponents instead of bilingual education. Perhaps, the aggressive nature of the narratives was one factor that attributed to no policy change.

Massachusetts

In 2002, 68 percent of the citizens of Massachusetts voted to eliminate bilingual education with the passage of Question 2. The campaign occurred concurrently with Colorado's English immersion campaign. It is quite interesting that an English - immersion policy would pass in Massachusetts where the first bilingual education policy passed (Jong, 2005). The passing of Question 2 is baffling since Massachusetts had a relatively low number of LEP (Limited English Proficient) students and the majority of the students were not in a bilingual education program (Fitzgerald, 2011).

Historical Contextual Factors

Historically, at the state-level there were no immigration or official English policies that would lead to the proposal and the passage of an English immersion policy. Although, on the national level, there was growing support for English immersion with the passage of California and Arizona's English immersion policies. Additionally, there was growing support for English immersion prompted by gubernatorial candidate, Mitt Romney's campaign (Fitzgerald, 2011). Due to the lack of historical context in Massachusetts, the narratives play an even more significant role in determining why the English immersion policy passed.

Massachusetts Narrative Elements

Per figure 4-10, the policy entrepreneurs employed a story of decline or rise in approximately 50% of their narratives. The usage of characters and number narrative elements were collectively incorporated in 50% of the narratives.

Massachusetts Narrative Elements

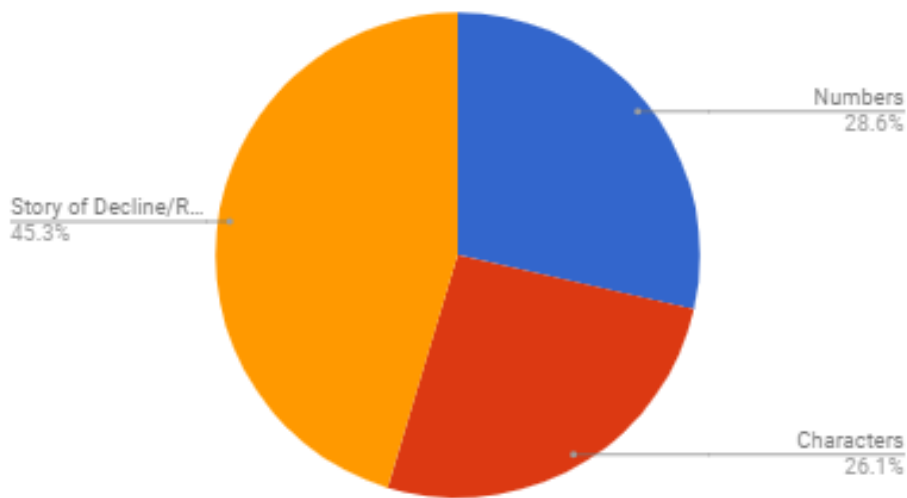


Figure 4-10 Massachusetts Narrative Elements. Author original analysis.

Numbers

The policy entrepreneurs in Massachusetts used numbers to indicate the growing support of the proposed English Immersion policy. Numbers were also employed to provide insight over the length of time bilingual education had failed. The following narratives confirm how numbers were used.

And most importantly, he probably noticed that numerous credible surveys showed nearly 80% of Massachusetts voters and also nearly 80% of Latino adults— supported English. (Unz, 2002)

Ron Unz and Massachusetts' policy entrepreneurs stated, "bilingual supporters have had their chance over the past three decades. Their ballot initiative would require districts to place students in intensive one-year English "immersion" classes before moving them to regular classrooms." (Vaishnav,2002)

Characters

Similar to the other campaigns, the policy entrepreneurs in Massachusetts depicted immigrant children as victims. The narratives expressed how immigrant children will not be successful if they do not learn English quickly. The following narratives demonstrate how immigrant children were represented as victims.

Unz exclaimed, "Conventional approaches of teaching English to immigrant children hold back their progress and make it harder for them to enter the mainstream work world." (Sutner, 2001)

Healy stated, "We think that it's critical that children are able to learn in English to perform well. We know that if a child can't speak English, they can't succeed in school and they can't get good job." (Dade, 2002)

Story of Decline/Rise

The policy entrepreneurs expressed the idea that bilingual education has failed to help students learn English through the use of story of decline. As well, policy entrepreneurs stressed the notion the English immersion has been proven to ensure students learn English quickly. The subsequent narratives provide examples of story of decline and rise.

Carballo stated, "I have has seen students climb the charts using English immersion."(Shephardson, 2002)

Presumably, he then discovered that its theoretical foundation included the bizarre and nonsensical belief that "older is easier" for learning a new language. He discovered that virtually every mainstream journalist who had investigated bilingual programs had concluded that they were a clear failure, and that their dismantlement in California had led to enormous educational gains. (Unz, 2002)

Narrative Strength

Policy entrepreneurs told mostly moderate and strong narratives. Thus majority of the narratives included at least two narrative elements (figure 4-11). The next section discusses the

different narrative strengths and provides actual examples of narrative strength from the Massachusetts' campaign.

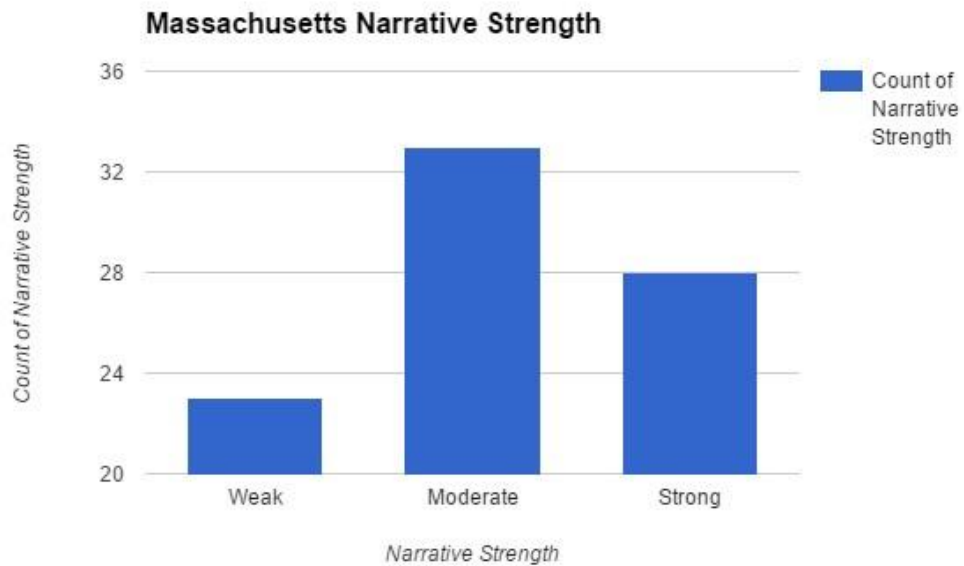


Figure 4-11 Massachusetts Narrative Strength. Author's original analysis

Strong Narratives

The policy entrepreneurs expressed in their strong narratives the extended length of time Hispanic students remained in bilingual education without any success. Lincoln Tamayo compared the bilingual education policy to a "linguistic ghetto" in which case, a student would never be able escape. Policy entrepreneurs highlighted the success of Californian students who are in the English immersion program; therefore, the only hope for Hispanic students is the English immersion policy. The actual narratives told by the policy entrepreneurs are below:

Ron Unz stated, "Bilingual education does not work. Kids are failing the MCAT at two to three times the rate that other kids are. These kids will not graduate until they learn English." (Mehegan, 2001)

Tamayo stated, "The longer kids stay in native language classroom the harder it becomes for them to learn English. These students the vast majority of whom are Hispanic are stuck for years in linguistic ghettos than none of us should abide." (Rooney, 2001)

Ken Noonan stated:

California has seen success since they have implemented English immersion. Scrapping bilingual education raised test scores in California. We concentrate so much on Spanish that the English language skills are not transferred early enough to have kids be successful. So the drop-out rate continues to rise in the Latino community. (Shephardson, 2001)

Moderate Narratives

The policy entrepreneurs told moderate narratives concerning the downfall of the bilingual education system. They also expressed the need for a change since the immigrant students were suffering from remaining in a stagnant program. Tamayo alluded to the current bilingual education policy as a form of segregation. The actual narratives expressed by the entrepreneurs are what follows:

Glodis stated, "bilingual education has been a disaster. Bilingual education has failed the very students it was intended to help." (Boyd, 2001)

Romney backed the Unz initiative, and rolled out a campaign ad last week in which the Republican pledged to, "end the failed idea of bilingual education in our schools and teach children English instead Bilingual education programs coddle students, leaving them far behind their English-speaking classmates." (Greenberger, 2002)

Tamayo stated, "I was conferring far too many diplomas to young people who could not speak English well enough to defend themselves. I no longer wanted to be party to a program that would allow that to happen." (Bloom, 2002)

Porter stated, "[Bilingual education is] segregating of Spanish-speaking students in native-language instruction classrooms for most of the school day and for several years." (Porter, 2001)

Weak Narratives

Despite that the weak narratives only have one element, the message is clear. The policy entrepreneurs continued to point out the failures of the existing bilingual education policy and the need for a change. This message is clear from the following narratives.

Unz argued, "bilingual programs have been a colossal failure, and has gathered enough signatures in Massachusetts for his measure to be on the November 2002 ballot." (Helman, 2001)

Feddeman stated, "Mitt Romney's support for English immersion has nothing to do with Ron Unz and everything to do with the failure of bilingual education in Massachusetts." (Tench, 2002)

Unz stated, "If they really believed that bilingual education worked, they should have invited me to the forum with all those professors and made me look foolish. But they didn't, because all the facts are on my side." (Blum, 2002)

Massachusetts Summary

The narratives in the Massachusetts' campaign is comparable to the narratives in the California and Arizona campaigns. The policy entrepreneurs focused on the well-being of the immigrant students. However, policy entrepreneurs used the term "immigrant" as compared to "Hispanic" which was utilized more frequently in the California and Arizona campaigns. Maybe, the change in terminology was due to the more diverse immigrant population which included various ethnicities besides Hispanics. Regardless of the change in terminology, the policy entrepreneurs' focus on the issue, bilingual education, led to policy change.

Findings Summary

The purpose of this study is to ascertain if policy change can be determined by the strength of the narrative used by policy entrepreneurs. However, it is clear that narrative strength cannot be the sole predictor of policy change. This study also controls for Hispanic population, media representation, and majority political party affiliation to help predict policy change. California, Arizona, and Massachusetts all realized policy change; however, policy change did not occur in Colorado.

Narrative Strength

In California, Arizona, and Massachusetts, the policy entrepreneurs convey the strongest narratives. However, policy entrepreneurs in Colorado convey the weakest narratives. Thus, narrative strength can help predict policy change as indicated by the findings. Please refer to Appendix B for an abbreviated table of narrative strengths by case. The policy entrepreneurs voice the strongest narratives in the three states that realized policy change. However, narrative strength is not the only factor; the Hispanic population is another indicator that can help predict policy change.

Hispanic Population

Additionally, the Hispanic population can contribute to predicting policy change. The three states: California, Arizona, and Massachusetts that realize policy change have the highest Hispanic population. On the other hand, Colorado, have the lowest Hispanic population.

Media Representation

Media representation is another factor that can help attribute to policy change. Media representation is highest in California, Arizona, and Massachusetts. Media representation is

prevalent in multiple cities in each of the states. There is limited media representation in Colorado. In fact, media representation is only prevalent in one city in Colorado.

Majority Political Party Affiliation

Political party affiliation proves not to be a factor that attributes to policy change. As mentioned previously, bilingual education is a bipartisan issue not merely a Republican nor a Democratic issue.

Summary

In summation, narrative strength, Hispanic population, and media representation all attribute to policy change. However, majority political party affiliation proves not to be a factor that attributes to a policy change at least for bilingual education. This is a mixed methods study and triangulation is one of the primary purposes of a mixed methods study. As indicated in table 4-2, the quantitative findings are supported by the qualitative findings.

Table 4-2 Findings Summary

Quantitative	Qualitative
<p>The quantitative results of the binomial logistics shows that strong narratives are associated with policy change given a high Hispanic population</p> <p>Policy change is 8.117 times more likely to occur when strong narratives are conveyed than weak narratives</p>	<p>The qualitative analysis supports the binomial logistice results</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Highest number of strong narratives <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ California, Arizona, Massachusetts • Lowest number of strong narratives <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Colorado

Chapter 5

Conclusion

Policy change has been researched by policy scholars for the past three decades. Policy scholars have attributed policy change to exogenous factors such as natural crises, change in political leadership, coalitional change and policy entrepreneurs. Until recently, narratives were overlooked and not accepted as a factor that attributed to policy change. McBeth, Shanahan, and Jones' Narrative Policy Framework (NPF), have brought narratives to the forefront of policy change scholarship. Due to NPF, narratives are examined to determine how they influence policy change. Studies have focused on how narratives are used in the media and by coalitions to affect policy change. In fact, NPF has been paired with other policy theories most notably, the Advocacy Coalition Framework. However, NPF has not examined narratives utilized by policy entrepreneurs. Nor has policy entrepreneur scholarship empirically examined how narratives conveyed by policy entrepreneurs attribute to policy change. Consequently, this dissertation aims to employ the NPF and the policy entrepreneur scholarship. This study incorporates perhaps the most fundamental aspects of the NPF model which are the generalizable structural elements of the narratives. According to the NPF, every narrative has a plot, setting, characters, and a moral. Also, narrative elements help change or impede policy. These elements which are the focus of this study include the use of characters, story of rise/decline, and numbers. This comparative-case study is performed over the narratives conveyed by groups of policy entrepreneurs in four English-immersion ballot initiatives in California, Arizona Colorado, and Massachusetts. There have been limited studies performed over comparative-case studies in the NPF. Furthermore, I empirically examine if narrative strengths are associated with policy change.

Discussion

The intention of this study is to empirically examine if a relationship exists between policy change and narrative strength. The usage of narratives has been explored in the past; however, few studies have used quantitative methodologies to examine the impact narratives have on policy change. Policy scholars have determined that policy actors will use narrative elements such as numbers, characters, and story of decline/rise to influence policy outcome Stone (2002), Baumgartner and Jones (1993) and McBeth et al. (2007). Additionally, strong narratives cannot solely attribute to policy change. There are contextual factors that might impact policy change which include media representation, Hispanic population, political party affiliation, and previous policies. Thus, it is expected that strong narratives along with the previously mentioned contextual factors are positively associated with policy change.

Quantitative Analysis

Based from the NPF, policy actors use narrative elements which include numbers, characters, and story of decline/rise to help sway policy. Consequently, narratives are assigned a strength of weak, moderate, or strong based on the amount of narrative elements used by the policy entrepreneur. A narrative is considered weak if the narrative only has one narrative element such as a number, character, or story of decline/rise. A narrative is moderate if the narrative has a combination of two narrative elements. A narrative is strong if it contains all three narrative elements. Quantitatively, a binomial logistics test is performed to examine if policy change and narrative strength are associated. The test reveals that policy change is more likely to happen if strong narratives are present compared to weak narratives. The results are in accordance with the NPF literature. Policy entrepreneurs in California, Arizona, and Massachusetts expressed the strongest narratives and each state realized policy change. Yet,

the policy entrepreneurs in Colorado told the weakest narratives and the state did not realize policy change.

Qualitative Analysis

A quantitative analysis only reveals partial clarity over the relationship between policy change and narrative strength. Qualitatively, the study reveals how contextual factors such as media representation, Hispanic population and previous immigrant and English-only policies affect the narrative strength voiced by the policy entrepreneurs.

Media Representation

California, Arizona, and Massachusetts had received most media coverage over the ballot initiatives and all three states realized policy change. However, in Colorado only one city provided media coverage which could attribute to why the initiative failed to pass. Clearly greater media coverage over the ballot initiative could possibly affect the policy outcome.

Hispanic Population

Additionally, states that had a high Hispanic population realized policy change. Anglo Americans were threatened by the increase of Hispanics and did not want to compete for public goods. Thus, the environment approving an English-only policy might be perceived as appropriate. Despite the underlying feelings, policy entrepreneurs appealed to the public by appearing empathetic towards the Hispanic population. They depicted Hispanic students as the victims of a cruel system.

Immigrant and English-only Policies

In California, Arizona, and Colorado there were stringent immigration policies which provided a ripe environment to pass the ban on bilingual education. Also, Colorado had

previously attempted to place an English-immersion policy on the ballot and failed. As a result, the policy entrepreneurs were more aggressive and personally attacked anyone who was for bilingual education. The policy entrepreneurs used narratives to attack the people rather than the issue of educating Hispanic students. The qualitative analysis provided a clearer path to understand why policy entrepreneurs expressed narrative strengths in each case.

Limitations

The study did not incorporate all the narrative elements into the narrative strength. Perhaps, the study would have provided a richer understanding of narrative strength if more narrative elements were included in the study. For instance, the use of scientific information should have been incorporated into the study. It should be noted, that not all the elements were present in the narratives from this study. As well, the study would be sounder if the narratives were explored from the other side of the policy issue.

Future Research

The study of policy entrepreneurs within the NPF has not been examined. The NPF has 9 hypotheses on the meso-level. This study proposes to add another hypothesis, which adds strengths to the narratives connected to the narrative elements (Table 5-1). Hypothesis six, states that narrative elements are used to manipulate policy learning, policy outcomes and policy change. However, no study has applied narrative strengths in accordance with the narrative elements. The narrative strength was examined in four case studies; though, the policy entrepreneurs from each case study had the same goal which was to change policy. Future research could provide even greater insight if narrative strength was examined from policy entrepreneurs on both sides of the policy issue. The researcher could truly explore if the winning side is associated with the strongest narratives.

Table 5-1 Proposed Hypothesis

Current Meso-Level Hypotheses	Proposed Meso-Level Hypothesis
H1: Narrative Strategy Groups or individuals who are portraying themselves as losing on a policy issue will use narrative elements to expand the policy issue to increase the size of their coalition.	H10: Policy Entrepreneurs A policy entrepreneur that seeks policy change will use one or more narrative elements to influence policy change. The incidence of policy change can be predicted based on the strength of the narratives that emphasize benefits of the proposed policy and/or failures of the existing policy.
H2: Narrative Strategy Groups or individuals who are portraying themselves as winning on a policy issue will use narrative elements to contain the policy issue to maintain the coalitional status quo.	
H3: Narrative Strategy Groups will heresthetically employ policy narratives to manipulate the composition of political coalitions for their strategic benefit.	
H4: Narrative Strategy The devil shift; Higher incidence of the devil shift in policy subsystems is associated with policy intractability.	
H5: Policy Beliefs Coalition glue and policy outcomes: Advocacy coalitions with policy narratives that contain higher levels of coalitional glue (coalition stability, strength, and intracoalition cohesion) will more likely influence policy outcomes.	
H6: Policy Learning Policy narrative persuasion: Variation in policy narrative elements helps explain policy learning, policy change, and policy outcomes.	
H7: Public Opinion Exogenous public opinion: when exogenous public opinion is congruent with a coalition's preferred policy outcomes, coalitions will offer policy narratives that seek to contain the subsystem coalition (by maintaining the status quo membership of the coalition).	
H8: Public Opinion Endogenous public opinion: When endogenous public opinion shocks are incongruent with a coalition's preferred policy outcome, coalitions will offer policy narratives that seek to expand the subsystem coalition.	
H9: Coalition Membership The media can be a contributor to advocacy coalitions.	

Additionally, the researcher could examine how the victim character is utilized by both sides to create change or impede change. In other words, are the policy entrepreneurs seeking status quo victimizing the people who want policy change and are the policy entrepreneurs pursuing policy change victimizing the people who want status quo? Future research should include qualitative and quantitative methodologies. The following section takes a deeper glance into Colorado case to explore how the victim character could be analyzed from the opposite side of the issue.

Swaying Policy with the Victim Character

True narratives can be subjective; however, the use of numbers is also subjective as mentioned in the previous cases. Policy entrepreneurs and other actors utilize numbers to sway policy. For example, Ron Unz habitually used the Hispanics' low test scores in California, Arizona, Colorado, and Massachusetts to sway policy; when in fact, there were other factors that attributed to the low test scores. As Flyvberg states, people can manipulate numbers to influence policy (2002). Given, that quantitative and qualitative means are both equivalent in terms of being subjective. It is best to attempt to understand how to sway policy for the good. In this study, it was mentioned that only Colorado had success in blocking a policy that would deprive students from a bilingual education. Thus, it is worth exploring how were the policy entrepreneurs for English-only policy blocked? In essence, what narratives were used by the opposing policy entrepreneurs who wanted the bilingual education policy status quo?

Overall the policy entrepreneurs for bilingual education mirrored the narratives of the policy entrepreneurs who opposed bilingual education. The use of the victim character was used multiple times. However, this time the policy entrepreneurs stated how an English-only policy would harm students who already speak English. The instruction would be slower and the students would not learn as much since instructors would have to make sure every student understood the curriculum. Thus, the policy entrepreneurs were victimizing the English-speaking students. This is seen in the following narratives:

We know Amendment 31 will knowingly force children who can barely speak English into regular classrooms, creating chaos and disrupting learning.(English Plus, 2002)

Amendment 31 would force teachers who try to help children in their native language to face lawsuits and be banned from teaching for five years. (English Plus, 2002)

Stanford stated:

We're about English language acquisition – but more important, we're about choice. The segregated immersion that Ron favors works for some students, but so do three-year transition programs, which is for instance what George Bush supports through his No Child Left Behind initiative. A three-year transition is also what federal Judge Richard Matsch [who supervises Denver's bilingual program through court order] and even Rita Montero [head of the pro-Amendment 31 campaign and former Denver school board member] supported at one time: a three-year transition program. (Unz & Stanford, 2002)

Stanford stated:

I don't believe that there is a one-size- fits-all. We're a local-control state. We're a state where we allow our local school districts to pick the curriculum and the instructional. However, we do have standards and we do have sanctions. We have accreditation thanks to passage of Senate Bill 190. I know Ron has other fish to fry around the country and so he's not familiar with Senate Bill 190, or with House Bill 1349. The governor has signed into law that if this transition to English is not made in three years, individual schools will lose their accreditation and federal funding will be removed under President Bush's No Child Left Behind initiative. (Unz & Stanford, 2002)

Salazar stated, "the amendment would take away choice from parents and authority from elected school boards" (Mitchell, 2002).

Jefferson County school board members stated, "the initiative ignores "individual student needs, the advice of professionals, the determinations of local school boards or the wishes of parents" (Spasev, 2002).

Thus, what can a policy entrepreneur learn from this. Using the victim character works. However, make sure the victim character appeals to the people who are on the opposite side of the issue. Once the people for the English-only policy felt their children's education would be hindered, there was no need to enforce an English-only policy. The prior campaigns in California, Arizona, and Massachusetts all focused on victimizing the Hispanic students and other students who did not speak English. However, simply focusing on what matters to the people on the opposing side could possibly be the most powerful way to evoke status quo or change. Consider it a lesson learned for prospective campaigns; numbers do not matter; however, emotions do.

Appendix A

Narrative Strength Code form

Narrative Strength Codebook

A narrative that includes either numbers in favor of the proposed policy and/or against the existing policy, story of rise in favor of the proposed policy and/or story of decline against the existing policy, characters(heroes for the proposed policy and victims for the existing policy)=1
A narrative that includes 2 of the elements (numbers & story of decline/rise, numbers & characters, story of decline & characters)=2
A narrative that includes all three elements (numbers, story of decline/rise, characters)=3

What is the Title of the Article?

Your answer _____

What initiative does this narrative represent?

California

Arizona

Colorado

Massachusetts

List the evidence that supports your decision

Your answer _____

What are the elements in the narrative?

	1	2	3	
Weak	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Strong

Which elements are in the narrative

Numbers

Characters

Story of Decline/Rise

SUBMIT

Never submit passwords through Google Forms.

Appendix B

Abbreviated Narrative Strength by Case

Initiatives	Narrative Strengths by Initiative		
	Strong	Moderate	Weak
California	<p>Today, 23.1% of all California schoolchildren don't know English. With your help, we'll send the current system to the junkyard in June 1998, begin teaching English to all the children in our schools at that point, and achieve something closer to 99% fluency among California schoolchildren by January 1999. Let's get the job done! (Unz, 1997)</p>	<p>My own view is that immigrants and their children should be assisted in learning English as rapidly as possible, in order to better their lives and those of all Californians. (Unz,1997)</p>	<p>Unz exclaimed, "Today in California, bilingual education is a dismal failure. The theory behind bilingual education is nuts. And in about four months, we're going to be able to get rid of it." (Aratani, 1998)</p>
Arizona	<p>Salmon stated: After California abolished bilingual education, test scores among immigrant students went up. [With the current bilingual education program], only 5.5 percent of bilingual students in Arizona become proficient in English. If 95 percent of the kids fail, then the program ought to be dumped. Bilingual education is a "boondoggle" that after 30 years has failed to produce the intended results of teaching immigrant students to be proficient in both their native language and English. Also bilingual education is the reason for the high dropout rate among Hispanic students in Arizona. (Gonzalez, 2000)</p>	<p>Unz exclaimed: During the California campaign, the strongest argument made by the opposition was that Prop. 227 was overly sweeping, a drastic and risky educational change which would harm the academic performance of immigrant students. Now that the outstanding test scores from post-227 California have deflated this argument, pro-bilingual advocates in Arizona seem to be grasping at straws. (Gallagher,2000)</p>	<p>Mendoza stated, "This opposition does not scare me,, referring to protesters. They are more concerned about preserving their roots than about educating Mexican-American children." (Samuelson,1999)</p>
Colorado	<p>Colorado voters should note that while nearly all the leading opponents of bilingual education in their state are Hispanic, advocates of bilingual education still haven't managed to find a single prominent Hispanic willing defend their disastrous Spanish-only system, which has already destroyed the lives and educations of so many young Hispanic children. (Unz, 2001)</p>	<p>Given the rapid and dramatic subsequent rise in the academic test scores of over a million California immigrant students, I hope our initiative in Colorado will achieve an even greater victory. (Unz, 2001)</p>	<p>Chuck Green and Rita Montero expressed: Kids who aren't required to learn English as quickly as possible are at a great disadvantage, and it's a form of abuse to hold them back on so-called 'cultural' grounds. In many cases, the bilingual bureaucracy has become a fiefdom whose primary goal is to capture as many students as possible and hold them hostage for as long as possible.(Green, 2001)</p>
Massachusetts	<p>Ron Unz stated,"Bilingual education does not work. Kids are failing the MCAT at two to three times the rate that other kids are. These kids will not graduate until they learn English." (Mehegan, 2001)</p>	<p>Glodis stated, "bilingual education has been a disaster. Bilingual education has failed the very students it was intended to help." (Boyd, 2001)</p>	<p>Unz argued,"bilingual programs have been a colossal failure, and has gathered enough signatures in Massachusetts for his measure to be on the November 2002 ballot." (Helman, 2001)</p>

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