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Immigration Policies and Education in Arizona

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Editors' Message

We are pleased to publish the 2013 special invited issue focused on immigration policy and education in Arizona. We would like to personally thank the co-guest editors Drs. Margarita Jiménez-Silva, Eugene García and Carlos Velez-Ibañez from Arizona State University for their efforts in putting this issue together. They have collected timely and relevant articles from an impressive set of leading scholars from across the country. The article topics include immigration policy such as SB 1070, bilingual education, early childhood, K-12 English Language Learners and health and family services. This special issue highlights the multidimensional conditions and needs of the immigrant Mexican-American community in Arizona that has implications for many states across the United States.

Sincerely,

Oscar Jiménez-Castellanos

Antonio Camacho

Patricia Sánchez

Immigration Policies and Education in Arizona

Margarita Jiménez-Silva
Arizona State University

Eugene E. Garcia
National Hispanic University

Recent immigration legislation in Arizona highlights a series of growing policies that have a significant and lasting impact on the psychological, social and emotional wellbeing of immigrant and non-immigrant children and families alike. Although the threat of deportation profoundly affects the lives of those “at risk,” the passage of laws such as SB 1070 reverberates well beyond the lives of undocumented immigrants, as the undocumented population is not a separate group easily classifiable and isolated from the documented (or U.S. citizens).

An observation that should be noted in policy discussions about federal immigration reform as well as in the increasing local-level attempts to enact laws similar to SB 1070 is that the effects on children are not necessarily linked to the most controversial provisions in the law but rather to the actual passage of the law. The mere awareness of the law can have serious repercussions for racially and ethnically diverse youth, as the mere threat of such laws passing is enough to affect the perceptions of youth. Awareness of SB 1070 has a small but significant negative association with youth’s sense of being American, and this weakened sense of American identity results in a small but meaningful reduction in psychological wellbeing (i.e., lower levels of self-esteem). In addition, the negative relation is stronger for first- or second-generation adolescents of all racial and ethnic backgrounds, and has potential long-term implications for the development of personal and national identity among a large and rapidly-growing group of youth in the United States, the majority of whom are U.S. citizens.

Arizona anti-immigration policies can be best described as perpetuating attrition through enforcement specifically for immigrants of Mexican descent. The intent is to make conditions so inhospitable that these immigrants will self-deport. The pervasive message is that immigrants are not fit for our society. Thus, the impacts of these policies are multi-dimensional, affecting (1) Education, (2) Community Well-being and Safety Services, and (3) Health and Community Services.

Immigrants are often blamed for societal issues, and the erosion of their rights is congruent to the decline of college degree attainment. Similarly, restrictive language policies in k-12 education have challenged schools to become monolingual-oriented contexts of learning that view immigrants through a deficit perspective. This approach ultimately affects how the community is received in schools, and how teachers are sensitized to English language learner issues. Because communities are affected by the punitive and discriminatory culture promoted by acts like SB1070, free health and community services targeting immigrant populations are disappearing as a result of poor attendance resulting from the fear of deportation and profiling experienced during SB1070 raids.

To respond to the challenges posed by Arizona’s policy climate, Arizona State University’s faculty established the Equity and Opportunity Work Group (EOWG). On February 14-15, 2012, the EOWG, with the support from the Carnegie Corporation of New York, hosted the Equity and Opportunity Research Symposium. This meeting provided new research findings and a much needed opportunity to consider the social, educational, and economic impact Arizona’s political climate has on State and National levels. Experts from education, finance, policy studies and other relevant areas were brought together to discuss ways to assess the “on the ground” impacts related to recent legislation. The results of this meeting produced a set of scholarly papers related to several important issues that have resulted from these Arizona policies. Together they represent a substantive research and scholarly contribution of importance to Arizona and the nation regarding both social and education policies and their effects on Latinos.

The symposium papers published here can have several benefits to the overall goal of assessing and mitigating negative effects of restrictive policies on Latino populations. The papers can and should inform policy makers regarding the true impacts of the existing policies. As indicated above, these impacts are wide reaching, affecting education, health services, and community resources. Together, the papers address issues of access

to quality education, specifically, English language learners who are currently at a disadvantage in the classroom; access to safety services; and access to community services, including early childhood development and learning opportunities which are often misunderstood or avoided due to the current policy climate.

More specifically, in the first article titled *Youths' Perspectives on Senate Bill 1070 in Arizona* The *The Socio-emotional Effects of Immigration Policy*, authors Carlos Santos and Cecilia Menjivar explore youths' awareness of Senate Bill 1070 in Arizona and describe how affected they are by the passage of this bill. In the second article, *Language, Language Development and Teaching English to Emergent Bilingual Users: Challenging the Common Knowledge Theory in Teacher Education*, Christian Faltis challenges us to think about alternative approaches to language and bilingualism and shares implications for teacher education and practicing teachers who teach English learners across disciplines. Donald Hernandez and Jeffrey Napierala, in the article *Early Education, Poverty, and Parental Circumstances among Hispanic Children: Pointing Toward Needed Public Policies*, present findings concerning the educational achievement and well-being of Hispanic children from two important research projects and share policy and program recommendations. In the article *Preparing Mainstream Teachers for Multilingual Classrooms*, Ester de Jong advocates for ensuring that mainstream teachers embrace and know how to engage in bilingual practices. In the final article, authors Margarita Jiménez-Silva, Gregory Cheatham, and Laura Gomez discuss how recent immigration policies have affected young Latinos from the perspectives of employees in an Arizona pediatric clinic. In addition, we have included several poems that reflect the immigrant experience as well as a book review authored by Yolanda De La Cruz which all help inform this important discussion.

Over a long-term period, we anticipate that these contributions will lead to further in-depth studies of rigid legislation, such as Arizona's SB1070 and Prop 203, which affect the ever-growing Latino population in the state. Moreover, these studies will be used to inform policy makers in other states and will serve as a basis for future research. This information will help to guide policy makers in states considering similar policies and will eventually help guide states that have already implemented these types of policies in order to modify and improve legislation so that it benefits society as a whole.

Youths' Perspective on Senate Bill 1070 in Arizona: The Socio-emotional Effects of Immigration Policy

Carlos E. Santos

Arizona State University

Cecilia Menjivar

Arizona State University

Abstract

This article builds on previous research conducted by Santos, Menjivar & Godfrey (2013) and draws on a study conducted with racially and ethnically diverse early adolescents. This research explores youths' awareness of Senate Bill 1070 in Arizona, and how affected they are by the passage of this bill. Wave I (N = 726; Mage = 12.4 years; SD = .97) results revealed an indirect relation between awareness of SB1070 and self-esteem via American identity. Wave II (N = 1025; Mage = 12.1 years; SD = .98) results revealed a positive association between awareness of SB1070 and youths' engagement in risky behavior. Results also revealed a negative association between youths' report of being affected by SB1070 and their ability to regulate their emotions in the classroom. Finally, results revealed a positive association between youths' report of being affected by SB1070 with youths' perceptions of ethnic-based discrimination by authorities and teachers. Implications of these findings are discussed.

Introduction

Despite numerous protests, several states have adopted immigration laws that have potential for violating basic human rights. Recent immigration legislation in states such as Arizona and Alabama highlights a series of state-level policies that have significant and lasting impact on immigrant children and families. These policies have a wide range of impact on the psychological, social and emotional wellbeing of immigrant and non-immigrant children and families. While there have been efforts to examine the influence of immigration laws on family separation, intergenerational relations (Menjívar, 2006; Menjívar & Abrego, 2009), immigrants' path to mobility (Abrego & Gonzales, 2010), and educational opportunities of immigrants in uncertain legal statuses (Gonzales, 2010; Menjívar, 2008), these effects have received little attention from developmental scientists. And while media and scholarly attention has been given to national public opinion and to the legal and policy ramifications of recent immigration enforcement, such as Arizona's Senate Bill (SB) 1070, less attention has been given to how immigrant youth and families perceive and experience these laws.

There have been media accounts of the repercussions that the passing of state-level laws have had on Latinos, immigrants and non-immigrants alike, including not reporting crimes to the police in order to avoid contacting authorities, not visiting physicians or hospitals even in emergency situations so as to avoid detection, changing driving habits and staying home more often, and weighing the pros and cons of sending children to school (González, 2011). In many cases, children whose parents are detained are sent to foster care. In other cases, children who are frequently U.S. citizens are sent to their parents' native country with little linguistic knowledge and awareness of the local culture. In this paper, we also focus on the effects of federal-, state- and local-level laws on the lives of immigrant children and of the children of immigrants who live in households with parents who are at risk of deportation. However, for empirical expediency we focus narrowly on how racially and ethnically diverse youth in one middle school in Arizona that caters to a large population of Latinos perceive these laws, as these perceptions shape their views of themselves, their identities and, their mental health.

An estimated 4 million immigrant youth live with unauthorized parents, and are U.S.-born citizens (Passel & Cohn, 2009). Indeed, a hallmark of today's immigration landscape is the presence of what are called "mixed-legal status families" (Fix & Zimmermann, 2001), composed of members with various legal statuses, including U.S. born members. Children—both U.S. born as well as foreign-born—in these families are affected by their

own legal status but also by their parents' legal status. Sometimes undocumented parents do not access social benefits to which U.S. citizen children have a right because of fear of deportation (Capps, Ost, Reardon-Anderson, & Passel, 2005); these children then represent a group of citizens who live subject to the disadvantages of their undocumented parents (Fix & Zimmerman, 1999). But parental legal status not only affects the links between the family and social institutions; parents' status may also affect children's socio-emotional development (Yoshikawa & Kalil, 2011). Thus, new border enforcement and tough immigration laws, particularly those that seek to enforce strategies of "attrition through enforcement," through which immigrants supposedly will self deport, undoubtedly affect immigrants' links to different institutions, particularly when the immigrant parents are unsure of when or if they will ever become permanent members of U.S. society.

In this article, we take a look at how SB 1070 may influence one slice of social life; the perceptions that racially and ethnically diverse youth, especially Latino youth, have of these laws so as to understand the psychological effects that immigration legislation may have on these youth. Moreover, we include the perceptions of the law among the non-Latino youth with whom Latino youth live and who therefore constitute a key component of Latino youths' developmental experience. In this way we can begin to understand the broader ramifications of immigration laws. Although the threat of deportation, or as De Genova (2002) calls it, "deportability," profoundly affects the lives of those "at risk," the passage of laws such as SB 1070 reverberates well beyond the lives of undocumented immigrants, as the undocumented population is not a separate group easily classifiable and isolated from the documented (or U.S. citizens). Undocumented immigrants live, work, go to school, pray and play with documented immigrants as well as U.S. citizens, and in the context of the family and schools, they are often found under the same roof. It is within this frame that we examine some of the possible ways that the law affects the emotional lives of young individuals, Latinos and those with whom they live in close proximity, focusing on how awareness of Arizona's SB 1070 shapes their views of themselves and of their place in U.S. society.

SB 1070 and Child Well-Being

An important area in which to begin to explore the consequences of immigration legislation is in perceptions that those potentially affected might form of themselves and of their place in society. This is particularly fruitful to examine among youth during adolescence for whom identity formation is a critical developmental task (Erikson, 1968). In this regard, awareness of SB 1070 may be related to important psychological outcomes among youth such as their mental health and wellbeing. We ground our examination of youths' perception of Senate Bill 1070 at the entry of adolescence. Early adolescence is a critical period marked by important developmental changes, including biological transitions, shifts in interpersonal relationships, increased capacity for complex, abstract and dialectical thought, and increased emphasis on identity formation, racial/ethnic experiences, civic engagement and self-esteem (Watts & Flanagan, 2007). Thus, it is important to understand the links between the passing of this legislation and these aspects of psychological development during this critical developmental period.

In this paper, we present findings from two waves of a longitudinal study that examines the relation between early adolescents' awareness of SB 1070, their perceptions of themselves, their mental health and wellbeing. Following research that has linked parental legal status and children's socioemotional development (Yoshikawa & Kalil, 2011), the aim of this analysis is to demonstrate the potential impact of the passage of SB 1070 on key psychological aspects of youths' development such as their sense of identity and psychological wellbeing. Our examination should encourage greater attention from researchers and policymakers to the psychological consequences of immigration laws for racially and ethnically diverse youth. Further, the experiences with immigration legislation of Latino youth in a state such as Arizona are key in capturing future potential effects of this and similar pieces of legislation around the country. These youngsters constitute the fastest growing segment of the U.S. population, and their experiences today can have important repercussions for tomorrow's social, demographic, political, and economic prospects. According to the 2010 Census, nearly one in four children in the U.S. are of Latino origin; thus, their social and economic integration is fundamental for the future of the nation.

An important feature of SB 1070 is that the law, as it was written, never took full effect because a federal judge blocked several of its key (and more controversial) provisions just hours before it was to go into effect.

However, the symbolic act of signing this bill into law has had multiple consequences, which points to the powerful messages behind these legal actions. Thus, the effects on youth we examine are not necessarily linked to the most controversial provisions in the law but to the passage of the law, and how the mere awareness of the law can have serious repercussions for racially and ethnically diverse youth. Thus, as this paper shows, the mere threat of such laws passing is enough to affect the perceptions of youngsters, an observation that should be noted in policy discussions about federal immigration reform as well as in the increasing local-level attempts (Varsanyi, 2010) to enact laws similar to SB 1070.

Data and Methods

This article is based on data collected in two waves of a longitudinal study designed to investigate the effects of SB 1070 on youths' psychological development. Wave I took place during the academic year 2009-2010, and wave II took place during the academic year 2010-2011. Both waves were collected at the same middle school located in the Phoenix metropolitan area. This middle school is composed of racially and ethnically diverse children and serves primarily low-income students. According to the state's department of education, 81.1% of the student population at the school was categorized as "economically disadvantaged" using parental income as a proxy in 2010 (Arizona Department of Education, 2011).

Procedure

In both waves, students were recruited from all grades in the school (i.e., 6th, 7th and 8th grade). During recruitment, youth were informed about the study by their teachers and provided with a packet in either English or Spanish containing information and parental consent forms to take home to their parents. Prior to collecting survey data, students' assent was also obtained. Surveys were administered during two class periods (approximately 90 minutes) deemed least disruptive to students' learning by the principal and social studies teachers. Survey questions were read out loud to the class while students answered them individually. Survey administration was supervised by two to four trained research assistants. Protocols were administered in English and survey administrators circulated throughout the classroom answering questions to ensure comprehension. All survey administrators remained in the classroom while students filled out the protocol and collected the survey at the end of each administration. The length of time between the two waves was approximately 9 months. This was done so that we could follow the same children over time and explore longitudinally the associations we aim to explore.

Sample

The sample size for wave I was 726 middle school students. The average age of participants was 12.4 years ($SD = .97$), about equally divided between male (52%) and female (48%). Participants were European American (17%), African American (17%), Native American (10%), Asian American (3%), Latino/a, mostly Mexican American (49%), and Mixed¹ (4%). The percentage of participants who reported speaking either Spanish-only or both Spanish and English at home was 51%. Approximately 14% of participants reported being separated from both parents at some point in their childhood for longer than 6 months for an average of 2.6 years ($SD = 1.8$). In terms of immigrant status, 13% of participants are 1st generation immigrants (i.e., foreign-born), 40% are 2nd generation immigrants (i.e., at least one parent is foreign-born), and 47% are 3rd generation (i.e., both parents and child are U.S. born).

Wave II was conducted approximately 9 months after the assessment in wave I took place. The sample for wave II consisted of 1025 middle school students; this increase in the student population of the school from wave I to wave II was due to the closing of a nearby middle school in the district, which resulted in larger enrollment by wave II at the school where this study took place. The average age of participants in wave II

1. Those in the mixed category mostly reported having at least one parent who is of Latino/a origin.

was 12.1 years ($SD = .98$), equally divided between male (50%) and female (50%). Participants were European American (20%), African American (18%), Native American (10%), Latino/a, mostly Mexican American (44%), Other (8%). The percentage of participants who reported speaking either Spanish-only or both Spanish and English at home was 51%. In terms of nativity, 12% of participants are 1st generation immigrants (i.e., foreign-born). Thus, despite the increase in the student population of the school from wave I to wave II, the school remained fairly similar in key demographic characteristics across the two waves.

Measures

Awareness of SB 1070. Participants were asked the following question: “How aware are you of the recent act called SB 1070 in Arizona related to immigration issues?” and were asked to rate how aware they were on a five-point Likert scale ranging from *Not at all aware* (1), *A little aware* (2), *Somewhat aware* (3), *Very aware* (4), *Extremely aware* (5).

American identity. Participants completed a measure of American Identity (Phinney & Devich-Navarro, 1997) that assesses participants' sense of being American. They were asked to rate how much they agree with statements such as “I think of myself as being American,” and “I feel good about being American.” Response options are on a five-point Likert scale ranging from *Strongly disagree* (1), *Disagree* (2), *Neither agree or disagree* (3), *Agree* (4), *Strongly agree* (5). Cronbach's α was .92 in wave I and .94 in wave II of this study.

Perceived ethnic discrimination. Participants completed a measure of perceived ethnic discrimination from authorities (Whitbeck et al., 2001), which assessed adolescents' experiences with ethnic discrimination from authorities. This measure has been shown reliable and valid in studies consisting of Latino adolescents (Umaña-Taylor & Updegraff, 2007). Participants were asked to rate how often they experienced discrimination on a four-point Likert scale from *Almost never* (1), *Sometimes* (2), *Often* (3), *Very often* (4). Items include: “How often have others suspected you of doing something wrong because of your ethnicity?” and “How often has the police hassled you because of your ethnicity?” Cronbach's α for this scale was .69 in wave I and .70 in wave II of this study.

Self-Esteem. Self-esteem was assessed using the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (RSES) (Rosenber, 1965). It is considered a general measure of self-esteem, and was developed for use with middle and high school students. It consists of 10 items on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from *Strongly disagree* (1) to *Strongly agree* (5). Students indicate their agreement or disagreement with items such as “I feel that I have a number of good qualities” or “I feel I do not have much to be proud of”. The RSES demonstrated strong internal reliability in the study; Cronbach's α was .83 in both waves I and II of this study.

Risk behavior. This measure assesses the extent to which participants engage in risk behaviors (Eccles & Barber, 1990). Examples include: cheating on school tests, contact with the police, ruined other people's things, stayed out all night, gotten suspended from school, started a fight in school among others. Response options are on a four-point Likert scale ranging from *Never* (1), *Once* (2), *Sometimes (2-10 times)* (3), *More than 10 times* (4). Cronbach's α was .90 in wave I and .89 in wave II of this study.

Classroom regulatory behaviors. This measure assesses how easy it is for participants to follow teacher directions, stay quiet while others are talking, not yell out answers, stay in one's seat, and focus on tasks for a long time. Response options range from *Very hard* (1), to *Very easy* (4). Cronbach's α was .76 in both wave I and wave II of this study.

Affected by SB 1070. The authors developed a scale that assesses how affected children are by SB 1070 which consisted of four items. Items include: “How affected are you by the recent act called SB1070?”, “How affected are your family members by the recent act called SB1070?”, “How affected is your community by the recent act called SB1070?” and “How affected are your friends by the recent act called SB1070?” Response options ranged from “*Not at all affected*” to “*Extremely affected*.” We conducted an exploratory principal component factor analysis of these four items using varimax rotation. Results and scree plot analysis revealed that these items measured a single construct. All items loaded with an eigenvalue above .8 in the same dimension. We confirmed these results by conducting a confirmatory factor analysis. The 4-item scale was shown reliable—Cronbach's α was .92 in wave II of this study. Unlike the previous scales, this particular measure

was introduced in wave II.

Results

We initially conducted a series of analysis utilizing the first wave of data collection, as it was the only data available at the time, and which is presented below. In addition, we present results from wave II, which highlights additional associations between key study variables. In wave II, we introduced a scale assessing how *affected* students were by SB 1070—in addition to how *aware* they were which we assessed in waves I and II.

Wave I

As a first step towards understanding the relation between awareness of SB 1070 and identity development, perceptions of discrimination, and self-esteem, we calculated a series of bivariate Pearson's correlations. Results revealed that awareness of SB 1070 was positively associated with perceptions of ethnic discrimination from authorities, but negatively related to American identity. Additionally, self-esteem was positively related to American identity. Finally, ethnic discrimination was negatively associated with American identity (see Table I).

Table I. Correlation Results

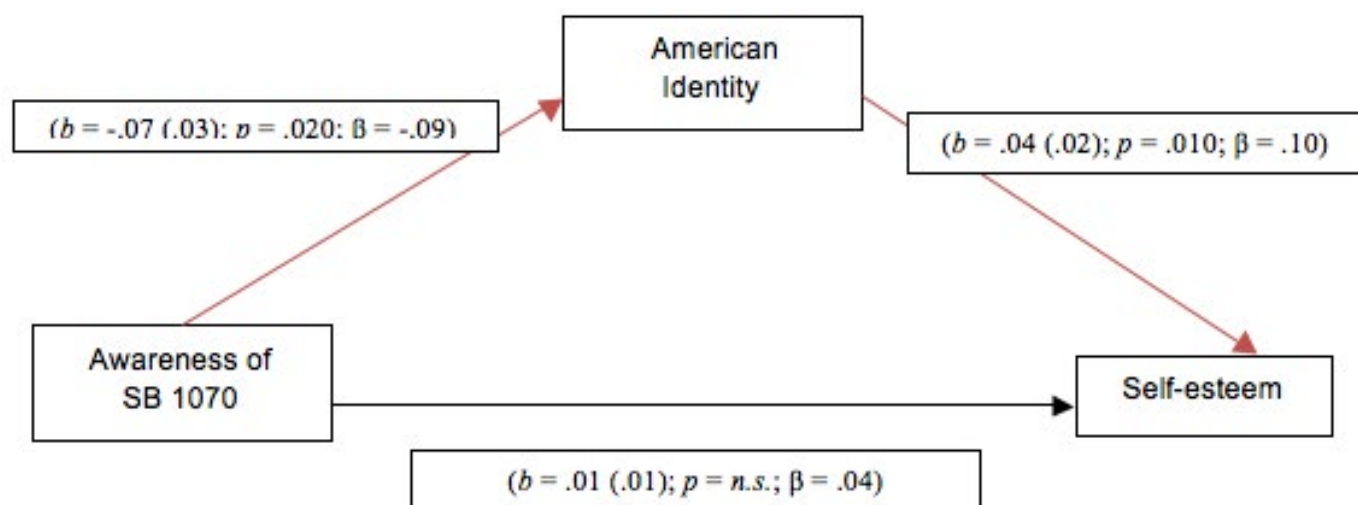
	Awareness of SB 1070	Self- esteem	Ethnic Discrimination	American Identity
Awareness of SB 1070	—			
Self-esteem	.04	—		
Ethnic Discrimination	.12**	-.04	—	
American Identity	-.13**	.10**	-.12**	—

To adjust these relations for demographic characteristics that may be related to awareness of SB 1070, we then conducted a series of multiple regression analyses controlling for age, generational status, gender and family structure. The results of these analyses indicated that generation of immigration, American identity and perceived ethnic discrimination from authorities were all significantly related to awareness of SB 1070. First- and second-generation adolescents reported greater awareness of SB 1070 than adolescents who are third generation ($b = .59 (.19)$; $p = .003$; $\beta = .13$ and $b = .48 (.15)$; $p = .002$; $\beta = .15$, respectively). In addition, there was a negative relation between American identity and awareness of SB 1070 ($b = -.07 (.03)$; $p = .020$; $\beta = -.09$). Early adolescents who reported greater awareness of the law also reported a weaker sense of being American. Follow-up analyses revealed that this association was significantly moderated by generation of immigration: the negative relation between SB 1070 awareness and American identity was *stronger* among first- and second-generation youth than among youth in the third or later generation ($b = -.21 (.09)$; $p = .02$; $\beta = -.09$ and $b = -.13 (.06)$; $p = .04$; $\beta = -.10$, for first- and second-generation youth, respectively). This relation was not moderated by race/ethnicity however, suggesting that this negative association was similar for youth of all racial/ethnic backgrounds in the sample. Finally, we found a positive association between perceptions of discrimination from authorities, and awareness of SB 1070 ($b = .28 (.11)$; $p = .011$; $\beta = .10$). Early adolescents who reported higher awareness of the law perceived greater discrimination from authorities. This association was not moderated by either generation of immigration or race/ethnicity. No significant relation between self-esteem and awareness of SB 1070 was found. However, controlling for adolescents' awareness of the law, we found that American identity was positively associated with self-esteem ($b = .04 (.02)$; $p = .010$; $\beta = .10$).

Finally, given the negative relation between awareness of SB 1070 and American identity and the positive relation between American identity and self-esteem, we explored the possibility that awareness of SB 1070 was

indirectly related to adolescent's self-esteem through its relation with American identity (see Figure 1). We tested for this indirect relation using the product of coefficients technique presented by Sobel (1982). The direct relation between awareness of SB1070 and self-esteem does not need to be significant in order for mediation to be present (Fritz & MacKinnon, 2007). Therefore, the Sobel (1982) test for mediation was still conducted. As indicated in Figure 1, the direct relation between awareness of SB 1070 and American identity, and between American identity and self-esteem (controlling for awareness of SB 1070) were both significant. In addition, the indirect relation between awareness of SB 1070 and self-esteem via American identity was significant using the Sobel (1982) test ($b = -0.004$ (0.002), $p < .05$). These results suggest that adolescents who report higher awareness of SB 1070 report a weaker sense of being American, which in turn is associated with diminished psychological health (i.e., lower levels of self-esteem).

Figure 1. Mediational Model between Awareness of SB 1070, American Identity and Self-esteem



Wave II

We added to the analysis conducted in wave I, by exploring additional associations in wave II. In wave II, Pearson's bivariate correlation results revealed a positive association between being aware of SB 1070 and youths' engagement in risk behaviors ($r = .17$; $p < .001$) and experiences of discrimination from authorities ($r = .19$; $p < .001$). Children who reported being more affected by SB 1070, reported lower levels of self-esteem ($r = -.07$; $p < .05$), and a weaker ability to regulate themselves during instruction (e.g., sitting still, focusing on material being taught, etc.) ($r = -.05$; $p < .05$). To adjust for demographic characteristics that may affect these relationships, we conducted a series of multiple regression analyses controlling for age, race/ethnicity, generational status, gender and eligibility for free and reduced lunch (a proxy for socioeconomic status)². Controlling for these demographic characteristics, results revealed a positive association between awareness of SB 1070 and youths' engagement in risk behaviors ($b = .05$ (.01); $p < .001$; $\beta = .16$). Early adolescents who reported greater awareness of the law also reported greater levels of engagement in risk behaviors (e.g., skipping school, etc.). Results also revealed a negative association between youths' report of being affected by SB 1070 and their ability to regulate in the classroom ($b =$

2. We were able to obtain data on youths' eligibility for free and reduced meals directly from the district in wave II.

-.03 (.01); $p < .01$; $\beta = -.10$). Multiple regression results also revealed a positive association between youths' report of being affected by SB 1070 with youths' perceptions of ethnic-based discrimination by authorities ($b = .04$ (.01); $p < .01$; $\beta = .22$).

Discussion

In the midst of the immigration debate in Arizona and elsewhere, there is a missing story about the potential psychological consequences, particularly on youth going through critical developmental stages, of acts like SB 1070. Our study was conducted in a middle school with a sizeable immigrant youth population (i.e., first and second generation). Most of these youth are U.S. citizens, and according to federal estimates, significant numbers of them are likely living with at least one unauthorized parent. Thus, the school where our study took place offers an important context to examine the effects of immigration reform. The population of the school is similar to other diverse urban schools in the U.S., and reflects a growing diversity in American education. Indeed, the youth in our study, as the youth in other diverse U.S. schools, are learning and living alongside youth of diverse immigrant generation and legal statuses. This reality forces us to examine how immigration issues not only affect immigrant youth directly, but how immigration (and immigration laws) also affects their peers, and the local culture of schools where youth interact. Importantly, the psychological well-being of immigrant, and non-immigrant youth alike, is critical to the development of human and other forms of capital necessary for success. Thus, a fruitful avenue for future research would be to investigate the psychological effects of contemporary immigration laws on immigrants and non-immigrants living in close proximity, to unveil links between these legal processes and the wellbeing of immigrant and non-immigrant youth alike.

Wave I of this study sought to examine more closely the unique experiences of immigrant youth and their peers by using a psychological measure of wellbeing, assessing youths' awareness of the SB 1070 legislation in Arizona, their perceptions of discrimination from authorities, and their sense of being American. Our findings indicate that awareness of SB 1070 had a small but significant negative association with youths' sense of being American, and that this weakened sense of American identity resulted in a small but meaningful reduction in psychological wellbeing (i.e., lower levels of self-esteem). In addition, our results suggest that this negative relation was stronger for first- or second-generation adolescents of all racial and ethnic backgrounds. While this finding may not be surprising given the nature of the legislation, it has potential long-term implications for the development of personal and national identity among a large and rapidly growing group of youth in the United States, the majority of whom are U.S. citizens. Because the data are cross-sectional, we cannot be certain that awareness of SB 1070 *caused* these decreases in American identity and psychological wellbeing. However, these results point to the possibility that SB 1070 may have negative repercussions for outcomes that are key aspects of the developmental period of early adolescence and have long-term consequences for development. As mentioned earlier, youths' psychological wellbeing plays a critical role in their later emotional, educational and occupational outcomes. In addition, developing a sense of positive national identity may contribute to increase civic engagement and political participation in the future. Thus, our study among a diverse sample of youth provides some initial evidence that legislation like SB 1070 may be associated with aspects of psychological development that are important to the long-term economic and democratic strength of the state and the nation as a whole. These results suggest an important avenue for research and a call to researchers and policymakers to continue to track and explore how laws such as SB 1070 may have unintended influences on youth development.

An important finding from our study is that the association between awareness of SB 1070 and American identity was not moderated by race/ethnicity. Thus, our findings are not specific to Latino children—even though a main, implicit or explicit, purpose of the law is to identify undocumented Latino immigrants. The associations we found between awareness of SB 1070, American identity and self-esteem were detected in a sample of racially and ethnically diverse youth—including white youth who attend highly diverse schools. On one hand, this is not surprising given that these youth live in environments where their peers belong to groups that are, implicitly or explicitly, a target of this type of legislation. There are various mechanisms through which peers can exert influence on wellbeing (e.g., co-rumination has been looked at as one mediator of depression contagion among friends; see Rose, Carlson, & Walter, 2007). Thus, it seems plausible that white youth in settings that are highly diverse are affected by the punitive and discriminatory culture promoted by laws like SB 1070. On the

other hand, it is striking that SB 1070's negative psychological consequences were also detected among white children as it reveals the law's reach beyond those who belong to groups that it directly targets—this is how the long arm of the law extends to have unforeseen consequences. Indeed, discriminatory messages perceived and embedded in legislation like SB 1070 may possibly affect children either directly or indirectly. And this is an area where the “unintended consequences” of the law need further study, as our results point to potential effects of this legislation on community dynamics, ethnic and racial relations, as well as possible new forms of coalitions and communities. The data from wave II further support these findings by linking directly youths' perceptions of how affected they feel by SB 1070 with lower levels of self-esteem.

The positive association we found between awareness of SB 1070 and perceptions of discrimination in waves I and II are also important to note. These results suggest that the adolescents in our study may perceive a hostile environment from authorities around them in light of practices that are seen and perceived as discriminatory, such as the SB 1070. In wave II, we show evidence that youths' perceptions of being affected by SB 1070 may be associated with perceptions of discrimination not only by authorities, but also by school staff, including teachers. Since these data are cross-sectional, it may also be that youth who already perceive a hostile environment from authorities may be more attuned to legislation such as SB 1070. Nonetheless, this positive association suggests of being affected by SB 1070 coupled with perceptions of discrimination from authorities may work together to contribute to a general sense of distrust among youth. Future research should endeavor to explore this relation in more detail and assess the causal mechanisms between them. This is particularly important given that SB 1070 awareness and perceptions of discrimination may act in accordance to further complicate key outcomes among children, including their academic engagement.

Research examining the effects of discrimination on schooling among Latino youth has reported various negative outcomes such as lower grade point averages, poor self-esteem, increases in school drop-out, and lower generalized academic well-being (DeGarmo & Martinez, 2006; Greene, Way, & Pahl, 2006; Martinez, DeGarmo, & Eddy, 2004). Academic success is critical for these youths' academic future and career opportunities, and research suggests that outcomes in academic domains during adolescence are followed by similar outcomes in later stages of development (Henderson & Dweck, 1990). School dropout rates for Latino adolescents constitute an alarming 2.4 times that of white non-Latino students, and 1.6 times that of black non-Latino students (U.S. Department of Commerce, n.d.). These statistics underscore the importance of understanding factors that contribute to the academic engagement of Latino youth, particularly when research by the Pew Hispanic Center also has found that young Latinos and their parents are fully cognizant, even more than other ethnic and racial groups, of the benefits of a college degree (Massey, 2007). Given the established literature linking experiences of discrimination with academic dis-engagement, our finding that SB 1070 awareness was linked to perceptions of discrimination lead us to believe that SB 1070 may also result in poorer academic engagement (although this association remains to be tested in future analyses). This is another critical avenue of research that deserves in-depth examination.

Data from wave II of our study reveals a significant association between adolescents' report of being affected by SB 1070 and a weaker ability to regulate their feelings during instruction (e.g., sitting still, focusing on material being taught). This finding reveals the potential for disruption in learning that punitive acts like SB 1070 may have on youths' ability to regulate themselves in the classroom. There is a vast psycho-educational literature that underscores the critical role that emotion regulation plays in learning (see Graziano, Reavis, Keane, & Calkins, 2007, for reviews). Additional data are needed to better understand the nuances and directions of these findings; however, this result offers initial evidence that the political and legal context seeps through to impact youth in many ways, ultimately affecting their ability to focus in school. Indeed, a striking finding from wave II is that simply being aware of SB 1070 was associated with higher engagement in risk behaviors (e.g., skipping school, stealing money, etc.). These findings point to the social and economic costs of this legislation, as it may affect the long-term trajectories of racially and ethnically diverse youth, and especially Latino youth.

Additionally, our findings parallel those of a recent report by the Pew Hispanic Research (Lopez, Morin, & Taylor, 2010) in which young Latino respondents were the most likely to either have experienced or know of someone who has experienced discrimination because of their race or ethnic group. Legal status has certainly become a central axis of stratification (Jiménez & López-Sanders, 2011; Lopez, Morin & Taylor,

2010; Menjivar, 2006) and legislation like SB 1070 accentuates the effects that legal status has, particularly with regard to perceptions of discrimination. The Pew Hispanic Center study (Lopez et al., 2010) found that of various factors that lead to discrimination, 36% of Latino respondents ranked immigration status as the most important, outranking skin color (21%), language skills (20%) and income and education (17%). Thus, paralleling our findings, these figures from the Pew study highlight the negative effects of current immigration laws that exacerbate perceptions of discrimination based on legal status, a characteristic shared by an increasingly large group of individuals.

As our findings indicate, legislation like SB 1070 has the potential to reverberate negatively in the lives of diverse youth well beyond its intent of stopping undocumented immigration. SB 1070 may foster an environment where immigrant youth *and their non-immigrant peers* are distrustful of authorities. Our examination of primarily immigrant youth and their peers suggests that these youths' identity as Americans may be undermined by punitive and exclusionary laws like SB 1070, even though the majority of the youth in our study were American citizens. Interestingly, right wing rhetoric that emphasizes so-called American values and traditions (e.g., as evident in the English-only education movement), seems to be doing a disservice to its mission by encouraging the passage of laws that promote suspicion or fear in minority youth. Ironically, these pieces of legislation may undermine the very principles of American identity and love for the country that these groups seek to promote. Failing to act runs the risk of raising adults who are distrustful of authorities and indifferent or even suspicious of those who write laws and implement them.

Lastly, an important factor to consider is the long-term effect of punitive legislation such as SB 1070 on the perceptions of young individuals as they become adults and active members of their communities. Perceptions of exclusion or of not fully belonging, even when they are U.S. citizens, are amplified by legislation like SB 1070, which are being considered in various states across the country, and can affect how individuals think of their position in society, and what their rights and responsibilities are. Thus, laws like SB 1070 may have important repercussions for political participation, citizenship, and membership more generally (see also, Fleury-Steiner & Longazel, 2010; Varsanyi, 2010). The unintended consequences of similar legislation may lead to the creation of a marginalized segment of the population with fewer rights (and responsibilities) and a tiered system of citizenship that accentuates and exacerbates the effects of other forms of social stratification (Menjivar and Kanstroom, in preparation, forthcoming). The aim of this article was to begin to explore some of the unintended consequences of SB 1070 among a small sample of youth in Arizona. We hope this work can serve as a call for both researchers and policymakers to more fully and systematically consider the influence of such legislation on the development of our nation's youth.

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Notes:

1. This paper is based on a larger project on the effects of SB 1070 on children. Portions of this article are also published in Santos, C., Menjívar, C., & Godfrey, E. (2013). Effects of SB 1070 on children. In L. Magaña & E. Lee (Eds.), *Latino Politics and International Relations: The Case of Arizona's Immigration Law SB 1070*. New York: Springer.
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Language, Language Development and Teaching English to Emergent Bilingual Users: Challenging the Common Knowledge Theory in Teacher Education & K-12 School Settings

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Abstract

Popular views about language and how children and youth learn language are based mainly in cognitive approaches in support of a common knowledge theory of language development. This common theory feeds into the efforts to increase teacher and learner accountability as measured on narrow assessments of what it means to use language well and in academic contexts. I show how certain scholarship supports popular view of language and of first- and second-language development, and explore further the connections between the common theory and educational policies for teaching emergent bilinguals students and English learners. The article concludes with a discussion of alternative approaches to language and bilingualism, and particularly, what these alternatives mean for teacher education and practicing teachers who teach emergent bilinguals and English learners across disciplines. Alternative approaches include arguments for language learning as a complex adaptive system in which language emerges from localized practice, self-organizes in unpredictable ways, and co-adapts in a nonlinear fashion depending on the kinds of interpersonal interactions learning bring to and are afforded by practices.

Introduction

Nationwide, it is well-known that the majority of public school classroom teachers are monolingual LI users of English (Gitomer, 2007), with minimal formal preparation in teaching emergent bilingual users (García, 2008) and English learners (National Center for Educational Statistics, 2004; Villegas & Irvine, 2010). It is also widely known in educational circles that the number of English learners in public schools has been on the rise since the 1990s (Allen, 2005). By the first decade of 2000, 20 percent all of public school-aged students (5-18) were considered to be English learners or emergent bilingual users of English (National Center for Educational Statistics, 2004; see Valdés & Castellón, 2011).

What this national scenario of language diversity strongly suggests is that public school classroom teachers need to be much more knowledgeable about the learning needs of emergent bilingual children and English learners (Gándara, Maxwell-Jolly, & Driscoll, 2005; Wright & Sung, 2012). Now, more than any of time in the history of public schools, classroom teachers are being held responsible for ensuring the success of English learners in their classrooms; i.e., that English learners in their classrooms show English language development on standardized measures of English language proficiency along with content learning. And yet, it has been pointed out that classroom teachers already have common, popular knowledge about language and language development of monolingual children (Wong & Snow, 2002) because most teachers have learned in and about English throughout their lifetimes. What classroom teachers appear not to know much about, however, are the complexities of language, bilingualism and language acquisition, particularly as posited in the new wave of sociocultural theories of second language development in the contexts of bilingual and polylingual communities (de Jong & Harper, 2011; Faltis, Arias, & Ramírez-Marín, 2010; Gándara, Maxwell-Jolly, & Driscoll, 2005; Jørgensen, 2008; Pennycook, 2010). The common knowledge that teachers do have, often translates into misguided practices and misunderstandings about bilingual language development: bad (non-standard) vs. good (standard) language; conversational (BICS) vs. academic language (CALP); and bilingual students as two monolinguals vs. bilingual students as dynamic, interactive bilingual users.

Accordingly, in today's educational climate of accountability, high stakes testing and sharp focus on learning outcome-measures, it appears that numerous teachers, particularly those who entered teaching in the past 10-15 years, and many teacher educators may be out touch with new scholarship about language and language

development. The new scholarship on the language development of bilingual language users (Karabenick & Clemens Noda, 2004; Hawkins, 2011) rejects popularly held top down views of language learning currently being promoted as the most effective way to teach English to emergent bilingual students and English learners. It takes the position that at best, the popular view is theoretically misguided (Larsen-Freeman, 2011), misunderstands and discounts the role of bilingualism in language development (García & Kleifgen, 2010), and relies on a narrow view of English-only instructed language education (Reeves, 2006). At worst, it argues that the popular view of language contributes to the swelling number of English learners who make little progress in English development as they move through the grades from elementary to secondary schooling (see Olsen, 2010).

Overview of the Paper

This paper begins with claim that the general teaching force holds a set of popular views about language and how people learn first and second languages, and that these views are based on cognitive approaches that support a common knowledge theory of language development. I make the argument that these popular views dovetail nicely with efforts to increase teacher and learner accountability, the new education discourse. I also attempt to show how certain research-based literature supports both the new education discourse and popular views of language and of first and second language development. Next, I explore how educational policies directed at teaching emergent bilingual students and English learners support and are supported by the new education discourse and the common knowledge theory of language development.

The paper ends with a discussion of alternative approaches to language and second language development, a set of less well-known theoretical arguments about language and language development, and what these arguments might mean for teacher education and practicing teachers. Among the alternative arguments I suggest have important implications for teacher education and teachers of emergent bilingual students and English learners are that language learning is a complex adaptive system (Larsen-Freeman, 2002) in which grammatical structures and meaning (a) emerge from localized practices and repeated interactions (Hopper, 1998; Pennycook, 2010); (b) self-organize in unpredictable ways (Tomasello, 2003), and (c) co-adapt in a nonlinear fashion depending on the kinds interpersonal interactions, among other resources learners bring and are afforded (Larsen-Freeman, 2011); and because English learners are emergent bilingual users, their bilingualism, which is a complex adaptive system, needs to be viewed as an essential part of their language development. In other words, emergent bilingual users develop proficiency and literacy in English in school contexts from the base of home language practices through dynamic, interactive bilingualism (García, 2012).

Popular Views of Language and Language Development

The current teacher force responsible for teaching emergent bilingual students, either in separate or heterogeneous classrooms, has been socialized in their homes and through formal K-12 and college schooling to accept certain popular views about the nature of language and how people learn languages. Among the popular views of language and language development that have been formally and informally taught with good intentions are as follows:

- (1) Language is a separate entity that originates inside the heads of learners and develops into an increasingly complex grammatical system of structures, which become the basis for how learners communicate thoughts and ideas.
- (2) Language complexity, fluency, and accuracy develop in a linear process, from words and phrases to simple and complex sentences; from halted to native-like rapidity; and from error-laden to error-free speech.
- (3) Knowledge of the grammatical rules of a language enables learners to master the language being taught; mastery means producing error-free, fluent language using complex language systems.
- (4) Mastering a language is facilitated when learners are explicitly taught the grammatical rules for using the language correctly.

All four views stem from a long standing cognitivist perspective of language and language development, in which the individual learner's capacity to develop language used in complex tasks, with fluent and error-free

speech ultimately depends on explicit instruction in which learners take in language, which is then used to generate language needed for new tasks at hand (Ellis, 1994). This perspective focuses attention on language as a separate, countable entity, which implies that it is not essential for teachers to understand bilingualism and its role in the development of English. For the purpose of this paper, I refer to popular views collectively as the *common knowledge theory of language development*. In very simple terms, the common knowledge theory posits that language is an internal code that is organized mentally through a Universal Grammar that adjusts to the specific language rule systems (phonology, morphology, syntax) of the input language (Chomsky, 1965; Harris, 1981). The complexity, fluency, and accuracy of the learned language develop interdependently in a linear fashion: Learners generate more complex rules from simpler rules, a kind of built-in syllabus; speech becomes more fluent, with fewer pauses, false starts, and repetitions (Tavakoli & Skehan, 2005); and errors decrease over time as the learner's language—the interlanguage—becomes more like the language being learned—the target language (Selinker, 1972). Gaining language fluency and using language accurately are a function of repeated practice, error correction, and attention to how rules work (Schmidt, 1990). Learners who internalize the rule system through practice, error correction, and noticing rules master the language; that is, the size, elaborateness, richness, and diversity of their developing linguistic system increases. According to this set of ideas, the best way to develop complexity, fluency and accuracy in the L2 is through explicit instruction of the rules of language, coupled with error feedback, over a range of language tasks that enable students to practice language, which in turn enables students to acquire communicative proficiency. An example of the enactment of this common knowledge can be seen in the traditions of how foreign languages and English for newcomers are taught.

This common knowledge theory of language development has directly and indirectly informed educational policies, such as NCLB derivatives and state level language policies, particularly in states such as California and Arizona, where there are large numbers of English learner students and English-only policies (see Arias & Faltis, 2012). In many instances, schools interpret these educational policies as a reason to mandate teachers to explicitly teach and correct language forms to English learners, which are then assessed on English language tests leveled by proficiency along a linear order of development, from novice, basic, intermediate to advanced levels of proficiency.

Language Development and Teacher Quality

Under NCLB legislature and new state language policies, teacher effectiveness has become a central focus of the national dialogue on educational reform, and teacher education programs are being scrutinized (e.g., The National Council on Teacher Quality is conducting an evaluation of all teacher education program in the U.S., and rating them according their own criteria) and held accountable by school districts for preparing teachers who can ensure that English learners in their classrooms become fully and flawlessly proficient in English. Under the mandates, the common knowledge theory of language development have been appropriated as part of the new educational discourse about second language development aimed at improving language and academic assessment scores (García & Kleifgen, 2010).

Teacher educators and classroom teachers are being pressured, and in some cases directly ordered to explicitly teach English learners language forms and language functions in order to meet language-learning objectives, English language proficiency standards, academic standards, and ultimately, to raise each school's Academic Performance Index, as required by NCLB legislature. This new educational discourse has been informed by a small number of language education specialists from the field of instructed second language education who draw mainly from cognitive approaches to language and language development listed above. Many of the specialists are either anti-bilingual education, English-only advocates (e.g., Clark, 1999; Rossell & Baker, 1996) or tend to view language development strictly from a second language perspective (e.g., Ellis, 2005; Saunders & Goldenberg, 2010).

Educational Discourse and What Teachers Need to Know about Language

The beginnings of the new educational discourse on what teachers need to know about language teaching and accordingly, and what teacher educators should teach them can be traced back to a position paper written by Lily Wong Fillmore and Catherine Snow (2000), which subsequently published as the opening chapter of *What Teachers Need to Know about Language* (Temple, Adger, Snow, & Christian, 2002). Wong Fillmore, a preeminent L2 acquisition expert, and Snow, a noted cognitivist, lament that "...poor language outcomes for English language learners in California and elsewhere could have been avoided had teachers known enough about conditions for successful second language learning to provide explicit instruction in English" (2002, p. 32-33).

Among the many conditions Wong Fillmore and Snow (2002) cover in their chapter as important for teachers to know (e.g., differences between vernacular dialect and standard English, literacy and spelling), the ones that receive much attention are (a) explicit attention to language forms, (b) the need to explicitly teach language forms and uses to English learners, and (c) an increased focus on academic language over social language. They proclaim that, "Often, explicit teaching of language structures and uses is the most effective way to help learners" (p.29).

Research in support of Wong Fillmore and Snow's (2002) endorsement of explicit instruction and attention to language forms and uses appeared the same year as their paper. In a highly cited meta-analysis of the effectiveness of explicit and implicit language teaching, Norris and Ortega (2000) concluded that explicit language instruction was more effective than implicit language instruction (The following analysis of Norris & Ortega (2000) paraphrases a summary of the study by Valdés, Capitelli, & Alvarez, 2011, p. 28).

Norris and Ortega (2000) reviewed 77 experimental and quasi-experimental studies that related instructional approach to language outcomes as measured by metalinguistic judgments about language, discrete-point responses, constructed, or open responses. Norris and Ortega distinguished between studies that had a focus on form (FonF), that is, focus on form was tied to interaction, in order to clarify meaning, and studies that focused on forms (FonFS), where the focus was on explicit forms without attention to meaning or to specific learner conversational needs. They defined instruction as explicit if teachers explained rules or asked students to pay attention to rules and come up with their own understanding of the rule. On the basis of their meta-analysis, the conclusion they offered was that learners who made the greatest gains in language proficiency learned in classes where teachers relied on explicit instruction that focused on language forms (FonFS). However, they cautioned readers with the caveat that "measurement of change induced by instruction is typically carried out on instruments that seem to favor more explicit memory-based performance" (p. 483). In other words, if language learning is measured by assessments that call on learners to show they have memorized specific language forms, then it is safe to conclude that students who learn language this way will show improvement over time if they received explicit instruction about language forms (FoFS).

Of the 77 studies Norris and Ortega included in their meta-analysis, 51 (two-thirds) of the studies were conducted at the college level, 5 were conducted on high school English learner classrooms, 10 were done in junior high school classrooms, and just 1 came from an elementary classroom setting. Moreover, Norris and Ortega included studies that reported minimal information concerning variation in language proficiency within the treatment settings. Evidence for language development depended mainly on how well students performed on discrete-point assessments that focused on specific linguistic features: "90% of the dependent variables [used in the analysis] required the application of L2 rules in highly focused and discrete ways, while only 10 % of the dependent variables required relatively free productive use of the L2" (Norris & Ortega, 2000, p. 483). In less opaque terms, the studies selected for inclusion in this meta-analysis included mainly adult, college learners (many from outside the U.S.) and mainly measured language learning with discrete-point language tests.

Findings from the Norris and Ortega study have been interpreted widely in recent educational literature on research-based approaches to teaching English learners in public school contexts. For example, Dutro and Kinsella (2010) writing on English language development in grades 6-12 declare unabashedly: "There is *ample* evidence [my emphasis] that providing carefully planned lessons explicitly addressing specific aspects of the second language is far more productive than merely exposing students to abundant English and incidentally addressing specific forms" (p. 169). For them, exposing students to English matters for helping students interact with meaning to become socially fluent: "Meaning-focused exposure to a second language through communicative activities allows students to develop greater oral fluency and confidence" (p. 169). But, they caution that students who

learn English through communicative-based activities “may never acquire [my emphasis] many critical linguistic forms and have persistent difficulties with pronunciation as well as with morphological, syntactic, and pragmatic features of the second language” (Dutro & Kinsella, 2010, p. 170). The evidence they provide for these claims comes from the conclusions drawn by the Norris and Ortega (2000) meta-analysis and the position on explicit language teaching espoused by Wong Fillmore and Snow (2000).

In a synthesis of educational research on teaching English learners in K-12 settings, Saunders and Goldenberg (2010) rely heavily on the Norris and Ortega, but are more careful than Dutro and Kinsella (2010) in making claims for the strength of the evidence with respect to implications for the kinds of knowledge and practice teacher educators should draw on for preparing teachers of English learners. They present 11 guidelines, based on “good evidence” (p. 59) for what schools and teachers need to do to provide effective instruction for English learners, with the implication that teacher educators should promote their guidelines.

Two of the 11 guidelines for improving English language instruction they propose are their “best guesses” (p. 59) based on the research they reviewed. Their guideline 5 states that, “ELD instruction should explicitly teach elements of English (e.g. vocabulary, syntax, grammar, functions, and conventions)” (p. 60). They admit that the guideline “has a strong supportive body of evidence, but few of the studies were conducted with U.S. with English learners in the K-12 or use outcome measures that are good gauges of language proficiency; instead, most use narrow assessments that measure specific language features...” (p. 61). Their guideline 6 proposes that, “ELD instruction should integrate meaning and communication to support explicit teaching of language” (p. 60), combining explicit instruction that focuses on forms, with communicative, authentic uses of language in the classroom along with a focus on form and use. They caution readers that there is “no definite empirical research answer about the appropriate balance and exact relationship among these elements” (p.61). Based on the research evidence they cite for this guideline (Norris & Ortega, 2000), coupled with guideline 5, it appears that the message to teachers is to err on the side of explicitly teaching English learners with a focus on form, even if the research evidence comes from studies that do not reflect the contexts of U.S. public school languages.

None of the guidelines Saunders and Goldenberg (2010) propose for teaching English learners mentions using the students’ first language, translanguaging, or dynamic uses of two languages (García, Flores & Woodsley, 2012; García & Kleifen, 2010) for promoting English language development. In other words, because the students’ L1 and L1/L2 language abilities are not mentioned in the work, their relevance to a teachers’ knowledge framework about how best serve the language and educational needs of emergent bilingual students is left unexamined and thus, presumably of little or no importance for teachers.

State Policies About Teaching English to Emergent Bilingual Students

Within current climate of accountability, state-sponsored educational and language-related policies about teaching emergent bilingual students and English learners ignore the irrelevance of the educational research on instructed second language teaching for K-12 U.S. classroom settings or for developing bilingualism among emergent bilingual users. Rather, the policies align uncritically with common knowledge theory language development and the new education discourse about needing to hold teachers and teacher educators accountable for developing English in the English learners they teach.

In Arizona, California and other states, policies concerning language teaching call for English language instruction that focuses on form through direct instruction and error correction over approaches that promote content-based meaningful communication in L1 and L2. For example, in Arizona, all teachers are required to have a Structured English Immersion (SEI) endorsement on top of their elementary or secondary teaching credential (Arias & Faltis, 2012). The curriculum for this English-only endorsement is heavily slanted toward explicit teaching of language forms in sequential order, providing corrective feedback, and teaching English separately from other content areas (Murri, Markos, & Estrella-Silva, 2012). The state also mandates separate classes for English learners who test below proficient, as measured by the AZELLA. In SEI classes, students must study the language forms of English (e.g., morphology, syntax, semantics and pragmatics) and are expected to produce error-free language, ideally within one academic year. Students can exit from these English-focused classes and join “regular” classrooms, only upon earning a composite score of Proficient across listening, speaking, reading

and writing on the AZELLA test. August, Goldenberg, and Rueda (2010) question the legitimacy of this form of SEI for teaching English learners.

In California, English learners who score below advanced on the CELDT language proficiency exam are required to study English as a language 45 minutes a day, taught by an English language development specialist. For the remainder of the school day, students are placed with credentialed teachers who have been minimally prepared to teach English learners. All California credentialed teachers are required to earn a Cross-Cultural Language and Academic Development (CLAD) certification, either through a series of examinations or by taking specific coursework (typically 2-3 college courses) in which CLAD standards are addressed in an approved teacher preparation program or a combination of both. The CLAD certification covers three domains: Language structure and first and second language development; methodology of bilingual instruction, including instruction for English language development and specially designed instruction delivered in English (SDAIE); and culture and cultural diversity in the U.S. and California (Diaz-Rico, Weed, Echevarria, Vogt, & Short, 2004). A bilingual CLAD or BCLAD is also offered in California (Blum-Martínez & Baker, 2012). This authorization requires a certain number of hours of student teaching in a non-English language classroom (e.g., Spanish, Mandarin, Korean, depending on the teacher education program's State certification), and evidence of language proficiency in the non-English language of instruction (California Commission on Teacher Credentialing, 2011) along with the general requirements for the CLAD.

Neither of these ways of preparing teachers for teaching English learners adequately equips teachers with the theoretical and practice knowledge needed to meet the complex learning needs of emergent bilingual children and youth in classrooms where all instruction, materials, and other resources are in English (Arias & Faltis, 2012; Wentworth, Pellegrin, Thompson, & Hakuta, 2010). According to Olsen (2010), 59% of all secondary level English learners in California are considered to be *Long Term English Learners* – having been in English development courses from 6 or more years. Both are the result of educational policies and educational research that support a common knowledge theory of language development and popular views of how children, youth, and adults learn a second language, and thus, should learn English. As well-intentioned as SEI, CLAD and BCLAD education might be, it is unlikely that teachers prepared under these mandates have an understanding of language and language development that reflects contemporary understanding of language – L1, L1/L2, and the L2 (Valdés, 2005) – as a complex adaptive system which develops from participation in local interpersonal practices that involve language, both L1 and L2, in dynamic ways.

Contemporary Alternatives to The Common Knowledge Theory

Contemporary scholars interested in language and language development reject the basic premises of the common knowledge theory of language development, and by implication, the educational assumptions about the role of explicit instruction of language forms for developing mastery of language. There has been what Block (2003) calls a “social turn” in second language acquisition theory that looks to other fields beyond the cognitive sciences for understanding language and language development. Rather than viewing language as an internal built-in syllabus that guides learners along a predictable path of development, contemporary scholars who have made the social turn posit that language is a complex dynamic system, which emerges from interpersonal and localized interactions (García & Kleifgen, 2010). In contemporary scholarship on language and language development, cognition is necessarily tied to social activity, and language emerges from, not prior to social interaction. Moreover, English learners in school are better understood as L2 users, whose language-using patterns emerge from and within a complex dynamic system, in which elements of L1, L1/L2 and L2 co-adapt over time (Cook, 2002; Valdés, 2005).

In contemporary socio-cognitive and sociocultural approaches to language theory, there is no such thing as a Universal Grammar (Chomsky, 1965) that organizes language into a code that must be attended to in order to become proficient in language (Tomasello, 2003). This is a “language myth” (Harris, 1981) that has become popularized in the general public, and especially so among the teacher force (Pennycook, 2010) as a central feature of the common knowledge theory of language development.

Drawing from alternative approaches (see Atkinson, 2011), contemporary scholars argue that language is

essentially a social construct that is non-linear, unpredictable and that emerges only through interactive practices that are local, repetitive, and focused on forms and functions according to community norms of usage. In this manner, language development (L1, L1/L2, and L2) is characterized by fits and starts, periods of stagnation and growth, and continuities and discontinuities, as the systems co-adapt, organize, and reorganize to reflect learners' group identity affinities and complex engagements with the environment (Pennycook, 2010; Larsen-Freeman, 2011).

Seen from this theoretical framework, grammatical structures in language emerge from interpersonal interactions across multiple localized settings in which children and youth use language socially and in academic contexts to explain, greet, hypothesize, joke, narrate, persuade, etc. (Larsen-Freeman, 2011; also see Lee, Mikesell, Joaquin, Mates, & Schumann, 2009). Ellis and Larsen-Freeman (2009) explain the process as follows: "As speakers communicate, they co-adapt their language use on a particular occasion. From such repeated encounters, stable language-using patterns emerge" (p.92) and continue to emerge as new counters transpire. L1, L1/L2 and L2 grammatical structures live and grow within the language-using patterns, and the language-using patterns change and co-adapt, sometimes quickly, sometimes slowly, and sometimes, even revert to earlier patterns. Emergent language also depends on other variables– the users age, investment, resources, patterns of interpersonal interaction, and prior L1 and L1/L2 language experiences, but not on pre-existing mental codes. Stability in emergent language is temporary as emergent bilingual users of English interact across local environments for different purposes, at times relying on their L1 as well as their L1/L2 language-using patterns, to interact with others who may or may not be L1/L2 users (Jørgensen, 2008). The development of L2 grammatical structures for language users involves a process of partial settling or *sedimentation* of language(s) used in frequently repeated and practiced social contexts (Hopper, 1998).

It is important to point out that from socio-cultural and socio-cognitive perspectives of language development, the emergent grammar in the language-using patterns of second language learners is necessarily flawed and imperfect (Valdés, Capitelli, & Alvarez, 2011). Second language structure and uses emerge from interpersonal interaction and participation in local social practices as L1/L2 users communicate in their developing, imperfect L2 to interact with others, interpret meanings, and show their knowledge. It is untenable from sociocultural approaches to language development to propose that perfection in language ability (L1 or L2 or L1/L2) is a pre-requisite or a target for participation (as the common knowledge theory does) -to get things done- in social practices (especially those localized in school contexts); all language users can and do participate with flawed language in all sorts of interactions involving various degrees of content and linguistic complexities. Some of these interactions are deemed essential for understanding specific content areas, and all result in complex grammatical structures and language patterns that work across localized content areas. There are certain members of a language community who may help learners to notice how their participation improves if they focus attention on certain things about content, but attention to learners' imperfect forms of language separate from the social context in which language is used is in and out itself ineffective for the reasons presented above.

Implications for Teacher Education and Teaching English Learners in K-12

Contemporary scholarship on language (L1, L1/L2, and L2) as a complex system that emerges from local interaction has implications for teacher education and classroom teachers. Teacher education should orient teachers to viewing the teaching of English learners as the development of uses of language (L1, L1/L2, and L2) in the various content areas in school – art, language arts, literature, music, mathematics, social studies, and science– in ways that promote the emergence of language-using patterns through interpersonal, interpretive and presentational communicative events (Valdés, Capitelli, & Alvarez, 2011). In a promising 5 year study of Latino bilingual children learning English, Valdés, Capitelli, and Alvarez (2011) found that when young English learners interacted with adults (who did not explicitly teach language or correct errors) around stories, interpreted what they heard, and gave accounts of what they understood using art, written text, and other presentational means, their language blossomed. The children conversed about many topics using language for social interaction as well as for academic purposes. Their language-using patterns were imperfect as should be expected, and their language usage varied in complexity, as their emergent complex systems co-adapted to new localized language

and content learning experiences. In this study, there were no expectations of linear language development or perfect language use. The children interacted with adults about the meanings they interpreted from the stories.

In a study involving older emergent bilingual users, Bunch (2006) described how middle school students gained access to and participated in a rigorous curriculum by engaging in a range of social interactions around academic content areas. Bunch (2006) concluded: “This study suggests that, under the *right instructional conditions*, (my emphasis) students described as being fluent in “conversational English” yet lacking in “academic English” can participate successfully in challenging academic work in English” (p. 298). In other words, English learners can interact, interpret, and express understanding of academic content when teachers organize instruction around interactive, communicative-based classroom experiences.

What this new sociocultural and socio-cognitive research and theoretical perspectives are saying is that teachers and the teacher educators who prepare them need to learn how to plan challenging classroom experiences that develop content and language over time (Schleppegrell & O’Hallaron, 2011), with the understanding that language English learners use to communicate thoughts and ideas will be flawed, and that students rely on and use their L1, their L1/L2, and their developing L2 for a range of purposes within academic contexts. Children and youth with imperfect abilities in conversational English are capable of interacting with, interpreting, and performing in language across all of the content and language that lives in the local contexts of schools (Bunch, 2006), when teachers focus on what emergent bilingual students can do with both long-term and moment-to-moment support (Schleppegrell & O’Hallaron, 2011), including support for their L1, their L1/L2, as they develop their L2. It is counterproductive for teachers to be overly concerned with what students can’t express perfectly in the L2 (Reeves, 2006), because that is the inherent social nature of dynamic bilingualism (García, 2012), and polylingual development (Jørgensen, 2008; Pennycook, 2010). When teachers explicitly teach and expect students to learn language forms there is little opportunity for students to hear language being used to express ideas, to use their full communicative repertoire in support of translinguaging (García, Flores, & Chu, 2011; García, Flores, & Woodsley, 2012), or to engage in interpersonal interactions about meaning and the construction of ideas. Emergent bilingual students’ L1-, L1/L2- and L2-using patterns emerge and develop, but not in a linear fashion, or in predictable ways, when they are invited to participate in social interactions around academic content topics. Students who become bilingual in school need to interact with language (L1, L1/L2 and L2) over and over with the help of teachers who scaffold their learning within and across content areas (Walqui & Van Lier, 2010), so they can engage in the practices that involve L1-, L1/L2- and L2-using interaction patterns needed to learn fully in school contexts.

Changing Popular Views on Language Development and Bilingualism

It will take much study on the part of teacher educators and teachers to recalibrate thinking about the principles and practices embodied in the common knowledge theory of language development. The ideas and new theoretical work presented in the final sections of this paper are the tip of the iceberg with respect to understanding the complex adaptive systems approach to language or the language as local practice theory in social-cultural literature on language and languages. The challenge is there, and my hope is that teacher educators and teachers alike realize that the common theory that guides much of what is happening in schools today is misguided, and must be replaced with more sociocultural understandings of language and language development.

Emergent bilingual children and youth will not learn the kinds of language and language functions needed to be successful in academic contexts by exclusively focusing on forms of English and expecting language (L2) to develop in a linear order from simple to complex, from less fluent to more fluent, or from less accurate to more accurate. To continue to teach language to English learners based on this view of language can only contribute to frustration among teachers and schools. Emergent bilingual students will, however, show progress if they engage with the teacher and classmates in well planned and well supported interactive, interpretative, and demonstrative communicative events that draw on their L1, L1/L2, and L2.

The evidence is mounting to suggest that among the chief reasons for the burgeoning number of long term English learners are that these students’ L1 and L1/L2 profiles are ignored, and instead they are provided with a narrow English only-curriculum, in which English is taught through explicit focus on forms, student errors

are constantly corrected, and communication with English speaking students is reduced. In addition, English learners in K-12 setting increasingly are provided with only partial access to the core content courses (Gifford & Valdés, 2006; Olsen, 2010), which contributes to the high numbers of long-term English learners – students who continue to perform poorly on English language exams after 5 or more years in ESL support classrooms. What all emergent bilingual students need is full access to the content with teachers who have a sociocultural understanding of language and language development among bilingual and polylingual language users. As de Jong & Harper (2011) point out, teacher education programs may help teachers accomplish this when they ask them to look *at* rather than *through* the language demands of the classroom in order to support language scaffolding for English language and literacy development (p. 87; emphasis in original).

As teacher educators and teachers learn more about contemporary theories of language (L1, L1/L2, and L2 use) and language development, to seriously question the validity of the common knowledge theory of language development, and to see language-using patterns, there is new hope that emergent bilingual users will be more equitably successful in the core content areas of art, language arts, literacy, mathematics, music, science, and social studies than is currently happening. Such a turn toward understanding language and language development of emergent bilingual users is particularly important with the inevitable advent of the Common Core standards, in which language practices permeate the standards in every content area (see Bunch, 2013). Not only will teachers and teacher educators need to re-orient their pedagogical knowledge toward the Common Core standards, but they will also need to re-think their understandings of bilingual language development to develop language pedagogical knowledge (Galguera, 2011). Pedagogical language knowledge is knowledge of language practices directly involved in teaching and learning academic disciplines that includes knowledge of how emergent bilinguals use language practices (translation, paraphrasing, code-switching, and imperfect language) to make sense of content area knowledge and activities. Now is an opportunity for teachers and teacher educators to reflect deeply about language, to renovate ideas about bilingualism (move from the idea of two separate languages) to more sociocultural understandings of dynamic bilingualism, and to pay more close attention to the language demands made across the academic content areas.

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Early Education, Poverty, and Parental Circumstances among Hispanic Children: Pointing Toward Needed Public Policies

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Abstract

This article presents findings from two research projects concerning the educational achievement and well-being of Hispanic children. The first set of findings is from the first-ever study to calculate high school graduation rates for children with different levels of reading skill in third grade, by race-ethnicity and poverty experience. This research analyzes data from the 1979 National Longitudinal Survey of Youth (NLSY79) and is funded by the Annie E. Casey Foundation. The second set of findings draws on indicators from the Foundation for Child Development's Child Well-Being Index (CWI), which is the nation's most comprehensive measure of the overall well-being of children. Results for these indicators presented here measure poverty, median family income, Prekindergarten enrollment, and NAEP fourth-grade reading test scores (for data sources, see Hernandez & Napierala, 2012). Additional indicators measure parents' educational attainments and fluency in speaking English. Finally, policy and program initiatives are recommended to improve the educational achievement and outcomes of Hispanic and other children, and to increase the economic security and well-being of their families.

Introduction

This article presents findings for Hispanic children from two research projects. The aim is not to test specific theoretical hypotheses. Instead, the goal is to present new findings from research studies that describe important aspects of the lives of Hispanic children, compared to other children, with regard to early education, family economic circumstances, and parental circumstances. Detailed descriptions of the data and methodologies used in these research projects are available in the citations provided.

Two main sets of research findings are discussed here. One set of findings from the first-ever study to calculate high school graduation rates for children with different levels of reading skill in third grade, by race-ethnicity and poverty experience. This research analyzes data from the 1979 National Longitudinal Survey of Youth (NLSY79) and is funded by the Annie E. Casey Foundation. The second set of findings draws from a study using indicators from the Foundation for Child Development's Child Well-Being Index (CWI), which is the nation's most comprehensive measure of the overall well-being of children. Results presented here for these indicators measure poverty, median family income, Prekindergarten enrollment, and NAEP fourth-grade reading test scores.

Additional indicators measure parents' educational attainments and fluency in speaking English. Finally, policy and program initiatives are recommended to improve the educational achievement and outcomes of Hispanic and other children, and to increase the economic security and well-being of their families. Results presented here are statistically significant at the .05 level or better, unless indicated otherwise.

The First Years of Education, Poverty, and High School Graduation

The minimal milestone for children to reach is high school graduation, if they are to transition successfully into the labor force as young adults. Formal education that begins early in the lives of children can play a critical

role in ensuring children's long-term educational success. It is particularly important that children become proficient readers, but lacking access to high-quality early education and obstacles posed by limited economic resources can slow or block the progress of children. This section presents new research focused on these issues.

Third Grade Reading Skills

Third grade is a pivot point in a child's education, because third grade marks the point when children shift from "learning to read" to "reading to learn." Until about third grade, teachers and students spend a great deal of time in the task of learning to read. But then the educational process with regard to reading pivots 180 degrees. After third grade, elementary school curricula generally assume that children have achieved a mastery of reading. The focus shifts to using these reading skills to learn about other topics. As a result, students who have not mastered their reading skills by third grade will be at a substantial disadvantage, compared to other students, as they move further through elementary school, and beyond.

The new study of how third grade reading skills are related to high school graduation began with a review of results from the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP), which served as a guide for classifying children by reading skill level. The NAEP found in 2009 that only about one-third of fourth-grade students are proficient readers, that is, only one-third read at or above grade level (Annie E. Casey Foundation, 2010). One might plausibly assume, or hope, that most children would be reading at or above grade level. However, it turns out that about two-thirds of fourth-graders read below grade level, that is, they are reading below the proficient level. Among students who are not proficient readers, NAEP finds that one-third are reading at the basic level, and one-third are reading below the basic level.

Given these facts, this study divides the sample into thirds, reflecting the different reading skills in the NAEP results. High school graduation rates for these three groups are calculated from the 1979 National Longitudinal Study of Youth (NLSY79), because this is the only nationally representative survey that has tested the reading skill of third graders, and then followed these same children into young adulthood. Rates are calculated for graduating from high school on-time, that is, graduating by age 19, for children who have never been poor during the study, and for those who have experienced at least one year of family poverty, separately for Hispanics, Whites, and Blacks. The sample is 3,975 children born between 1979 and 1989 to mothers who were in the age range of 22 to 32 years (for additional information, see Hernandez, 2011).

Third Grade Reading Proficiency and High School Graduation

Overall, 88 percent of the children in this study graduated from high school by age 19, while the remaining 12 percent did not. Graduation rates vary enormously for children with different reading skills in third grade. Among proficient readers, only 4 percent failed to graduate, compared to 16 percent of those who were not reading at grade level at that age. Among those not proficient in reading, 9 percent of those with basic reading skills failed to graduate, and this rises to 23 percent for those with below basic skills (Hernandez, 2011).

Hispanic children are much less likely to be reading proficiently than White children. Results are presented here for Hispanic students tested by NAEP, separately for those who were and were not classified by their schools as English Language Learners. In 2011 (NAEP, 2011), 56 percent of White students not classified as ELL were not reading proficiently in fourth grade, compared to 74 percent and 95 percent, respectively, among Hispanic students who were not and who were classified as English Language Learners (NAEP, 2012). Between 1998 and 2011, the improvements in reading proficiency rates among students not classified as English Language Learners were slightly larger for Hispanic students than for White students, at 10 versus 7 percentage points, but substantially smaller at 3 percentage points for Hispanic students who were classified as English Language Learners.

The new study using NLSY79 data found that among children not reading proficiently that Hispanic children were nearly twice likely as White children to not graduate from high school, at 24 percent versus 13 percent (Figure 1). Thus, Hispanic students who have not mastered reading in third grade are 11 percentage

points less likely to graduate from high school than White students with similar reading skills. Only about 4 percent of White students who read well in third grade failed to graduate from high school, compared to 9 percent of Hispanic students, a difference that is not statistically significant (Hernandez, 2011).

Reading Proficiency, Poverty Experience, and High School Graduation

Poverty contributes further to high rates of not graduating from high school. Hispanic children in 1994 experienced poverty rates 3-4 times greater than White children. The official, federal poverty rates for Hispanic children with U.S.-born parents and those in immigrant families, respectively, were 37 percent and 44 percent in 1994, compared to 12 percent for White children with U.S.-born parents. By 2010, poverty rates had declined for Hispanic children with U.S.-born parents and those in immigrant families, respectively, to 28 percent and 40 percent, while the rate for White children with U.S.-born parents remained unchanged. Despite these improvements, by 2010 poverty rates for Hispanic children in native-born and immigrant families continued to be 2-3 times greater than for White children in native-born families.

Because poverty rates pertain to specific years, and because from one year to the next some children live in families whose income rises above the poverty threshold, while others live in families whose income drops below the poverty threshold, the proportions of children who over an extended period of time spend at least one year in poverty are even higher. Because NLSY79 data were collected every other year, it is possible to ascertain whether a child lived in a poor family in at least one of five years between second grade and 12th grade. Based on these data, 49 percent of Hispanic children lived in a poor family for at least one year, compared to 31 percent for White children. The proportions would be even higher if it had been possible to determine the poverty status of children for every year between 3rd and 12th grade. Thus, more than one-half of Hispanic children and more than one-third of White children experienced at least one year of poverty during their school years.

Among the large numbers of children who experience family poverty, many are not reading proficiently by third grade. This proportion who experience poverty and are not reading proficient in third grade in the NLSY79 sample is four-in-ten for Hispanic children at 41 percent, compared to two-in-ten at 22 percent for White children. Among children who experience family poverty and who are not proficient readers in third grade, the percent not graduating from high school is 33 percent for Hispanic children, substantially higher than the 22 percent for White children. The rates are about one-half as large, but still substantial, for children with poverty experience who did read proficiently in third grade, at 14 percent for Hispanic children, compared to 11 percent for White children. Thus, children in poor families are in double jeopardy: They are more likely to have low reading test scores, and at any reading skill level, they are less likely to graduate from high school.

The consequences for Hispanic children are particularly profound, because they are more likely than White children to experience family poverty and to not read proficiently, and among the larger proportion of Hispanic children who experience both, the chances of not graduating from high school are substantially higher for Hispanic children than for White children (31 percent versus 22 percent).

PreK-3rd Education and Hispanic Prekindergarten Enrollment

These findings point toward the need to improve the educational experiences of children, and especially Hispanic children, for the years leading up to third grade. High-quality Prekindergarten programs can play a critical role in raising reading skills by third grade, because they can dramatically expand the time that children devote to learning the cognitive and socioemotional skills needed to become reading proficient. During the elementary grades, children spend three full years in school by the end of third grade. In addition, for many children Kindergarten brings this up to 3 ½ or 4 years depending on whether they attend half-day or full-day Kindergarten. However, if children begin Prekindergarten at age 3 in a full-blown PreK-3rd program, they increase the total to a much longer six years in school (see below for discussion of the components of PreK-3rd programs). This greatly expands the amount of time available for teachers and for children to work together on

developing children's reading skill.

Beginning with these earliest years of education, high-quality early education programs have been found to promote school readiness and educational success in elementary school and beyond (Gormley, Phillips, & Gayer, 2008; Haskins & Rouse, 2005; Heckman & Masterov, 2007; Lynch, 2004; Reynolds et al., 2011). Hispanic children of immigrants with limited educational attainments and limited English proficiency, in particular, may be especially likely to benefit from such programs (Gormley, 2008).

However, Hispanic children are less likely than others to be enrolled in Prekindergarten. In 2009, for example, Prekindergarten enrollment for Hispanic children ages 3-4 was 40 percent overall, at 42 percent for those with both parents born in the U.S., and 38 percent for Hispanic children in immigrant families with at least one immigrant parent, compared to 55 percent for White children with U.S.-born parents.

Particularly low rates of Prekindergarten enrollment for Hispanics are found for Mexican-origin children both in immigrant families and with U.S.-born parents and for children in immigrant families from Central America (Hernandez, Denton, & Macartney, 2011). These Hispanic children account for 79 percent of Hispanic children aged 3-4, and of these this 79 percent 28 percent are Mexican-origin children with U.S.-born parents, 44 percent are Mexican-origin children in immigrant families, and 7 percent are children in immigrant families from Central America.

Why Prekindergarten Enrollment is Low for Hispanics

One plausible reason for low Prekindergarten enrollment that is sometimes cited, particularly for Hispanic immigrants, is a more familistic cultural orientation. The idea is that immigrants from familistic cultures may prefer child-care provided at home by parents or other relatives, instead of by non-relatives in formal settings. There are, however, alternative, socioeconomic barriers that can limit enrollment.

Early education programs may cost more than parents can afford to pay, or the number of openings available locally may be too small to meet the demand. Although federal and state governments have policies that are intended to reduce or eliminate such difficulties for poor families, these policies are severely underfunded. Also, available programs may lack home language outreach, or they may lack teachers with a minimal capacity to speak to a child in the home language. In addition, parents with limited educational attainments may not know how to access early education programs, or may not be aware that these programs can foster school success for their children.

A recent study has estimated the extent to which enrollment gaps separating White children with U.S.-born parents, on the one hand, from immigrant or race-ethnic minority children, on the other, can be accounted for by socioeconomic barriers or cultural preferences (Hernandez, Denton, & Macartney, 2011). Altogether, for Mexican-American children in immigrant families and with U.S.-born parents, as well as children in immigrant families from Central America, the results indicate that socioeconomic barriers can account for at least one-half and perhaps all of the enrollment gap separating them from White children with U.S.-born parents, while most estimates indicate that cultural influences play a comparatively small role in accounting for the gaps in low Prekindergarten school enrollment for these groups (Figure 2).

These results may be surprising. But they are consistent with the strong commitment to early education in contemporary Mexico, where universal enrollment at age 3 became a national requirement in the 2008-2009 school year, although it has yet to be fully implemented (Yoshikawa et al., 2006). In fact, in 2005, 81 percent of children age 4 in Mexico were enrolled in preschool, substantially more than the 71 percent enrolled in preschool at age 4 among White children with U.S.-born parents in 2004. Given that preschool is less costly in Mexico than in the U.S., and given that poverty for the Mexican immigrant group in the U.S. is quite high, it is not surprising that the proportion enrolled in the U.S. for the immigrant Mexican group at 55 percent is substantially lower than the 81 percent enrolled in Mexico.

In sum, familistic cultural values are sometimes cited to explain lower early education enrollment among some Hispanic immigrant groups, but this research shows socioeconomic barriers can account for at least 50 percent, and for some groups, perhaps all of the gap. These results point toward the need for public policies that increase access to and the affordability of high-quality early education.

Family Economic Circumstances

Results reported above highlight the critical role that economic resources play in ensuring that children have access to high-quality early education and health insurance. This section of the paper focuses on the economic resources available in the family homes of children, and on two key family circumstances that influence the magnitude of available resources.

Median Family Income

The typical Hispanic child in the 2010 Current Population Survey lived in a family with a median annual income that was less than half as large as the median family income of White children with U.S.-born parents, at \$35,000 versus \$73,000. Compared to the average for Hispanic children, those with U.S.-born parents had a median family income that was \$6,000 higher, at \$41,000, while Hispanic children in immigrant families had a median family income \$4,000 lower than the average at only \$31,000. Overall, the typical White child with U.S.-born parents experienced a median family income that was an enormous \$32,000 greater than for Hispanic children with U.S.-born parents and an even larger \$42,000 greater than for Hispanic children in immigrant families. These findings point toward the need for public policies that will lead to increased family incomes for a large proportion of Hispanic children in both immigrant families and in families with U.S.-born parents.

Parents' Education

The educational attainments of parents are important for a complex set of reasons. In the short run, parents with lower educational attainments tend to work at occupations that offer lower incomes, which limits the economic resources available to children in these families. It also has long been known that children whose parents have completed fewer years of schooling tend, on average, to themselves complete fewer years of schooling and to obtain lower paying jobs when they reach adulthood, compared to children whose parents have completed more years of schooling (Blau & Duncan, 1967; Featherman & Hauser, 1978; Sewell & Hauser, 1975; Sewell, Hauser, & Wolf, 1980).

The 2010 American Community survey indicates that 7 percent of White children with U.S.-born parents have fathers who have not graduated from high school. This more than doubles to 17 percent for Hispanic children with U.S.-born parents, and it increases seven-fold to an enormous 51 percent of Hispanic children in immigrant families (results for mothers are similar and are not reported here).

At still lower educational levels, parents whose education does not extend beyond the elementary level may be especially limited in knowledge and experience needed to help their children succeed in school. Immigrant parents often have high educational aspirations for their children (Hernandez & Charney, 1998; Kao, 1999; Rumbaut, 1999), but may know little about the U.S. educational system, particularly if they have completed only a few years of school. Parents with little schooling may, as a consequence, be less comfortable with the education system, less able to help their children with school work, and less able to effectively negotiate with teachers and education administrators. Among White children with U.S.-born parents, 1 percent have a father who has completed only 8 years of school or less, and this is somewhat higher at 3 percent for Hispanic children with U.S.-born parents, but this rises to nearly one-third (31 percent) for Hispanic children in immigrant families.

The comparatively high proportion of Hispanic children with U.S.-born parents who have not graduated from high school, and the even higher proportions of Hispanic children in immigrant families with parents who have limited educational attainments no doubt contribute to their comparatively low family incomes, as well as posing a challenge as parents seek to facilitate their children's success in school by helping with homework or by engaging the educational system. These findings point toward the need for public policies to foster increased education for many Hispanic parents.

Parents' English Fluency

Insofar as parents are less than fully fluent in English, they also may experience difficulty finding well-paid work, and they may experience barriers to engaging schools on behalf of their children. The 2010 American Community Survey indicates that only 0.2 percent of White children with U.S.-born parents do not have an English fluent parent in the home. This rises to 5 percent for Hispanic children with U.S.-born parents and jumps to 58 percent for Hispanic children in immigrant families. Thus, limited English fluency may have a small comparative effect on the parental income and parental school engagement for Hispanic children with U.S.-born parents, but it has a potentially large impact for Hispanic children in immigrant families. These findings point toward the need for public policies to ensure that schools and other public and private agencies reach out to many Hispanic immigrant parents in Spanish, and also for public policies to facilitate the learning of English by Hispanic immigrant parents who have moved to the U.S. seeking success economic and educational success for themselves and their children.

Public Policies to Improve Education and Economic Well-Being

The findings presented here point toward two arenas where public policies are needed to improve educational outcomes for children. First, high-quality PreK-3rd education is critical to improving the reading skills of children by third grade, and therefore to increasing high school graduation rates. Second, it is important to increase education and income among parents. Particularly promising are dual-generation programs that link high-quality PreK-3rd education with sector-based work force development program for parents which provide high-quality job training for high demand-occupations that provide good, middle-class incomes (for additional policy recommendations in each of these policy arenas see Hernandez, 2012).

The PreK-3rd Approach to High Quality Education

High-quality Prekindergarten programs are critical to raising reading proficiency levels by third grade. But many young Hispanic (and non-Hispanic) children are not enrolled. The expansion of public policies, such as state-based Prekindergarten or Head Start, is essential to increase access to and the affordability of Prekindergarten for these children. To really make a difference, this must high-quality Prekindergarten education.

But this is only the critical first step. Programs that are continued into elementary school with high quality are most likely to be sustained in their long-term effects (Brooks-Gunn, 2003). In other words, the approach most likely to have the maximum positive effect in the long-term is one that is aligned and coordinated for children ages 3 to 8 (Bogard & Takanishi, 2005). This idea, which has become known as the PreK-3rd approach to education, incorporates five key components: (1) alignment of standards, curricula, and assessment connected across grades from Prekindergarten through third grade, (2) features of school organization that include voluntary full-day Prekindergarten for all three- and four-year old children, (3) qualified teachers who are prepared specifically to teach at any grade from Prekindergarten to third grade, (4) research-based approaches to creating classrooms that are effective learning environments, and (5) teachers and parents working together to foster the educational success of children (Foundation for Child Development, 2013).

Return on investment in PreK-3rd. Specific policies can be crafted to foster and ensure the implementation of these features of a successful PreK-3rd educational system. How much difference does a high-quality PreK-3rd program make? Increased skills and success for children can lead to very large, long-term benefits, not only for children but also for society as a whole. A recent study of an integrated PreK-3rd approach implemented in Child-Parent Centers in Chicago found improved educational outcomes. For every \$1.00 invested in the first 4-6 years of school, there was long-term societal return of \$8.24 (Reynolds, 2011). This is an enormous long-term return on investment.

There are, of course, costs associated with implementing high-quality PreK-3rd education. In the Child-

Parent Centers, for Prekindergarten the additional cost per year is about \$1700, with a total cost per child of \$5,000 per year. For K-3 the additional cost per child is about \$1200 per year. The return on these significant, but small, investments is enormous at 18 percent for Prekindergarten over the long-term, and 10 percent for the early elementary school years' investments.

Strategy for implementing PreK-3rd. It is important to begin making these investments now. Prekindergarten and PreK-3rd are not luxuries. They are essential to meeting the early-learning needs of young children. Because high-quality education is critical, insofar as funds are available but limited, it may make sense to invest first in a smaller number of schools to develop high-quality programs, rather than spreading additional resources widely across lower-quality programs. After high-quality programs are implemented, these programs can serve as a model and can provide best-practice lessons and technical assistance to diffuse high-quality education more widely for ever larger numbers of children. (For additional information about the PreK-3rd approach, see Foundation for Child Development, 2012).

Language instruction. In addition, results presented here highlight the fact that special attention should be paid to English Language Learners. Children who learn English after their home language is established, typically around age three, can add a second language during the Prekindergarten and early school years. This bilingual skill leads to long-term cognitive, cultural, and economic advantages. A dual-language approach to teaching has been found to be effective for English Language Learners, while not having negative consequences for other students (Espinosa, 2013).

Even if Prekindergarten teachers are not fluently bilingual in a child's home language, they can introduce young English Language Learners to English. They can also adopt teaching practices that support home language development. Teachers who encourage the families of children to talk, read, and sing with the child in the parents' home language, and to use the home language in everyday activities, will foster the child's first language development even as the child is learning English (Espinosa, 2013).

In designing education programs for students who are English Language Learners, results from two studies are especially important. The first, conducted by psychologists, is the International Comparative Study of Ethnocultural Youth (ICSEY) spanning in 13 countries including the U.S. The second, conducted by sociologists, is the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS) of adolescents in southern California and southern Florida. These studies find that children in immigrant families who identify with and participate in the cultures of both the society of origin and the society of settlement, and who become fluent in both languages, adjust to the settlement society more successfully than do children with other patterns of acculturation (Hernandez, Macartney, & Blanchard, 2009; Phinney et al., 2006; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Sam, 2006).

Dual-Generation Strategy for Academic Success and Economic Well-Being

It also is essential that public policies address the problems of low family income and poverty, because children in families with limited economic resources experience a variety of negative development outcomes, reflected in their cognitive and socioemotional development, educational achievements, and incomes during adulthood (Duncan & Brooks-Gunn, 1997; McLoyd, 1998; Sewell & Hauser, 1975). One very promising approach is a dual-generation strategy which links high-quality PreK-3rd education with sectoral job training for parents that leads to a credential for well-paid, high-demand occupations. This approach is more than just job training in three important ways.

First, it is sector-based. The idea is to identify occupations such as nursing, or high-tech jobs where there is a growing demand in the local labor market. These jobs should provide a clear path of credentials and skill improvement which lead to middle-class incomes.

Second, it is essential that the program include well-targeted family support and peer support services. To ensure that low-income and English Language Learner parents succeed, they need an extensive set of services ranging from English-language training, to peer-support activities, to financial assistance, to internships, and clear access to actual jobs in the local economy.

Third, this workforce development program should be linked with high-quality PreK-3rd education, because of the potential synergies between the two. For example, parents who see their children in a safe, high-

quality early education programs with caring and effective teachers will feel more comfortable in leaving their children while they participate in their own skill development, and ultimately in the labor market. By the same token, children who see their parents engaged in their own school work, studying and doing homework, are more likely to be motivated to succeed in school (for additional information about the dual-generation approach see Foundation for Child Development, 2012; for additional recommendations regarding investments in the economic well-being of children and families, see Hernandez, 2012.).

Conclusion

In sum, many Hispanic children are not reading proficiently by third grade, many live in low-income or poor families, and many have parents with limited education. Because low reading skills and poverty lead to high rates of not graduating from high school, and because limited parental education can act as a barrier to children's educational success, these children are especially vulnerable, and it is critical that effective policies and programs be developed and implemented to provide the opportunity for these children to succeed in school and in life. This is important not only for these children and their families, but also to the larger society, and to the predominately white non-Hispanic baby-boom generation in particular, because the baby-boom generation will depend for their own retirement on the economic productivity of these children as they enter the labor force during the coming years.

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Preparing Mainstream Teachers for Multilingual Classrooms

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Abstract

Increasingly, mainstream teachers rather than specialist language teachers (English as a Second Language, bilingual teachers) are expected to work with English language learners (ELLs) in their classrooms. This reality has drawn attention to the quality and content of the teacher preparation for this group of ELL teachers. Situated within this framework, this article problematizes an acceptance of mainstream classrooms as English-only, monolingual learning environments in mainstream teacher preparation. While English is the dominant medium of instruction in mainstream classrooms, a monolingual approach is problematic as it fails to draw attention to the role that ELLs' native language resources play in learning. The article thus advocates for ensuring that mainstream teachers embrace and know how to engage in bilingual practices, broadly defined.

Introduction

English language learners (ELLs) continue to outpace the non-ELL population in K-12 school enrollment (Shin & Kominski, 2010; Uro & Barrio, 2013) with the largest increases observed in regions with traditionally low numbers of ELLs (Ramsey & O'Day, 2010). 'New destination' states such as Georgia, North Dakota, and South Carolina have experienced a more than 200% increase in their ELL population, which has put unprecedented demands on schools and has created an urgent need for large-scale teacher professional development (Mikow-Porto et al., 2004).

These ELL enrollment increases combine with political, economic, and other educational trends to create a situation where many ELLs are placed fulltime or for most of the day in mainstream rather than specialist language programs. Schools with low incidence ELL populations and/or those experiencing a rapid influx of ELLs in a relatively short time may not always have access to the necessary human and material resources to support ELLs solely through a specialist language program, such as a bilingual or English as a Second Language (ESL) program. In these cases, administrators often resort to mainstream placements for their ELLs. In 2003, nearly 50% of all ELLs received minimal (fewer than 10 hours) or no special services, compared to 32% a decade earlier (Center on Education Policy, 2005). It is likely that these percentages are even higher today, particularly in rural districts (American Association for Employment in Education, 2008; Flynn & Hill, 2005). This trend does not imply that instructional time that is dedicated to specialized language and literacy development is not necessary or that the reduction in specialist language teachers and programs is necessarily a positive trend. In fact, a recent report of the Council of Great City Schools (Horwitz et al., 2009) identified the presence of specialized ELL expertise at all decision-making levels in successful school districts.

The increase in ELL mainstream classroom placement has been accompanied by targeted accountability for ELLs under No Child Left Behind. As a result, attention has shifted from bilingual and ESL classrooms and specialist teachers to what happens in mainstream classrooms and how to effectively prepare mainstream teachers to work with ELLs. Most states are only in the beginning stages of including requirements for preservice mainstream teacher preparation and/or developing policies for systematically providing ELL-related inservice professional development for practicing teachers on a statewide basis (Menken & Antuñez, 2001; Quality Counts, 2009). A recent study by Akiba, Cockrell, Simmons, Han and Agarwal, (2010) suggests that preservice teacher education programs pay closer attention to cultural diversity and multicultural education through a 'human relations approach' than through an approach that supports teachers in using students' cultural experiences as resources for teaching. In this study, California distinguished itself by its focus on *linguistic* diversity, as opposed to issues of culture and race, which tend to be the focus of courses related to 'diversity.' Uro and Barrio (2013) report that, while the states surveyed required certification or endorsements for bilingual or ESL specialist teachers, only 10 out of the 44 districts reporting were in states with such requirements for general education

teachers. In addition, three districts were in states with a requirement of a certain amount of professional development hours.

It is perhaps not surprising, then, that many mainstream teachers lack basic foundational knowledge about ELL issues, despite the fact that 88% teach ELLs. In California, only 29% teachers with more than three ELLs in their classrooms reported being professionally certified in either English as a Second Language (ESL) or bilingual education (Gándara, Maxwell-Jolly, & Driscoll, 2005). Mainstream teachers also vary greatly in their willingness to accommodate their instruction for ELLs in order to ensure the integration of language and content development (Reeves, 2006; Walker, Shafer, & Iiams, 2004). Moreover, some research suggests that general accommodations for comprehensibility appear more likely to emerge than the use of second language-specific support for ELLs (de Jong & Harper, 2011).

When these findings are juxtaposed with the increased placement of ELLs in mainstream classrooms, the need for more comprehensive approaches to teacher preparation for English language learners (ELLs) is clear and has indeed been recognized. Several frameworks for improved mainstream teacher preparation for ELLs have been suggested (e.g., Coady, de Jong, & Harper, 2011; Fillmore & Snow, 2002; Lucas, 2011; Lucas & Grinberg, 2008). These frameworks do not intend to replace existing professional standards for specialist language teachers nor do they deny the need for the continued preparation of language specialists. They aim to outline the necessary knowledge and skills related to issues of language and culture in the classroom that mainstream teachers need to develop in addition to those presented in their general educator preparation (de Jong & Harper, 2005). After briefly outlining the main components of these conceptual frameworks, this article focuses on a dimension that receives minimal attention in these frameworks, namely the monolingually oriented learning environments that by default dominate mainstream classrooms. I argue that, while the frameworks often include reference to the role of the native language in second language acquisition processes, actual classroom practices provide minimal guidance for mainstream teachers to become advocates for additive bilingualism.

Mainstream Teacher Preparation for ELLs

To date, most studies on mainstream teacher ELL preparation and ELL student achievement have been conceptual; that is, scholars have sought to outline what mainstream teachers should know and be able to do when working with ELLs (Commins & Miramontes, 2006; de Jong & Harper, 2005; Fillmore & Snow, 2002; Lucas & Grinberg, 2008; Lucas & Villegas, 2013). Broadly conceived, the various frameworks share their emphasis on the roles that language and culture play in school for ELLs and the ELL-targeted second language, literacy, and content area classroom practices needed in mainstream classrooms. Lucas and Grinberg (2008), for instance, introduce the term ‘linguistically responsive practices’, a set of language-related knowledge and skills that mainstream teachers of ELLs need to have. They subsequently outline understandings about language, language proficiency, and second language acquisition (theory) and strategies for scaffolding instruction for ELLs (practices) for preservice teachers. Similarly, Lucas and Villegas (2013) frame the ELL preservice teacher knowledge base in terms of sociolinguistic consciousness and valuing linguistic diversity. Sociolinguistic awareness focuses on the integral connection between language, culture, and identity and the sociopolitical contexts of language use. They add that preservice teachers also need to develop a readiness to advocate for ELLs (de Oliveira & Athanases, 2007). In addition to these foundational skills, teachers need to command a set of strategies to get to know their students and ways to scaffold their instruction. Interestingly, while some bilingual strategies (i.e., translation, native language writing) are mentioned for getting to know the ELL, such strategies are not mentioned under curriculum planning and delivery. The role of the native language is thus acknowledged as an influencing factor in second language acquisition but how mainstream teachers can use and be taught to use the students’ native languages as a resource for teaching is largely invisible.

Unfortunately, the research base documenting how ELL-related knowledge and skills are and can be effectively included in the teacher preparation program lags far behind the discussions on conceptual frameworks. Small-scale studies that focus on individual programs has indicated that institutional support is important and that changes in course syllabi, professional development for faculty, and content and ESL faculty collaboration can be effective in helping candidates develop a more effective “ELL lens” (e.g., Brisk, 2006; Costa, McPhail,

Smith, & Brisk, 2005; Gort, Glenn, & Settlage, 2011; Lucas, 2011; Meskill, 2005).

Since these preparation models are connected and linked to general education teacher preparation programs, it is almost unavoidable that they focus on how English-medium environments can be made more accessible to ELLs. The role of the native language in second language learning is acknowledged and respect for students' linguistic and cultural resources is viewed as an important value. In terms of classroom practices, however, the default is English (sheltering English instruction, teaching academic English). The remainder of this article illustrates the sociopolitical context of this monolingual stance, its potential impact, and the importance of ensuring that mainstream teachers (and administrators), as one important group of educators working with ELLs, are prepared to effectively negotiate monolingual policies and practices for their ELLs.

Monolingual Lenses in U.S. Educational Policy

Language policies for ELLs are typically considered from the perspective of explicit policies that affect special language programs for ELLs. Current policies clearly favor an English-only approach to teaching ELLs. Only a handful of states officially encourage or allow bilingual education. Legislation such as Proposition 227 in California, Proposition 203 in Arizona, and Question 2 in Massachusetts mandated the default placement of ELLs in structured English immersion (SEI) programs. Although the definition of role of the native language within SEI has changed significantly over time (McField, 2006), SEI is an English-only program option, which severely limits and/or prohibits the use of and access to core instruction in languages other than English.

Though not explicitly formulated or positioned as language policies, national and state educational reform efforts to improve the quality of schooling for all students nevertheless greatly shape language practices in schools (Harper, de Jong, & Platt, 2008; Menken, 2006, 2008; Shohamy, 2006). The monolingual practices that have accompanied many of these educational policies are reinforced through the monolingual assumptions that are explicitly and implicitly made about the nature of language, language proficiency, and language development. These assumptions and practices greatly affect the mainstream classroom environment for ELLs.

The Nature of Language Proficiency and Language Development

The federal No Child Left Behind (NCLB) Act and the development of new accountability systems has raised important questions about what language proficiency is needed for schooling purposes. That is, what is the specific register of language of school (also referred to as 'academic language') that students need to learn to meet the language demands of content learning (Bailey, 2007; Krashen & Brown, 2007; Scarcella, 2003; Schlepppegrell, 2004). To date, researchers and teacher educators have focused on identifying the specific linguistic features of academic English in general and for specific content areas, how these features can best be taught (in English), as well as the relationships between academic English proficiency and performance on content assessments in English (Anstrom et al., 2010; Bailey, Butler, LaFramenta, & Ong, 2004). Importantly, attention to issues of linguistic diversity are largely absent from these discussions, with the exception of (Spanish-English) cognates (e.g., August & Shanahan, 2006).

Similarly, the measurement of achievement, annual growth, and learning gains in and through English on standardized reading tests has intensified English-only practices nationwide (Evans & Hornberger, 2005; Menken, 2006; Valenzuela, 2005). These tests are normed on native English speakers rather than bilingual learners. Moreover, there is an expectation that ELLs will achieve sufficient proficiency in English within less than two years such that their scores on an English achievement test are reliable and valid. Even with the most academically prepared ELLs, this expectation is unrealistic; for those who come with gaps in their schooling, two years is even more in conflict with current research on second language acquisition for school purposes. Regardless of these and other reservations by assessment experts (Abedi, 2004), the accountability expectations under NCLB have led to a resurgence of the view that bilingualism is a liability rather than a resource for ELLs' school success (Black, 2006; Escamilla, Chavez, & Vigil, 2005). It has also led to a narrowing of the curriculum where the literacy curriculum stresses the basic, lower-level, discrete reading skills that are measured by the test (Cummins, 2007; Sleeter & Stillman, 2005).

Monolingual Stance through Standardization

Another aspect of the monolingual lens of current educational reform is the assumption that, despite student diversity, the same approach to school improvement or classroom interventions will be appropriate. Like NCLB, other national and state educational reform efforts (such as the Common Core Standards, the Response to Intervention movement) assume that they are inclusive of the needs of ELLs. In practice, however, these policies tend to glance over significant implications for working with ELLs. While the proposed curricula, interventions, and strategies can be appropriate for some ELLs, they are not necessarily sufficient to meet their diverse linguistic, academic, and cultural needs (Buck, Mast, Ehlers, & Franklin, 2005; Harper & de Jong, 2004, 2009).

For instance, in the wake of NCLB and Reading First, older ELLs were often assigned to receive interventions designed for struggling native English speakers. However, the texts used in these classes were often too difficult for ELLs and the curriculum was generally inappropriate for those whose reading difficulties in English lie in vocabulary development and reading comprehension, and not in the decoding and basic skills practice provided in these remedial classes (Callahan, 2006).

The Limitations of Monolingual Stances or The Need for Multilingual Orientations

The placement of ELLs in monolingual settings becomes problematic when teachers or administrators fail or are unable to mediate their practices to address the specific linguistic and cultural needs of ELLs. The mere placement of ELLs in mainstream classrooms without attention to their linguistic and cultural needs can lead to significant inequities in student participation, access to quality curriculum, and opportunities to learn for ELLs (Cohen, 1997; de Jong & Harper, 2005; Losey, 1995; Verplaetse, 2000). Although the focus here is on mainstream classroom settings, it should be noted that the shift to more English-only special language programs also contributes to a monolingual definition of the schooling of ELLs.

When it comes to effective practices for ELLs, the research consistently points out that additive rather than subtractive responses to linguistic and cultural diversity significantly and positively affect ELL achievement and performance. Policies and practices that affirm and create learning environments that purposefully build on ELLs' language and cultural resources are the most effective for ELLs (Brisk, 2006; de Jong, 2011; Genesee, Lindholm-Leary, Saunders, & Christian, 2005; Lucas, Henze, & Donato, 1990; Miramontes, Nadeau, & Cummins, 1997; Nieto & Bode, 2008). This additive stance is grounded in a basic learning principle that students' prior knowledge and experiences affect how and what they learn. Applying this principle to ELLs implies using and accessing ELLs' native language because ELLs' prior and on-going learning and knowledge development is encoded in that language (Cummins et al., 2005).

High-quality and well-implemented bilingual programs that reflect this additive principle have consistently demonstrated positive academic and language outcomes for ELLs (August & Hakuta, 1997; Cummins & Corson, 1997; Lindholm-Leary, 2001). It is important to stress, however, that an additive bilingual stance goes well beyond bilingual programming (de Jong, 2011). Even in English-only classrooms (including SEI classrooms), effective English teachers strategically use students' native language resources for multiple purposes, such as clarifying and assessing content learning, building social relationships, teaching key concepts, making cross-linguistic connections (Gersten & Baker, 2000; Karathanos, 2010; Lucas & Katz, 1994; Tikunoff & Vazquez-Faria, 1983). Effective teachers use their students' cultural experiences in order to mediate unfamiliar content for their ELLs and ensure better comprehension (Herrera, 2010; Moll, Amanti, Neff, & Gonzalez, 1992; Nieto, 2002).

From these observations we have to conclude that, even when ELLs are placed in English-medium settings, these schools and classrooms should not become monolingually-oriented contexts of learning. Arguably, they do not need to – taking an additive multilingual and multicultural stance can and needs to extend to mainstream classrooms; it is not limited to bilingual educators teaching in bilingual programs. Simply because the language of instruction is in one language (English), this should not imply that these educators should engage in monolingually oriented policies and practices that largely ignore the cultural and linguistic resources that ELLs bring to school.

In fact, doing so would deny ELLs equitable access to opportunities to learn and achieve optimally within the school system (Cummins, 2005; de Jong, 2011).

Teacher Preparation for ELLs in Monolingually Oriented Classrooms

If the majority of teachers of ELLs will in fact be working as mainstream teachers in English-medium classrooms that are monolingually oriented, it challenges teacher preparation program to provide them with the tools to be able to effectively leverage students' linguistic (native language and second language) and cultural resources for instruction in these contexts. Given equity and excellence for ELLs as our goal, the ability to challenge monolingualizing trends in educational policies and to advocate for multilingually oriented practices become essential, non-negotiable skills for teachers and administrators working with ELLs. While it is understandable that most mainstream teacher preparation frameworks take a monolingual focus (i.e., how to teach English within the existing mainstream classroom structure), this will not be sufficient to prepare them to create the most optimal learning environments for ELLs. Teachers and administrators need to show respect students' native languages and understand its role in supporting second language and literacy development (Lucas & Grinberg, 2008; Proctor, August, Snow, & Barr, 2010). However, they also need to move beyond tolerance of the native language at beginning stages of second language development and develop the knowledge and skills to actively engage in language practices that reflect this additive stance. Second, they need to be able to critically analyze their mainstream context from a bilingual learners' perspective and understand where mainstream policies and practices are inappropriate and insufficient and where they are useful for specific ELLs. Both dimensions are presented in more detail below.

Supporting a Multilingual Stance

ELL-specific expertise combined with proficiency in a language other than English (LOTE) would certainly more easily implement bi-or multilingual practices (Karathanos, 2010). Learning another language, traveling abroad, and exposure to culturally diverse settings assists in the development of more empathy for the task ELLs have to face. Research on study abroad and other culturally diverse placements have demonstrated that these experiences positively affect teachers' perceptions of effectiveness and efficacy working in diverse contexts, including ELLs (Barkhuizen & Feryok, 2006; Clark & Flores, 1997; Ference & Bell, 2004; Pence & Macgillivray, 2008; Reyes, 2009; Teague, 2010; Willard-Holt, 2001). This finding points to the importance of actively recruiting bilingual individuals into the mainstream teaching force and to provide opportunities within teacher preparation for study abroad experiences for those with less proficiency in a language other than English.

Even when teachers of ELLs are limited proficient in LOTE, however, they can be encouraged to adopt an additive stance in their practices (Schwarzer, Haywood, & Lorenzen, 2003). Teacher educators can explain the importance of multilingual practices such as the use of cognates in vocabulary teaching, grouping strategies by native language, cross-age tutoring with students from the same language background, creating bilingual books, and building metalinguistic awareness through cross-linguistic analyses (Cummins, 2005, 2006; de Jong & Freeman, 2010; Irujo, 2005; Schwarzer et al., 2003). Teacher candidates can be taught to use specific strategies that tap into students personal and communal funds of knowledge and use these understandings to adapt curriculum in ways that are more appropriate for ELLs, student-centered, and still connected to content standards (Gonzalez, Moll, & Amanti, 2005; Herrera, 2010). They can assist teacher candidates in identifying bilingual resources for the classroom (bilingual dictionaries, bilingual children's books, books in LOTE, students' native language supplementary materials) and in the community.

Administrators, too, need to develop knowledge and skills to support multilingual approaches. Examples may include finding ways to ensure multilingual home-school communications, how to produce multilingual signage, bilingual hiring practices, and how to facilitate access to interpreters. When evaluating teachers, they can encourage and expect multilingual practices and materials and ensure that teachers use appropriate differentiation strategies for ELLs.

Bilingual advocacy

Teacher candidates also need to learn to critically use bilingual lenses to reflect on policies and their practices related to curriculum, pedagogy, and assessment. Preservice teachers need to understand the linguistic and cultural needs of ELLs and how these needs intersect with general state and federal educational policies (de Jong, Harper, & Coady, 2013). Recent initiatives, such as No Child Left Behind, the Common Core Standards, and Response to Intervention carry the assumption that the needs of ELLs will be addressed. In practice, however, implementation of such policies and initiatives has consistently overlooked the distinctive needs of bilingual learners or addressed them only as an after-thought (e.g., Harper & de Jong, 2009; Herrera & Murray, 2006). Curricula and instructional interventions that are promoted for “diverse” mainstream classrooms may be effective for some ELLs; however, they are not necessarily appropriate or adequate to meet the diverse linguistic, academic, and cultural needs of many ELLs (Harper & de Jong, 2004, 2009), nor do they typically take bilingualism into consideration. Mainstream teachers need to understand the difference and use their understanding the role of language in school and the processes of bilingualism and second language acquisition to advocate for effective practices for ELLs (Lucas & Grinberg, 2008).

A second step is to enhance this critical analysis with a bilingual lens. When discussing home-school relations and communications, teacher preparation programs can discuss how to support parents in their efforts to maintain the native language and design home-school literacy projects that involve both languages (de Jong, 2008). Teachers and administrators can interpret accountability results from a bilingual perspective (Escamilla, Chavez, & Vigil, 2005); for example, one that acknowledges the nature of second language development and the importance of including native language assessment data. They can learn how to disaggregate assessment data by important background variables that affect ELLs, such as transiency, initial English proficiency, and prior schooling.

Conclusion

The increased linguistic and cultural diversity combined with the monolingualized nature of schooling in the United States adds a new layer of complexity for mainstream teacher preparation. The diversity of ELLs and the importance of additive multilingual and multicultural practices for effective ELL schooling challenges teacher preparation programs to go beyond providing teachers with a toolkit of second language methods and basic principles of learning a second language. Rather, they need to ensure that mainstream teachers understand bilingual learners, bilingual development, and ways that they can build on and extend students linguistic and cultural resources. Moreover, they need to provide future educators with the skills to critically analyze national, state, and district policies through a bilingual lens and identify areas where change is needed.

Advocacy for a multilingual stance and practices is more important than ever as more and more ELLs are schooled in English-only mainstream classrooms or language programs. Preparation programs need to provide their candidates with the conceptual and practical understandings to take ELLs’ L1 and L2 resources into consideration as a starting point for district, school and classroom policies and practices. Such expertise includes:

- An understanding why multilingual practices are essential for ELLs and why this stance is not limited to bilingual education programs. They need to understand the role that ELLs’ linguistic and cultural resources play in content learning, in language and literacy development, and in their successful integration into the sociocultural environment of the school.
- Advocacy for and engagement in multilingual practices. They need to be able to examine policies from an ELL perspective and ‘teach for transfer’, i.e., use strategies for accessing students’ linguistic and cultural resources for instructional purposes and to leverage school and community resources to support their instruction for ELLs.

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Views from Inside a Pediatric Clinic: How Arizona's Political Climate Has Impacted Arizona's Youngest Latino Learners

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Abstract

It is critical that we examine impacts that recent immigration policies such as SB1070 are having on Arizona's youngest Latino learners. The large number of Latinos under the age of five, and the impact that this upcoming generation of Latinos will have on all aspects of life in Arizona merits a closer look. In this qualitative study, we examined the perspectives of five adults working in an Arizona pediatric clinic (i.e., "Pediatrics Plus"). The themes of fear and community tension which arose throughout the interview data demonstrate that the health of our youngest learners as well as their access and ability to attend extended learning opportunities provided by community partners such as Pediatrics Plus, is being impacted by the wider anti-immigrant policies in Arizona. By taking a comprehensive approach using Bronfenbrenner's ecological theory to examine the health and enrichment opportunities of Arizona's youngest learners and how recent policies can impact young learner's development, we can work with other stakeholders to improve their opportunities for healthier minds and bodies, for academic success, and for a brighter future.

Introduction

The first three years of life are crucial for creating a foundation for certain competencies and skills which are vital for school and life success (Shonkoff & Phillips, 2000). These early experiences can place young children on a trajectory of risk or achievement (Cálderón, 2007). Unfortunately, Latino children, the fastest-growing segment of the U.S. child population, are too often placed on the trajectory of risk (Morse, 2003; Winter et al., 2007). In Arizona, Latinos are the largest ethnic minority and account for almost 87% of the total growth in the K-12 system over the past ten years (Garcia, Ozturk, & Wood, 2009). For this reason, it is imperative that the needs or well-being of the fastest growing population of children are met because they are an important part of Arizona's future.

The earliest years of life are crucial to school readiness and future academic achievement (Cálderón, 2007). For example, preschool prepares children to read by building cognitive and verbal skills which can help close the preparation gap between students from low- and middle-class backgrounds (Mead, 2004), and between minority and White children (Lee & Burkum, 2002). Additionally to help ensure that children are able to focus on learning, regular checkups to prevent or detect medical problems are necessary (Arizona's School Readiness Action Plan, 2005). Also, young children should have regular vision and hearing screenings, immunizations against childhood diseases, and dental care services (Arizona's School Readiness Action Plan, 2005). School readiness or the lack of it is strongly correlated with factors such as access to health care and wellness services, access to early literacy, and early care experiences, maternal education, and poverty (see Rouse, Brooks-Gunn, & McLanahan, 2005).

Demographics

Within the population of children currently preparing to enter our education systems, Latino children are the fastest-growing segment across the United States. They currently constitute 22% of public school students enrolled in prekindergarten through 12th grade (Aud, Hussar, Kena, Bianco, Frohlich, & Kemp, 2011). Furthermore, Latinos constitute 24% of the child population of the United States under the age of five (Beltran, 2010). Latino children represent the overall diversity that exists within Latinos, which Hernandez (2005) reported as 73% being of Mexican descent followed by Puerto Ricans (6%) and those of South and Central American descent (14%).

The Latino population overall grew by 45% in Arizona in recent years with some counties seeing increases of over 280% (McConnell & Skeen, 2009). In 2003, there were almost as many Latino babies born in Arizona (43.1%) as non-Hispanic White babies (43.1%) (Luna, 2009). In 2007, it was reported that approximately 88.6% of Latinos in Arizona identified themselves as Mexican. However, the Latino population in Arizona also includes individuals who self-identified as Central American (primarily from El Salvador and Guatemala), Puerto Rican, South American, and “other Hispanic or Latino” (McConnell & Skeen, 2009). In Maricopa County, one of the largest counties in Arizona, children under the age of 5 years constitute 12.8% of the Latino population. According to the Census Bureau’s American Community Survey (ACS), the majority of Arizona’s Latino population (72.4%) was born in the United States.

Socio-economic diversity also exists within the Latino population. While many Latinos have achieved middle and high SES status, 67% of Latino families in the United States with children under the age of 3 years old have incomes that are 200% below the poverty threshold (Calderon, 2007; Hernandez, 2005). In Arizona, 32.7% of Hispanic children (birth-17 years old) live in poverty compared to 22.5% of White children (US Census Bureau, 2011). Furthermore, about 64% of Latino children under the age of 6 years old come from families considered low-income and 33% come from families living in poverty (NCCP, 2009).

The need to improve academic outcomes among young Latinos cuts across social class lines, because even children from middle and high SES families lag behind comparable Whites in school readiness and achievement (National Task Force on Early Childhood Education for Hispanics, 2007). Nevarez and Rico (2007) reported that poverty impedes many Latino families from enrolling their children in preschool. The cost of tuition and the lack of transportation are cited by Latino parents as the major deterrents to preschool enrollment (Nevarez & Rico, 2007).

The growing population of Latino children is impacted by a number of key factors known to impact school readiness. Two-thirds of Latino infants and toddlers have mothers who have not attended or completed college and reside in low-income households (Hernandez, 2005). Latino children under the age of three years are also more likely than their White counterparts to lack health insurance (Flores, Abreu, & Tomany-Korman, 2006) and have less access than White children to reading activities and educational resources (Llagas & Snyder, 2003). Furthermore, the vast majority of Latino families with young children chose to use relatives versus childcare or preschool services and most do not enroll their children in enrichment activities outside the home (Capizzano, Adams, & Ost, 2006). In sum, there are significant challenges to the academic success of our growing Latino population.

Importance of Regular Pediatric Care

Families’ regular contact with their children’s pediatricians is important to their developmental, physical, and educational outcomes. For example, prenatal visits provide an opportunity to prevent and address disabilities and delays through early detection and counseling expectant mothers’ to support a healthy pregnancy. Moreover, family and child visits during children’s early years (e.g., well-baby checks, regular check-ups) are also important to promote health as well as both prevent and address disability and delay.

Physicians assume a primary role in systematically screening young children for both developmental risks (e.g., violence, trauma, abuse) as well as protective factors (e.g., appropriate nutrition, safe environment, nurturing relationships) (Pizur-Barnekow et al., 2010). Outcomes of physicians’ screenings may indicate the need for more in-depth evaluation to determine presence of a disability. Through comprehensive evaluation, some

disabilities can be diagnosed in very young children, for instance, autism (Woods & Weatherby, 2003). Therefore, it is imperative that families have consistent contact with their children's pediatricians to provide screenings for children. Additionally, children who have many types of disabilities benefit from early identification and intervention. To illustrate, intervention for younger children with autism spectrum disorders results in greater positive impacts (e.g., communication, behavior) than those accrued by children as they get older (Woods & Weatherby, 2003).

Finally, regular contact with a pediatrician provides opportunities for children's immunizations, which prevent diseases that may lead to health issues and developmental delays and result in great cost for children, families, communities, and society. For example, one child's case of measles can cost approximately 23 times more than the cost to vaccinate that child against measles; similarly, for every one dollar spent on diphtheria-tetanus-acellular pertussis vaccine (dTaP), the saving amounts to twenty-four dollars (Armstrong, 2007). These and other preventable diseases can have long-term impacts on children's health and education. By promoting health as well as preventing and addressing disability, we not only help children and families, but we also can avoid societal expenditures associated with children's disabilities and delays (Guralnick, 2004). The health and well-being of young Latino children is not just important to their immediate families; issues impacting Latino children can affect all children and families within the community.

Access to pediatricians is often tied to having health insurance. It is estimated that nationally, 20% of Latino children are uninsured (DeNavas-Walt, Proctor, & Smith 2008). In Arizona, Garcia-Perez and Szkupinski Quiroga (2010) examined data from the Child and Adolescent Health Measurement Initiative from 2005 and reported that approximately seven out of ten Latino uninsured children who may be eligible for health coverage through the Arizona Health Care Cost Containment System (AHCCCS) or the State Children's Health Insurance Program (S-CHIP) are not enrolled in either program. Furthermore, out of the total of uninsured children in Arizona, 35% are Latino (Garcia-Perez & Szkupinski Quiroga, 2010).

Political Climate

U.S.-born and immigrant Latino children in Arizona may not be receiving proper regular health care due to racial profiling and immigration raids targeted at Latino communities. In urban neighborhoods of Arizona with a high population of Latinos, Arizona's immigration policies can create a sub-class of women and children who live in fear of being detained, trapping many women in abusive relationships and work environments thereby rendering them unable to report crimes against themselves or their children (Ammar, Orloff, Dutton, & Aguilar-Hass, 2005). Santos, Menjivar, and Godfrey (2013) assert, because of recent immigration policies including SB1070, children feel a distrust of law enforcement agencies as well as have lower self-esteem. Immigration roundups can systematically marginalize Latinos resulting in lack of accessibility to needed services, including healthcare (Pianta, 2007). Thus, these policies can place Latinos in urban, working-class neighborhoods as second-class citizens with inferior rights (Romero, 2006).

To date, approximately five million children who live in the United States are in the care of undocumented immigrant parents and three million of these children are U.S citizens (Vazquez, 2011). It is important to examine how these children are being affected by the recent roundups in Maricopa County. Parents may feel that the risk of being picked up in a roundup is too great and may stay home even if it means missing a doctors' appointment for their children's vaccinations, regular medical checkups, and subsequent educational intervention services.

Theoretical Framework

Bronfenbrenner (1979) and others (Haste, 1993; Rogoff, 1990; Vygotsky, 1962) have stated that we should acknowledge that the individual and the socio-historical environment integrally build on each other. Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological theory of human development provides a particularly illuminating structural framework for analyzing and understanding how various contexts interact with and influence Arizona's youngest learners. He delineated four systems of influence on an individual's development. Each system is embedded within the previous system(s).

The microsystem refers to the relationships between a person and his or her immediate setting. The example Bronfenbrenner (1979) provides is that of home and school. Second, the mesosystem is composed of the relationships among an individual's major contexts. These include interactions among family, school, and peer groups. Third, the exosystem is an extension of the mesosystem and includes both formal and informal social structures. These structures do not necessarily contain the individual, but do impact the individual's immediate settings. Examples of the exosystem include the neighborhood, the mass media, all of the various levels of agencies of government, the distribution of services and goods, and informal social networks. Last, the macrosystem differs from the previous systems in that it does not refer to particular contexts but rather to broad institutional patterns of the culture. Macrosystems carry information and ideology. Bronfenbrenner (1979) emphasizes that priorities for children in a macrosystem can impact how a child is treated in different types of settings.

Vygotsky (1962) also discussed how an individual's historical and cultural context influences his or her development. Vygotsky emphasized that human learning is always mediated through interactions with others, such as parents, peers, and other community members. These interactions, in turn, are influenced by the culture and context in which we live. Haste (1993), expanding on Vygotsky's work, stated that individuals are influenced by social interactions. Arizona's youngest Latino learners' interactions with others in their immediate communities will influence how they see themselves as learners (also see Rogoff, 1990).

Significance of Study

As other states (e.g., Alabama and Georgia) enact policies that impact Latinos and immigrants, there remains a shortage of studies that investigate how such policies impact the youngest Latino learners. Studies such as this one have the potential to inform discussions by all stakeholders, from policymakers to those who regularly interact with young Latino learners. Therefore, the current qualitative study examined and documented the perspectives of five individuals working in an Arizona pediatric clinic serving a predominantly Latino clientele in a community heavily impacted by recent immigration policies.

Methods

Research Questions

In general, what are the perceived effects of recent immigration policies on Arizona's youngest Latino learners who are serviced by one pediatric clinic? More specifically, how have recent immigration sweeps impacted Arizona's youngest Latino learners' access to the clinic?

Community Environment

We have focused on one pediatric clinic because of the scope and exploratory nature of this study. Sudman (1976) states that a small, local study is appropriate for a researcher who is just beginning an inquiry into a particular topic, as is our case. Indeed, at the time of this study, there had been very little research conducted in Arizona examining the effects of current immigration policies on our youngest Latinos. This qualitative study of five participants allowed us to develop a deeper and more contextual understanding of their perceptions about how recent immigration policies have impacted Arizona's young Latinos than might be achieved with a more superficial study of a larger group of participants (Matsumoto, 1991).

Pediatrics Plus (pseudonym) opened the doors of its first pediatric clinic in 2002 in a predominantly Latino community in a low-income area in the greater Phoenix area of Arizona. Pediatrics Plus currently operates five clinics within 40 miles of each other. According to the Pediatrics Plus's Chief Financial Officer, approximately 80% of the clients served at Pediatrics Plus are Latinos/as and about 75% are from low-income backgrounds. The Pediatrics Plus billing office reports that on average, three hundred patients are seen per day across the five clinics. The clinic focuses primarily on health services but also provides academic and literacy enrichment

opportunities for children and adults. Participants in the current study all work at the largest Pediatrics Plus clinic, situated on a major street in a city that has experienced frequent immigration raids. Furthermore, several raids took place at the supermarket directly across from the clinic two months prior to the beginning of this study.

Participants

Five individuals were interviewed as part of this study. Pseudonyms are used to identify all participants. The first participant is sixty-two years old, male, and is the head pediatrician and owner of the practice, Dr. Ruben. He was born and raised in Mexico and immigrated to the U.S. at age eighteen years. He has led the practice for the past sixteen years. Dr. Suarez, the second participant, is second-generation Mexican and at age thirty-four years, has worked as an attending doctor at Pediatrics Plus for the past eight years. Mrs. Casillas is the Billing Office Manager and is sixty-five years old, female, and was born and raised in Mexico and immigrated to the U.S. at age nineteen years. She has worked for Pediatrics Plus for twelve years. The fourth participant is the Building Manager, Mr. Basulto, who is sixty-three years old and was born and raised in Mexico and immigrated to the U.S. also at age nineteen years. He has also worked for Pediatrics Plus for twelve years. The fifth participant, Ms. Lopez, is a twenty-seven year old female, and self-identifies as a second generation Mexican. She has worked as a medical assistant at Pediatrics Plus for the past five years.

Interviews

Community members' voices are powerful and useful tools in both practice and research, yet their voices are rarely heard (Jalongo, Isenberg & Gerbracht, 1995; Witherell & Noddings, 1991). Because of the importance and value of tapping community members' voices, participants' perceptions regarding the impact of recent immigration policies on Arizona's youngest learners were collected through in-depth individual interviews. Each participant was interviewed on two separate occasions and each of the two interviews took place over a minimum of one hour. Most of the interviews were conducted over a total of two and one-half hours. The purpose of in-depth interviews was to understand the experiences of the participants and the meanings they make of those experiences (Seidman, 1998).

The Interview Protocol that we used draws on the theoretical framework provided by Bronfenbrenner (1979), Vygotsky (1962), and Haste (1993). Participants were not constrained by the format of the interview protocol, but were encouraged to include all pertinent information that they felt influenced their perceptions. As Seidman (1998) has stated, when researchers encourage participants to tell their stories, they can hear about their experiences in illuminating and memorable ways.

With each participant's permission, interviews were conducted and audio recorded by the lead author. Each audio recording was transcribed verbatim. Two of the interviewees, Mrs. Casillas and Mr. Basulto, requested to be interviewed in Spanish. Their interviews were translated by the lead author. After the initial interview, we began analyzing the data and used that information to ask any follow-up or clarification questions during the second interview. We verified the contents of the individual interviews and observations by reviewing them with each participant either in person or via e-mail and made changes where needed (i.e., member checks).

Data Analysis and Coding

The analysis of the data focused on the participant interviews. We divided the analysis procedure into the five modes suggested by Marshall and Rossman (1999): (a) organizing the data; (b) identifying themes, patterns, and categories; (c) testing the emergent hypothesis against the data; (d) searching for alternative explanations of the data; and (e) writing the report. Each transcript was read multiple times. We analyzed and categorized the interview data, identifying emerging themes and patterns (Patton, 1987). Initial coding categories were developed. Coding categories were further developed to allow for new information to be included and to collapse some of the previous categories. Two colleagues of the lead author were asked to independently code

20% of each of the five interviews to ensure reliability. After the first reliability check, codes were modified and the colleagues were then asked to code an additional 20% of each interview using the improved codes. A minimum score on Cohen's Kappa of .82 was then reached among the three coders.

Findings

Two major themes emerged from the interview data, with several subthemes within each theme. The first theme identified in the data was that of young children's declining participation in the clinic's services. A second theme was fear in the community and its impact on the lives of Arizona's youngest learners through their families and communities. More specifically, transportation issues, access to insurance and health services issues and educational services issues arose due to fear in the community. The third theme was tension within the community; more specifically, participants discussed rising tensions between Latinos born in the U.S. and Latinos who immigrated to this country. In addition, they also discussed families' growing feelings of distrust of government representatives in their communities, including law enforcement officers. Each theme will be discussed in greater detail below.

First, all five participants commented on the loss of clientele at Pediatrics Plus over the past several years, and most recently since the passage of SB1070 in Arizona. In fact Dr. Ruben, the owner of Pediatrics Plus, began the interview by commenting on the significant decreases in the number of children who are presently seen in the clinics. He estimated a forty percent loss of clientele over the past three years. Although Dr. Ruben perceived that much of that loss was due to fear of those still living in the community (as discussed in the next section of this article), he also indicated that he was aware that many families have self-deported back to their home countries. Dr. Suarez, an attending physician at the clinic, additionally commented that when he first joined the clinic five years ago, "there were hardly any gaps between patients; the schedule was always full." In recent months, he stated that he had days in which he went an hour without seeing a patient.

Mrs. Casillas, who manages the billing office, also noted that the clinics overall, but especially the clinic which was the focus of this study, has seen steady decreases in clients in recent years. She noted that the loss of revenue resulted in laying off about thirty percent of the clinic employees. In her words, "We have had to let go of people at all levels, from doctors to janitors." Mr. Basulto, whose duties as building manager included monitoring the parking lot, also noted the drop in patients at the clinic. He reported that while the parking lot at times had not seemed adequate for the number of patients seen at the clinic, more recently there were more than enough open spaces and patient parking was no longer problematic. Ms. Lopez expressed worry about losing her job as the numbers of patients seen daily has dropped significantly since she first began working at Pediatrics Plus six years ago.

The second major theme to emerge from the interview data was that of fear. Although Dr. Ruben has been practicing pediatric medicine in Phoenix, Arizona, for the past fifteen years, he stated that the climate of fear over deportation for those who are undocumented or fear of being profiled by law enforcement has impacted parents' abilities and willingness to attend to regular medical checkups and immunizations for their children. Mr. Basulto repeatedly discussed how parents of children being brought to the clinic seemed to be constantly looking over their shoulders. "The moms are always peeking around the corner onto the main street to make sure police cars are not around. They ask me if it is safe to go." Mrs. Casillas also spoke to this idea of fear commenting on when they have to call homes to verify information on their medical records; clinic staff encountered parents' growing fear about how information they give may be used to determine their legal status. Dr. Suarez and Ms. Lopez also addressed this theme of fear stating that patients appeared fearful of the return trip home after visiting the pediatric clinic.

In regard to the theme of fear, one subtheme that arose was that of transportation. Four of the five participants, not Ms. Lopez, reported that recent immigration policies and raids in the community caused parents to be concerned about making unnecessary trips for fear of being racially profiled and stopped by police for minor infractions. According to Mrs. Casillas, when parents do bring in their children the clinic, they often report taking routes that avoid busy intersections preferring to travel by side streets. These alternate routes often add significant time to their commute to the clinics. As mentioned before, the clinic is adjacent to a local supermarket,

which caters to Latino communities and was recently subject to two immigration raids. Regardless of families' mode of transportation, visits to the medical clinic significantly dropped in weeks immediately following the raids as parents sought to avoid the area. Mr. Basulto, who became a naturalized U.S. citizen in 2000, shared this story:

I can understand why parents want to avoid any unnecessary trips. Right after SB1070 passed, I started changing out of my work clothes and into my Sunday clothes before driving home from the clinic. I cannot avoid major streets going home and I drive a beat-up car. I was scared to get pulled over just because I'm Mexican. I started carrying around my U.S. passport all the time – just in case.

Mrs. Casillas shared this story about one of the female custodians, who has legal documentation to be in the United States, at the office building:

Cindy changed her whole schedule to avoid times when there is lots of traffic getting to and from the clinic. She has two small children at home. She had printed out all these maps and figured out how to avoid any major streets. Of course, this added at least 30 minutes to her commute. She shared that she knew several other people who were doing the same thing to avoid running into any police officers or other law enforcement agents. I'm sure some of the parents who come to the clinic are also figuring out the safest routes. We all know what major streets to avoid.

Ms. Lopez communicated the story of a parent who was more than ninety minutes late for an appointment because instead of driving her car to the appointment, she rode the bus due to fear of being racially profiled and stopped in her car. Ms. Lopez commented that “she was pretty shaken up when she arrived with her two-year old and three other older children.”

Within the theme of fear, the second subtheme identified was that of fear preventing patients from applying for the Arizona Health Care Cost Containment System (AHCCCS), the State Children's Health Insurance Program (S-CHIP), or other government support available for children who are US citizens. This was mentioned by three of the five participants –Dr. Suarez, Dr. Ruben, and Mrs. Casillas. All three shared stories in which parents reported not feeling safe applying for AHCCCS or in one case, food stamps, because parents worried that they would be required to show some documentation of their legal status. Dr. Suarez stated, “No matter how many times I reassure them that they have nothing to fear, some parents refuse to believe that it will be okay.” Dr. Ruben also commented how some parents have offered to pay cash for services instead of applying for help for fear of having to provide information as simple as their address. According to Dr. Ruben, “one parent says that his apartment building is known to have lots of undocumented families” and that is why that parent did not want to provide his address. Mrs. Casillas reported that she daily explained to families that as long as the child or children were born within the U.S., they could apply for AHCCCS. Parents' immigration status was not relevant for the children to access government services.

In addition to medical services, Pediatrics Plus was actively involved in bringing educational opportunities to the community by offering Saturday literacy classes for parents and their children and providing parents with opportunities to learn ways in which they can better support their children's academics. Similarly, there were monthly support group meetings, one for families of children with developmental delays and one for families of children with Down syndrome. However, the number of parents who participated in Saturday morning classes significantly dropped as well. Dr. Ruben reported that many of the parents remarked that they were unsure about how long they would remain living in Arizona due to the negative political climate; consequently, they did not want to commit to participating in a class or educational group. The literacy classes and support groups were running with very low numbers of participants at the completion of this study. Currently, the classes and support groups are completely closed due to lack of family participation.

The third major theme, was that of tension in the community. Specifically, participants discussed the growing divide between Mexicans who have emigrated from Mexico and those who identify themselves as Mexican but were born in the United States. Several of the parents, according to Mrs. Casillas, reported being harassed by U.S.-born Latinos while in the clinic waiting room. Returning to the issues of applying for AHCCCS,

Mrs. Casillas retold the story of a parent who commented that she was afraid to go back and talk to someone about AHCCS coverage for her toddler because the last time she was there and needed a translator, “the Mexican-American translator was rudier to her than the White women – like the translator wanted to prove she was better than her.”

In response to incidents like this, Mrs. Casillas stated that they have held two staff development sessions to discuss the importance of treating all parents who come to the clinic with respect and stepping in when tensions may arise in the waiting room. Dr. Ruben reported that he wants immigrant families to feel welcome and as such, has launched a series of local advertisements sharing his own story as an immigrant to the United States. He expressed concern that if immigrant families do not feel welcome in clinics like Pediatrics Plus, they will not attend regularly to their children’s medical needs.

The second subtheme to emerge under the major theme of community tension was family’s sense of mistrust of government agencies or officials. Several examples of this have already been shared as they pertained to other themes and subthemes (see above). All five participants shared the existence of a general sense of mistrust that extends past Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) to law enforcement and even to schools. Ms. Lopez stated, “I hear a lot of parents in the waiting room saying [to other parents] not to share any information such as who they live with or where they were born if anyone in the [school] office asks.” Some parents even reported an unwillingness to tell school officials that they speak Spanish at home with their children. She added, “I wonder what that is teaching the kids about who it is safe to trust.” Families’ reticence to share may also prevent educational professionals from providing children with supports necessary for academic success.

Discussion

The interview themes can be examined through the lens of Bronfenbrenner’s ecological theory (1979) as well as Vygotsky’s (1962) understanding of how historical and cultural contexts influence a child’s development. As young Latino learners in Arizona, parents’ and other family members’ fears and worries regarding safety as well as their access to medical care and educational enrichment will likely impact their overall development. Impacts may include their challenges to their identity development as learners as they interact with various members of their school communities.

Applying Bronfenbrenner’s ecological theory (1979), Brendtro (2006) discussed the importance of circles of influence (i.e. microsystem, mesosystem, exosystem, and macrosystem) and emphasized that healthy ecologies help young learners have a sense of balance in their lives whereas high risk ecologies create stress and tension in learners’ lives. Fear and tension in the community (identified as themes within the data of the current study) appear to negatively impact young Latino learners’ ecologies.

All of the participants in the current study noted that the number of children being seen at the clinic had dropped significantly. One possible explanation is that the children are simply going to other clinics. To further explore this possibility in a follow up discussion with the participants, they were asked whether this was the case. Unfortunately, the four participants who work directly in the Pediatrics Plus office stated that children’s immunization were sometimes incomplete and that during informal conversations, some parents stated that they only came to the office when absolutely necessary because it entails taking risks and potentially exposing themselves to being “picked up.” Thus, a worrisome consequence of Arizona’s immigration policies appears to be that some children are missing important developmental check-ups and immunizations; some parents may not be taking their children to see a physician until the child is seriously ill.

As Woods & Weatherby (2003) stated of children with autism, regular screenings are vital to identifying issues that will impact early learning. If parents are not keeping doctor appointments, young Latino learners may be more likely to have health and developmental issues overlooked at a time when it may critically impact their learning. Because parents also expressed fear that prevented them from applying for state assistance (e.g., medical insurance coverage), again, young Latino learners may be missing medical screenings that can identify issues which can negatively affect their learning in the early stages of their lives. These same issues could be addressed early resulting in more positive health and developmental outcomes for individual children and

potentially others in the community. In addition to missed physician appointments, literacy classes and support group participation rates at Pediatrics Plus appeared to be negatively impacted by immigration policies, also pointing to missed opportunities to provide young Latino learners with support that can positively impact their current and future learning. Even prior to SBI070, Latino families typically were less likely than Whites to enroll their young children in enrichment activities (Capizzano, Adams, & Ost, 2006), though community partners like Pediatrics Plus were trying to offer such services. Given this limited exposure to enrichment activities in many Latino families, the decline in participation in the literacy classes at Pediatrics Plus is especially regrettable.

Conversations about when it is safe to travel to and from the Pediatrics Plus clinic and the comments about how parents seem to always be looking over their shoulder also likely impacts young learners' health, development, and educational trajectories. Because transportation is often cited by Latino parents as a major deterrent to preschool enrollment (Nevarez & Rico, 2007), fear of being exposed to law enforcement agencies on the road may be impacting preschool attendance as well. As Santos, Menjivar and Godfrey (2013) noted, youth seem to have a distrust of law enforcement agencies and it may be that this distrust is developing in younger children as they witness their parents' fear of those agencies. In addition, the law enforcement agencies comprise young learners' exosystem (Bronfenbrenner 1979), which also includes neighborhood and mass media. The various immigration roundups and the media coverage of those roundups impact young learners' ecologies (e.g., fostering a negative perspective of Latinos regardless of age). To what extent these policies impact young learners and how aware they are of the media coverage and effect on the community merits further investigation.

The theme of tension in the community also appears to impact each system within young learners' ecology. The tensions between Mexicans born in Mexico and those born in the U.S. surely affects many families as these two groups frequently come in contact within neighborhoods, schools, and other contexts. Once young learners enter the U.S. education system, they will meet classmates who are U.S.-born as well as those who are immigrants. The impact of one group seeing the other as inferior may have consequences that cause divisions among school populations. The messages young Latino children may be getting at home or through the media about tensions between the two groups may influence their own sense of identity as well as the relationship between themselves and their peers.

Conclusion

Examining the impact that Arizona's political climate including immigration policies are having on its youngest Latino learners is important. We have a large number of Latinos under the age of five who, as a part of the upcoming generation, will significantly influence all aspects of life in Arizona. Certainly, immediate consequences of the political climate will be on our Pre-K-16 educational system and community health. In this study, we examined the perspectives of five adults working in an Arizona pediatric clinic. The small number of participants and their employment within a single clinic presents limitations to the study. However, this does not diminish the importance of fear and tension discussed throughout the interviews.

The health of our youngest learners as well as their access and ability to attend extended learning opportunities provided by community partners such as Pediatrics Plus, is being impacted by Arizona immigration policies. Furthermore, the divide between U.S.-born Latinos and foreign-born Latinos also potentially impacts young children's sense of identity and warrants further investigation. Using Bronfenbrenner's ecological theory (1979), we can see how policies at the state level can directly negatively impact a child's life in perhaps unintended ways. Beyond issues of racial profiling, immigration, and discrimination, child and family health and well-being are not restricted to a single Latino family. The political climate impacts the entire metropolitan Phoenix and Arizona community (regardless of race/ethnicity) in which all children and families are linked, for example in a system of community health and education. By comprehensively examining the health and enrichment opportunities of Arizona's youngest learners and the consequences of recent state-level policies, we can work with other stakeholders to improve their opportunities for healthier minds and bodies, for academic success, and for a brighter future for Arizona's youngest Latino learners.

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"Where I'm From" Poems: An Introduction

Margarita Jiménez-Silva

In the mid-1990s, I was working as a middle-school teacher at a charter school in Oakland, California within a Newcomer Program. Most of my 7th-9th grade students were recent immigrants from Mexico and Central America. Building community within the classroom was a primary focus during the first few days and weeks of school and I was always looking for ideas that would allow me the opportunity to learn about my students' backgrounds in ways that valued their voices and respected their experiences. This was the era of Proposition 197 in California, a proposition that among other things, asked that all state and local government workers report suspected undocumented immigrants to the Attorney General's Office. Given the political climate at the time, students in our school were being told at home not to reveal anything about their home situations, immigration status, much less anything about their immigration stories. We had estimated through a community scan and informal conversations with our community liaison that 90% of the students in our Newcomer Program at that time were undocumented. As a teacher who believes strongly in culturally relevant pedagogy and in addressing the academic, linguistic, and socio-emotional needs of my students, it was a critical for me that I learn as much about my students' backgrounds as possible.

I started sharing my own story about my family's immigration to the United States from Mexico during the first day of class and then invited my students to share their stories in whatever language they chose and using whatever format they preferred – through art, using family pictures, a traditional essay, music, or poetry. Perhaps because I chose poetry as the vehicle for my own story, many of the students chose poetry as well using a variety of formats. Through this activity, students often shared details that then led to conversations that in turn led to revelations about their immigration stories. For example, I vividly remember Sandra who as an 8th grader used poetry to describe a scene at a cemetery in which three crosses stood on a hill. Through conversations, I learned that her father and two uncles had died in the previous year's uprisings in the Yucatán region in Mexico. She had lost all the important men in her life and now lived with three sisters and her mom in one of the toughest neighborhoods in Oakland. This information allowed me to understand some of the struggles she was experiencing in class.

A few years later, I came across an article by Linda Christensen titled "Where I'm from: Inviting Students' Lives into the Classroom." I adopted the poem format and have used it with almost every group of students with whom I've worked. The format was developed by poet George Ella Lyon and there are a number of resources online that are available to support use of the poem in the classroom. These resources include a reading by Lyon herself, examples of poems, and the history of the poem format. (<http://www.georgeellalyon.com/where.html>). Another valuable format is a template (<http://www.swva.net/fred1st/wif.htm>) that has been very useful when working with English learners or students who simply struggle with writing poetry.

Since beginning my work with preservice teachers at ASU, I have consistently used it in my traditional face-to-face, hybrid, and online classes. It is the very first assignment due in class and I begin my classes by sharing my own poem, included in this special issue. I give students the freedom to adapt the format and many do. As I read preservice teachers' poems during the first week of class, I always find myself laughing, crying, and in amazement at the diversity of my students' life experiences. Preservice teachers are invited to share only what they feel comfortable sharing with others and the second assignment of the class is to read others' poems and share a personal connection to three classmates' poems. This works well for building community as connections are made about places of origin, family traditions, and/or shared experiences.

In this special issue, we have included two poems from Arizona State University students who have shared where they are from through their poems. I hope you enjoy the poems and that you are inspired to use "Where I'm from poems" in your own work...or perhaps to write your own.

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Where I'm from...

Diana Alarcon

I am from pyramids and temples
from feathered serpents and prophecies of the feared dioses

I am from the city that builds and builds on top of mountains, on top of fields
from where the cerros can be seen no more

I am from where the metro becomes a can of sardines due to overpopulation
from where clouds are non existent due to the pollution situation

I am from my mother Maria Guadalupe Esteban with no father and my sister Maria Adriana too
from having a single parent never understanding what its like to have two

I am from crossing the border wandering through the scorching desert and swimming across the violent Rio Grande
from where many die in hopes of attaining the American Dreams I've been so lucky to have been given

I am from sleeping in a cramped two bedroom apartment with thirteen tios and tias, primos and primas I had never met
from never seeing my madre because she worked 12 hour shifts and sometimes more in order to feed my sister and me

I am from my mother telling me every day "los errores se pagan muy caros" and "no salgas con tu domingo siete"
from "ya ves a tu hermana, tres niños y batalla, no seas como tu hermana"

I am from getting a call that someone's been deported and I have to leave class immediately
from where helping family comes first rather than studying for a final exam

I am from a family that asks "why don't you have a boyfriend?" or "why aren't you married or have children?"
from a family that tells me I think I'm better than them because I go to college instead of congratulating me on awards and excelling

I am from having to attain the highest grades because my mother sacrificed so much for me to be the best
from where the pressure of family and working two jobs while going to school full time is not an excuse to get anything lower than an A

My life is split in two from that girl who crossed the border with a life of hardships who puts family first and the student who must maintain her grades while keeping a smile on her face. In my mind are my memories, both big and small, happy and sad, but all of which have shaped the woman I am today.

Where I'm from...

Laura Gomez

I am from that which you (racists/nativist) fear
I am the daughter of a gardener and a housewife
I am from the product of the crossover
I am that little girl who crossed the border in plain sight
From memorizing a fake name, a fake address, a fake school, and a fake friend
From being coached to say "I am a U.S. citizen" to hide her true nationality
From not being questioned because of her light complexion and dirty blond hair
I am part of the one percent of immigrants, which a fence did not and will not keep out
I am from rejection for being the one no one wanted to play with because I was Mexican
I am the one no one wanted to sit next to because I spoke Spanish and not English
I am from segregation to "learn" English
I am the translator for mom when she is scared of being judged
I am from a family where no one asks questions, but me, an individual full of questions
I am from being afraid I do not know enough
I am from being afraid I know too much
I wonder if I am a statistic gone wrong
I am from a community where very few make it out; the one who made it out
I sometimes wonder why?
I am from seeing dad physically hurting from a long work-day to support his family
I am from getting angry when they say we are here to take
I am from seeing my family work extremely hard to obtain the "American dream"
I have witnessed how most of them never make it out of the low-income status
I am from crying when a family is broken by unjust deportation fueled by corporate greed
I am from wondering "What if it had been my family?"
I am from seeing immigrants become for sale like raw material
I am from rebelling when they say I can't, we can't
I am from proving that I can, we can
I am from where they say "close the boarder" "build a fence"
I see hatred based on misconceptions
I want these misconceptions to change
I am from a place of hope that one day they will
I worry that it won't and that it never will
I am from dreaming that I can bring a voice to those that are silenced by oppressive laws and policies
I hope that one day I can
I say we can change it
I hope one day we can

Where I'm from...

Margarita Jiménez-Silva

I am from stainless steel pots bought with mamá's savings from selling Avon and Tupperware, bubbling over with sopas and frijoles, From carne asada on Sundays, tamales at Christmas and capirotda every Friday during Lent.

I am from the olive and fig trees that I liked to climb on summer afternoons, rollerskating around abandoned cars in the backyard, and from playing in the street with the neighborhood kids until the street lights came on.

I am from chicken coops and rabbit cages, the goats in pens, stray kittens brought home, and Sultan, the faithful collie we got for free outside the Boys' Market grocery store in Southern Cal.

I'm from Abuelita Lencha, Abuelita Juanita, one Abuelito, more tias and tios that I could keep track of and countless cousins. From relatives from Mexico, who would visit unexpectedly from places with exotic names like Tenochitlán and Soyatlán del Oro.

I am from a dad from Mexicali, the capital of the world where *everything* was invented and is the most beautiful and technologically advanced city anywhere. From a mom who dreamed of Harvard, but was held back by her role as the eldest daughter of a much older dad, a very traditional mom and the sister of three brothers who went on to become doctors while she stayed back and helped pay their tuition.

I am from the Jiménez, Carrasco, Mesa and Basulto families. From short, tall, dark, light, thin, and thick relatives. From eyes as blue/green as the ocean and eyes as dark as the night sky.

I am from three younger sisters and a younger brother, from "You're the oldest and have to set the example" after every time I got in trouble. From "You're so lucky" uttered after every award I have ever received.

I am from sitting in classrooms where I understood no English, the busing era forcing school integration. From private Christian schools where we worked as janitors to pay the tuition.

I am from the numbered rented stalls of the swap meet, working from sunrise to sundown on weekends to help support the family. From the halls of Harvard where I nodded in agreement during lectures and then ran to the library to look up all the words and read about ideas I hadn't understood, feeling again like an English learner in Mrs. Dyer's kindergarten classroom.

I am from "You're too smart to be a teacher" and from "Maestra, gracias for helping me learn English." From being mom to two boys, Sweetie to my high school love and now husband of almost 20 years, and Tita to most of my family.

My closet is full of scrapbooks, pretty boxes overflowing with old pictures, my mom's wedding veil and brother's baptism gown on shelves. On the floor there are many journals full of poems and stories about things that have happened and dreams I still nurture. I am from la familia and la familia is from me.

Implementing Educational Language Policy in Arizona-Legal, Historical and Current Practices in SEI

M. Beatriz Arias and Christian Faltis, New York: Multilingual Matters,
2012, 181 pages

Yolanda de la Cruz
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Implementing Educational Language Policy in Arizona-Legal, Historical and Current Practices in SEI, presents a critical examination of Arizona's restrictive language policies as they influence teacher preparation and practice by bringing together scholars, researchers, and educators. The two editors of *Implementing Educational Language Policy in Arizona*, Beatriz Arias and Christian Faltis have a significant and substantial trajectory in the area of instructional policy of English learners. They have compiled a volume of chapters that provides us with a multidimensional analysis of the implementation and impact of state prescribed educational policies and their impact on language minority students in Arizona. These language-learning experts expose the effects of one state with the educational authority to impose educational policies that prescribes structured English immersion as the only model for instruction of language minorities. They reveal, layer-by-layer, the consequences of the Structured English Immersion (SEI) model and how it prescribes the complete segregation of English learners for four hours a day from English speakers and academic content for a minimum of one year. Furthermore, the book exposes the limited educational practices available to educational administrators, teachers, and parents in determining opportunities for English learners resulting from the mandatory and restrictive language for instructional practices.

There are approximately 10 million Hispanic students in the nation's public kindergartens and its elementary and high schools; they make up about one-in-five public school students in the United States (Fry & Gonzales, 2008). This volume exposes the State of Arizona's restrictive educational policies constricting the use of immigrant languages that resemble rapid assimilation policies from the early 1900's (Wiley, 2010). The state's SEI model is highly prescriptive, outlining discrete skills to be taught and set amounts of time for specific isolated language skills. The model's design has little or no basis in what is known from research experts about effective language instruction for English learners. The authors expose the questionable basis of the SEI model of instruction. Throughout each chapter, the multiple layers of fallacies that formed the invalid arguments of the instructional model are disclosed.

The editors have selected highly qualified scholars and researchers who serve as advisors and are considered experts in their sphere of educational policies affecting English learners. The authors, all leading experts in their domain of expertise, weave a unique and complying analysis of the impact of these educational policies. They expose layer per layer of the language policy in the raw and artificial research it was based on.

The volume is divided into three sections. Part One includes three chapters that focus on language policies in Arizona. Part Two has three chapters that focus on the implementation of sheltered English Immersion in Arizona. Part Three includes three chapters that focus on implementation Structured English Immersion in teacher preparation in Arizona.

Part One: Language Policy in Arizona

Part one offers an analysis of the connections between language policy and the connection to teacher preparation in the state. Chapter I, written by one of the editors of the volume, Arias, provides a framework that serves as a lens to absorb the slow, unveiling, false premises from which the state SEI mandates are based on. The author believes that this lack of tolerance for alternative approaches for English language instruction feeds into the molding of teacher beliefs that can lead to deficit views of speakers of languages other than English. The author magnifies the limitations of teacher preparation instructors' ability to adequately prepare pre-service teachers for instruction of English learners within this state controlled course work. Arias argues that it is the role of teacher educators to address the impositions of this detrimental state requirement. By

disclosing these limitations, teacher educators have the potential of developing critical, culturally responsive and potentially transformative teachers. Chapter 2, is written by both of the editors of the volume. Faltis and Arias provide background information on the creation of the Task Force that developed the flawed research based model of the Structured English Immersion. They go on to inform the reader how this model restricted the use of non-English languages for instruction, and mandated SEI programs to teach English to English learners within a one-year period. Faltis and Arias disclose the failure of the Task force to consider the overwhelming evidence by language experts that the SEI Program model is pedagogically unsound and without a reliable research base. Chapter 3, continues to expose the flaws in the state mandated SEI model. The authors, Long and Adamson inform the reader how the SEI program model fails to consider a wider body of Second Language Acquisition research on how children learn new languages. They show the reader how the program model fails to consider best teaching methods to support the learning in a second language. They go on to reveal how the state model fails in the development of academic language required for success in the content areas. They argue that the model fails to consider the difference between academic competence and conversational competence. Without adequate development of academic competence, English learners will fail in Arizona schools

Part Two: Implementing SEI in Arizona

Part two offers a detailed examination of the impact of implementing SEI in Arizona classrooms. In chapter 4, Combs discloses how the SEI model contributes to the promotion of folk theories that tend to reproduce the discourse and practices of this atheoretical based model. Combs asserts that although the Arizona state legislation and educational officials may believe that one year is a reasonable length of time for English learners to acquire enough English to perform in mainstream classrooms, no research on second language learning supports this allegation. She asserts that there is no research evidence that supports this allegation that students can learn a second language in one year. This chapter unveils how one model does not meet the educational needs for all English learners. In Chapter 5, the authors Wright and Sung expose that despite the implementation of Arizona's model for English language instruction, many teachers value bilingualism and agree that bilingual education, when properly implemented, is effective in helping English learners learn English and achieve academic success. The SEI instructional model does not allow the use of the first language. Rather, the requirements of four hours of English language development each day are not based on solid research. The authors argue that this highly prescriptive model has little to no basis in what is known from research about effective language instruction for English learners. In chapter 6, the authors, Krashen, McSwam and Rolstad continue to disclose how the SEI instructional model neglects to reference significant research bearing on questions raised by the Task Force. Incorrect interpretations and inappropriate conclusions were presented in their literature review. This review neglected a body of respected research that was not considered or included in the instructional model. The authors, all experts in the field who have focused for decades on second language acquisition and instruction of English learners, conclude that Arizona's model of English language instruction lacks theoretical and empirical support and rigor. They assert that this model, based on unproven instructional methodology, promotes an English-only ideology.

Part Three: Arizona Teacher Preparation for SEI

Part three addresses the process of how teachers are prepared to address the language needs of English learners in Arizona under the state mandated SEI model. As thousands of new teachers enter the classroom each year, they have been influenced by the models and teaching theories learned in their teacher preparation courses. The SEI model has prepared many teachers with an English-only mandate for teaching English learners.

In Chapter 7, Moore's research sheds light on the English-only methodology and strategies represented in the SEI model. The author notes that SEI training varies across the state depending on the organization offering the training sessions. The study reveals that for-profit instructors and community college faculty emphasized methodology over key issues in language minority education, including the sociocultural, sociopolitical and

historical-structural context of SEI in society and research in the field. While for-profit trainers did consider themselves advocates of English learners, they nevertheless explicitly stated that politics were outright avoided in an effort to stay on task. Teachers serve as carriers of the discourses and theories. Denying the contexts in SEI in society and research in the field discounts the importance of other successful methods. Pre-service teachers are subject to only one method and they will be influenced by and in turn contribute to the English-only ideology that fails to consider a deeper analysis that challenges the marginalization of the use of the first language.

In Chapter 8, the authors, Murri, Markos, and Estrella-Silva, explore the implementation of SEI model in teacher preparation programs and how language policies affect the daily interaction that occurs within teacher education colleges, schools, and classrooms. The authors believe that pre-service teacher must be given opportunities to critically exam the current SEI policies and in order to reach their own conclusions as to their effectiveness as the best teaching practices for English learners. Changes to this model will not happen until the limitations of the mandated language policy are exposed and viewed through a critical lens. The social marginalization that occurs in schools under this model must be unveiled, revealed, and understood, before necessary revisions to enhance, increase and improve the present model of instruction toward a more equitable model. In Chapter 9, the author, Olson, considers the importance of having pre-service teachers examine their own ideological beliefs and assumptions in order to counter possible deficit perspectives that serve to defect from best instructional practices for English learners. The author contends that self-reflection needs to be included in SEI courses as a path to begin examination of their own underlying ideological beliefs and assumptions that might have influenced their internalized view of English learners ability to succeed in English classrooms. By including this self-reflection in SEI courses, pre-service teachers will have a better chance of providing instruction practices through a more critical lens that may lead to significant opportunities for their students.

Conclusion

The editors state that educational language policy is a critical component for addressing equal opportunities for language minority students. Linguistic and cultural diversity in the United States is represented by about one-in-five public school students in our schools today (Fry & Gonzales, 2008). This means that in order to serve the needs of these students, as a nation, we must be better informed of the consequences that will affect the educational outcomes of our next generation of Americans. As citizens, we must become better informed of the pedagogical choices that affect these outcomes. This volume provides us with the lens to view both the pedagogical limitations under the SEI model and the lack of research-based second language development practices that failed to provide the state of Arizona with an effective model for approximately one in five public school students. Chapter by chapter, the authors deconstruct the layers of unproven methods that form the SEI model that failed to consider the vast body of research that argues against a subtractive language policy. The book is a valuable contribution to the field and a “must-read” for those working within the constraints of restrictive language policies.

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Author Biographies

Diana Paola Alarcon Esteban was born in Mexico City, Mexico. She came to America with her mother in order to attain the American dream. Currently, she is pursuing a Bachelors of Science in Cell, Genetics and Developmental Biology with a dual major in Psychology at Arizona State University. Ms. Alarcon recently received a grant which allows her to do research at the Heart & Lung Institute of St. Joseph's Hospital and Medical Center where she specializes in lung transplant and lung oncology research. Diana plans on applying to medical school for the 2015 school year to pursue an MD/PhD. She hopes to inspire more Latinas to persist careers in the STEM fields.

Greg Cheatham is an Assistant Professor in the Special Education Department at University of Kansas. Greg's research interests include the provision of equitable educational services for families and children from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds.

Ester J. de Jong is Associate Professor of ESOL/Bilingual Education in the School of Teaching and Learning at the University of Florida in Gainesville, Florida. Her research interests include language policy, bilingual education, and mainstream teacher preparation for bilingual learners. Her book, *Foundations of Multilingualism in Education: From Principles to Practice* (Caslon Publishing), focuses on working with multilingual children in K-12 schools. Her work has been published in the *Bilingual Research Journal*, the *International Journal of Bilingualism and Bilingual Education*, *Language Policy*, *Language and Education*.

Yolanda De La Cruz is a Professor of Math Education at Arizona State University. Her research focuses on the mathematics achievement among English language learners, on the role of language in theories of academic achievement differences among language minority students, and education policy related to English Language Learners in U.S. schools. Examples of her work appear in *Teaching Children Mathematics Changing the faces of mathematics: Perspectives on Latinos*, *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, and in edited collections. In 1997, she was selected as a grant recipient of the National Science Foundation and the McDonnell Foundation. De La Cruz has given numerous invited talks in the U.S. and abroad, including a plenary address at last year's meeting of the California Mathematics Council, and has served as a visiting research scholar at Northwestern University in Evanston, IL, the Cape Peninsula University of Technology in South Africa, and at the Universidad de la Habana, Cuba.

Christian J. Faltis is the Dolly and David Fiddymont Chair in Teacher Education, Director of Teacher Education, and Professor of Language, Literacy and Culture in the School of Education at University of California, Davis. His research interests are bilingual learning in academic contexts, immigrant education, and critical arts-based learning. His recent books are *Arts and Emergent Bilingual Youth*, (Chappell & Faltis, 2013), *Implementing Language Policy in Arizona* (Arias & Faltis, 2012) and *Academic Language and Second Language Learning*, (Arias & Faltis, 2013). He is an oil painter whose work focuses on issues of Mexican immigrants and education. His artwork has been featured in a number of journals and books.

Laura Gomez is a faculty associate and teaching assistant at the Mary Lou Fulton Teachers College at Arizona State University. She earned her Masters Degree at California State University, Northridge from the Chicana/o Studies Department and her research focuses on exploring and highlighting education equity and inequality. Prior to entering Arizona State University as a P.h.D. student, Laura worked for a nonprofit organization managing the After School and Tutoring Program as well as teaching Chicana/o Studies courses and Women Studies at Los Angeles Community College.

Donald J. Hernandez is Professor, Department of Sociology, Hunter College and The Graduate Center, City University of New York, and Senior Advisor at the Foundation for Child Development. He is the author of *America's Children: Resources from Family, Government, and the Economy* (Russell Sage Foundation, 1993). Other

recent publications include *Children in Immigrant Families in Eight Affluent Countries: Their Family, National, and International Context* (UNICEF Innocenti Research Centre) and *Double Jeopardy: How Third-Grade Reading Skills and Poverty Influence High School Graduation* (Annie E. Casey Foundation). He currently is conducting research on disparities in child well-being by race-ethnic, immigrant, and socioeconomic status with funding from the Foundation for Child Development. Dr. Hernandez earned his B.A. in sociology from the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, and his M.A. and Ph.D. in sociology from the University of California, Berkeley.

Margarita Jiménez-Silva is an associate professor at the Mary Lou Fulton Teachers College at Arizona State University. She earned both her Masters and Doctorate degrees at the Harvard Graduate School of Education. Her research focuses on preparing teachers to work with English learners, emphasizing teacher education pedagogy and curriculum. She has worked extensively with researchers and educators to make content area curriculum more accessible to English learners. Her research has been published by such journals as the *Harvard Educational Review*, *Childhood Education*, and the *Journal of Research on Childhood Education*. She is active in her community serving on committees and speaking on behalf of English learners and their families. Prior to entering higher education, Dr. Jiménez-Silva worked with Newcomer students as a middle-school teacher in Oakland, California. She is herself a former English learner from the San Fernando Valley in Southern California.

Cecilia Menjivar is Cowden Distinguished Professor in the T. Denny Sanford School of Social and Family Dynamics at Arizona State University. She teaches undergraduate courses and graduate seminars on immigration and on qualitative methods. Her research has focused on the effects of immigration laws, at the federal, state and local levels, on different aspects of immigrants' lives, focusing in particular on family dynamics, the workplace and schools, with attention to family separations, educational aspirations, religious participation, identity and belonging, and on work and experiences in the labor force. Her publications include, *Fragmented Ties: Salvadoran Immigrant Networks in America* (University of California Press, 2000) and *Enduring Violence: Ladina Women's Everyday Lives in Guatemala* (University of California Press, 2011), numerous articles and the special issue, "Transnational Parenthood" (*Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 2012). She has a forthcoming edited volume, *Constructing Immigrant "Illegality": Critiques, Experiences, and Responses* (with Daniel Kanstroom) (Cambridge University Press).

Jeffrey S. Napierala is a doctoral candidate at the University at Albany, State University of New York. His research is focused on Immigration, demography, and quantitative research methods.

Carlos E. Santos is Assistant Professor in the Counseling & Counseling Psychology program at Arizona State University's School of Letters & Sciences. Trained as a developmental scientist at New York University (Ph.D. '10, B.A. '01), Santos also holds a master's degree in education from Harvard (Ed.M. '02). He teaches graduate level survey courses on developmental psychology, research methods and statistics. He is a member of the editorial board of the *Journal of Counseling Psychology*. His research is concerned with how racial/ethnic and gender group categorization operates at the individual level (e.g., how adolescents' sense of membership in racial/ethnic and gender categories develop and change overtime), and at macro-levels (e.g., how peer networks influence individuals' sense of racial/ethnic/gender membership).

2014 AMAE THEME ISSUE CALL FOR PAPERS
Association of Mexican American Educators (AMAE) Journal Special Issue
(<https://amaejournal.asu.edu>)

Critical Issues in Teacher Education: Building a Bridge Between Teacher Education and Latino English Language Learners in K-12 schools (Due April 1st 2014)

Guest Editors: Christian J. Faltis, Ester J. de Jong, Pablo C. Ramírez, and Irina S. Okhremtchouk

According to the United States Census, Latinos are the fastest growing segment of the U.S. population. By 2050 the population of school-age Latinos will soar to 28 million and surpass the number of non-Latino White students. As a result, this demographic shift will considerably alter population trends in the K-12 educational system. Despite the fact that Latino students enter schools with rich cultural, linguistic and schooling backgrounds as well as, comprise a significantly large segment of the English Language Learner (ELL) population in the K-12 public school system, Latino youth continue to be underserved in the U.S. Research reports reveal that in the past 10 years Latino ELLs continue to underachieve in literacy and mathematics as compared to their monolingual White counterparts. Moreover, Latino ELLs represent the group with the highest high school drop out rates in the public school system. Much of the concern in the K-12 school system has been the preparation of teachers and consequently, teachers' readiness to effectively address the needs of Latino ELL populations.

This special issue aims to highlight and examine the various ways teachers are prepared through teacher education and professional development for meeting the sociocultural, linguistic, and academic needs of Latino ELL students in K-12. There are cases where teacher education programs and school communities are developing intelligent and caring teachers committed to providing the best education for Latino/a youth. This issue seeks to document the manner in which teacher education and professional development programs guide teachers to engage in culturally and linguistically diverse academic contexts in K-12 and conversely, shed light on ways to draw from diverse theoretical frameworks to inform teaching practices that benefit Latino ELLs academically.

We expect this call for papers to continue to build collective knowledge on the operational practices enacted by teacher education programs to prepare teachers for teaching and servicing Latino ELL students within the constraints of standardization and new education reforms. It is also our hope for this issue to provide a forum for scholarship that addresses the current role teacher education programs have on cultivating caring and committed teachers whom are needed to prepare a future generation of Latino ELL students.

We welcome manuscripts that offer theoretical perspectives; research findings; innovative methodologies; pedagogical reflections; and implications related to (but not limited to) the following areas:

- Preparing and advancing teachers' and educators' knowledge about multiple teaching approaches needed in diverse language and literacy contexts;
- Issues concerning Latinos/ ELLs' L1 and L2 and how to incorporate these within teacher education practices (coursework and fieldwork)
- The role of family, culture and community in Latino/ ELL learning contexts and teacher education;
- Teacher education and school community partnerships;
- The intersectionality of teacher education and social justice education;
- Teacher praxis: Discussing and examining ways in which teacher education programs prepare pre-service teachers to reflect and dialogue about issues concerning Latino/ELL student populations;
- Preparing educators for dual language/bilingual school settings (i.e., best practices; the need for this type of preparation);
- Supporting pre-service and in-service teachers for working in constraining times as it relates to high stakes testing, standardization (i.e., Common Core Standards), and current education reform
- Issues of translanguageing and language diversity within Spanish-speaking communities and their impact on and/or role in teacher education and preparation

Submissions suitable for publication in this special issue include empirical papers, theoretical/conceptual papers, essays, book reviews, and poems. It is important to note that the special issue is interested in the broader Latina/o experience and not solely focused on the experiences of Mexican Americans (per the title of the journal).

The selection of manuscripts will be conducted as follows:

1. Manuscripts will be judged on strength and relevance to the theme of the special issue.
2. Manuscripts should not have been previously published in another journal, nor should they be under consideration by another journal at the time of submission.
3. Each manuscript will be subjected to a blind review by a panel of reviewers with expertise in the area treated by the manuscript. Those manuscripts recommended by the panel of experts will then be considered by the AMAE guest editors and editorial board, which will make the final selections.

Manuscripts should be submitted as follows:

1. Submit via email both a cover letter and copy of the manuscript in Microsoft Word to Pablo C. Ramírez (pablo.c.ramirez@asu.edu).
2. Cover letter should include name, title, short author bio, and institutional affiliation; indicate the type of manuscript submitted and the number of words, including references. Also, please indicate how your manuscript addresses the call for papers. -
3. Manuscripts should be less than 6,000 words (including references). The standard format of the American Psychological Association (APA) should be followed. All illustrations, charts, and graphs should be included within the text. Manuscripts may also be submitted in Spanish.

Deadline for submissions is **April 1, 2014**. Please address questions to Pablo C. Ramirez (pablo.c.ramirez@asu.edu) and Irina Okhremtchouk (iokhremt@asu.edu). This special issue is due to be published in December 2014. Consequently, authors will be asked to address revisions to their manuscripts during the summer months of 2014.

Reviewer Form

The following is the rubric to be used for the evaluation of manuscripts considered for the AMAE Journal.

To the Reviewer/Evaluator: please feel free to make embedded changes to the article to improve the quality and/or the delivery of the message. Please do not change the message that the author intended, however. The edited piece will be forwarded to the original author for feedback. The name of the reviewer/evaluator will remain anonymous to the original author.

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Article Title:

Article addresses the general scope of the Association of Mexican-American Educators Journal	1	2	3	4	5
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Timeliness and relevance to current Latino/Mexican-American scholarship and issues	1	2	3	4	5
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Theoretical framework/review of the literature is well grounded, focused, and is aligned to the topic/methods of manuscript	1	2	3	4	5
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Research methods are clearly articulated and supported with appropriate data to substantiate findings.	1	2	3	4	5
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Article is accessible and valuable to researchers and practitioners.	1	2	3	4	5
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Overall Score on the Rubric: ____/30

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The mission of the Association of Mexican American Educators, Inc., is to ensure equal access to financial resources for a quality education for Mexican American/Latino students at all levels, validate and affirm cultural and linguistic diversity, advise local/state boards, legislators, administrators, and faculty on educational and financial policy, work in partnership with parents and communities for the benefit of our students, and advocate for ongoing recruitment, retention, support, and development of Mexican American/ Latino educators and all others committed to a top quality education in the 21st Century for our students.



