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Prospects for Improving Bilingual Education: An Analysis of Conditions Surrounding Bilingual Education Programs in U.S. Public Schools

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PROSPECTS FOR IMPROVING BILINGUAL EDUCATION: AN ANALYSIS OF
CONDITIONS SURROUNDING BILINGUAL EDUCATION PROGRAMS IN U.S.
PUBLIC SCHOOLS

A Thesis
Presented to
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Western Kentucky University
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In Partial Fulfillment
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Master of Arts

By
Jennifer Gorman

May 2015

PROSPECTS FOR IMPROVING BILINGUAL EDUCATION: AN ANALYSIS OF
CONDITIONS SURROUNDING BILINGUAL EDUCATION PROGRAMS IN U.S. PUBLIC
SCHOOLS

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I dedicate this thesis to my parents for their ceaseless support for my education, tireless encouragement at all hours of the night, and boundless love for me.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter I: Introduction and Background Information.....	1
Chapter II: Review of Literature.....	14
Chapter III: Methodologies.....	31
Chapter IV: Analysis and Results.....	38
Chapter V: Conclusions and Areas for Further Study.....	45
Appendix A: Table 1.....	59
References.....	61

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Bilingual education is a subject of debate in education. Some claim that bilingual education programs are detrimental to students, but decades of research supports the benefits of bilingualism and bilingual education for both English Language Learners and monolingual English speakers. The U.S. does not have bilingual education programs in proportion to the needs that these programs could meet for students in public schools. If bilingualism is beneficial, then why do we not have more bilingual education programs?

Research extensively covers the internal components of bilingual education programs but only touches on the effect of the external conditions necessary for program success. In order to study one piece of this large question, this thesis considered the external conditions. In order to determine which conditions and which programs/cities/states to research, I compared the case studies of bilingual education programs to determine patterns in the conditions surrounding them. The case studies were selected because they addressed success factors of these programs. Demographics, university relationships, and legislation were three conditions that the research addressed. Minneapolis-St. Paul; San Francisco; Westminster, CA; New York City; and Detroit are the cities considered because they have large ELL populations but are different in their demographic composition and in how they approach bilingual education. I compared the

state and number of bilingual programs to the demographics, university relationships, and legislation in each community and drew conclusions from the resulting patterns.

The data showed that the existence of bilingual programs correlated positively to the demographics, university relationships, and legislation in each city, although not always to the degree expected. By analyzing the effects of the conditions on the chosen communities, I concluded that one, states and education leaders need to recognize student needs based on student demographics, two, universities need to conduct research for and advocate for local bilingual programs, and finally, legislation needs to support bilingual programs. The most important condition was individuals from universities advocating for bilingual programs by conducting research that provides a source of reliable information about bilingual education for the lawmakers who create educational policy.

CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Our world is globalizing rapidly. New and increasing technology creates the means for people of all cultures to interact, discover, and create as they never could before. As people and cultures integrate via the Internet or through increasing geographic mobility, languages collide. Despite a linguistically rich world, English is well on its way to becoming widely accepted as the global language. It serves as a lingua franca in trade, business, and politics for regions or sectors in which the languages spoken are not mutually intelligible. Children around the world learn English as a Second or Foreign Language (ESL/EFL), and many are becoming multilingual. Compared to many countries, the United States' level of bilingualism, especially in native-born populations, is quite low (Grosjean, 2010), even though bilingualism provides a proven competitive advantage in areas such as the job market, cultural awareness, and mental health as will be discussed in later sections. English is the standard language in the U.S. and in many global sectors, so bilingualism is not always a necessity. For most children, especially monolingual English speakers, receiving a quality education in the U.S. public schools does not mean they receive bilingual education.

However, providing most children with a quality education is not a sufficient goal for U.S. public schools. Providing equitable education for *all* children is a challenge, but it is a necessary and worthy goal. Part of providing an equitable education is providing services to English Language Learners (ELLs). Schools are legally required to provide services to all students, regardless of English language fluency. There is an ongoing debate about the best ways to provide these services. The current research shows that bilingual education programs address the needs of ELLs and provide a way for

monolingual native English speakers to connect with an increasingly diverse world. Bilingual education, in its broadest sense, is “schooling in which students receive instruction in two (or more) languages, usually their home language and a second language” (Lightbown & Spada, 2013). The research is clear that the benefits of bilingualism are far-reaching. With these factors in mind, the remaining question is why there are so few bilingual programs within public schools in the U.S.

The problem of an insufficient number of bilingual education programs is relevant, crucial, and timely. Bilingual education, as will be discussed, benefits individual students, school programs, and our culture. Bilingual education is critical for ELLs, as their number in the U.S. public school system is high and will continue to go higher as a percentage of the student population as asserted by the National Center for Education Statistics last year. Bilingual education is one of the most effective ways to deal with the increasingly diverse population, so we need to know more about it. There is already significant research on bilingual education that discusses effective teaching methods, pedagogy, and accommodations—everything that the education field would normally study to ensure success in the classroom. A significant amount of this research discusses the components that help make a bilingual program successful, so if an individual or school wanted to start a bilingual education program, resources exist to aid the development of the program. Some of these internal components of successful programs are dependent on external conditions. For example, bilingual education programs should base their curriculum and program design on the current research, but that requires the program to have access to the appropriate research. Their ability to have a well-researched program is conditional on their access to research. The current research fails

to further our understanding of the conditions that surround bilingual education programs or the conditions required to make such programs successful.

The approach of this research is to examine the existing conditions that surround bilingual education programs in U.S. public schools, regardless of the programs' success or failure. Examining and evaluating the conditions allows us to determine how external factors influence the success of internal elements. This thesis examined the conditions of demographics, university relationships, and legislation surrounding programs in the Minneapolis-St. Paul, MN; San Francisco; Westminster, CA; New York City; and Detroit. It found that the conditions have an impact on these programs to varying degrees. It was determined that one of the most important factors in successful programs is advocacy from individuals for bilingual education on all levels. Individuals at universities can advocate by providing research that can be used by local programs and by lawmakers who are legislating educational policy. Identifying and understanding the conditions that surround successful bilingual programs provides information to improve existing programs, implement bilingual programs in places where those conditions already exist, and create those conditions in areas of need.

Research Scope

This study focuses on bilingual education programs in the U.S. public school system. Private schools, home schools, and programs in other countries are out of scope for this research. Private schools and home schools operate with different rules than do public schools. Bilingual education programs in other countries do not operate under the same policies; their demographics are different, and their entire education system is different. In the U.S., each state, district, and school has different regulatory policies,

operating principles, student demographics, and student needs. These are examples of different conditions that comprise the climate in which bilingual education programs exist. In simple terms, the goal of examining these conditions is to determine what is going on in these areas and how that affects bilingual education programs. Research occurred on a case-by-case basis in order to identify and collect existing data, and a meta-analysis of the data was conducted in an attempt to draw conclusions about the conditions that encourage the growth and success of bilingual education programs.

Research Goals

This research aims to affect educational systems currently operating bilingual education programs or those considering adding bilingual programs in order to support students needing those services. Bilingual education provides an effective way to help ELLs, whether immigrant, refugee, or native-born, learn English and retain their first/native/home languages. Bilingual education programs provide both ELLs and monolingual English speakers the opportunity to become bilingual, which they may otherwise miss.

The ultimate goal of this research is to draw conclusions about favorable and unfavorable conditions surrounding bilingual education programs. This research is useful because the results can aid in the creation and improvement of bilingual education programs. Bilingual education has the potential to be a positive element within the U.S. education system.

Ovando (2003) claims that, “changing political, social, and economic forces, rather than any consistent ideology, have shaped the nation’s responses to language diversity” (p. 1). The researcher makes a call to use research and clarify

misunderstandings to help grow bilingual education. The goal of this research is to answer that call and provide another piece towards solving the puzzle by looking at conditions that are related to these forces.

Background Information

Types of bilingual education programs. One reason that the bilingual education debate is so confusing is because there are so many different kinds of bilingual education programs. These programs serve different populations of ELLs in different ways. Adding to the confusion is the fact that one specific name of a program type may not directly correlate to one particular description because there are multiple ways to describe a bilingual education program. Although not all programs are equally effective, it is important to establish a baseline understanding of the basic tenets of each type.

Bilingual programs do, and should, differ based on student needs and demographics. For example, a Cantonese immersion program in the heart of a Spanish-speaking neighborhood does not take into account the needs of the students, although it might be an interesting experiment. It does not capitalize on the students' current linguistic resources and early childhood education.

In addition, each bilingual education program has different outcomes as its goal. Bilingual education generally tries to use the students' first/native/home language, whether or not bilingualism is the ultimate goal. The goal of some "bilingual" programs is to expedite English monolingualism. Other programs strive for bilingualism and biliteracy: Dual Language Immersion (DLI) combines teaching English and the other language, a first/native/home language for some of the students, in order to help all students develop literacy in both languages. Bilingual education programs can be

differentiated by their goals and percentages of language instruction. The type of program and amount of each language should differ based on the demographics and needs of the students. The following list, in order of relevance to this thesis, provides an overview of the different terms used to describe bilingual education:

- Dual Language Immersion: also called Two-Way Immersion (TWI), supports both the first/native/home language and the new language by providing content instruction in both languages. The goal is bilingualism and biliteracy (Díaz-Rico, 2013).
- Developmental Bilingual Education: aims for the student to learn English. It uses the first/native/home language to teach subject content. It continues to support and value the first/native/home language throughout the duration of the program. These are often “late-exit” programs, meaning students stay in programs longer, allowing more time for English acquisition. The goal is to maintain as much of the first/native/home language as possible (Díaz-Rico, 2013).
- Transitional Bilingual Program: also called “early-exit,” meaning students exit programs sooner rather than later. It provides students initial instruction in their first/native/home language with the goal to mainstream them into all-English classes as soon as possible (Díaz-Rico, 2013).
- English as a Second Language: a blanket term to describe services offered to ELLs. It usually does not use the students’ first/native/home language for instruction, so the outcome is often English monolingualism (Roberts, 1995).
- Submersion: does not support the first/native/home language, often referred to as Sink or Swim. This program type emphasizes assimilation and is illegal under

Lau v. Nichols (1974) because it does not provide special instruction for ELLs (Roberts, 1995).

- Additive Bilingualism: strives to help the student learn another language while maintaining the first/native/home language (Lightbown & Spada, 2013).
- Subtractive Bilingualism: refers to an effort to teach students English while deemphasizing the speaking, importance, and value of the first/native/home language (Lightbown & Spada, 2013).
- Late-exit: describes programs that allow ELLs to continue receiving bilingual education and ESL services that support their first/native/home language and slowly transitions them to mainstream English classes (Díaz-Rico, 2013).
- Early-exit: describes programs that aim to transition ELLs into mainstream English classes as quickly as possible (Ramirez, 1991).

Dual Language Immersion programs (DLI). This thesis focuses primarily on DLI programs. DLI programs are also called Two-way Immersion (TWI) programs, which implies that the language instruction goes both ways: English speakers learn the other language and speakers of the other language learn English. This type of bilingual education program requires a proper balance between native English speakers and native speakers of the other language. DLI is one of the most effective bilingual education program options (De Jong, 2004; Gándara & Aldana, 2014; Rolstad et al., 2005), but it is not possible in all circumstances. The goals of DLI programs include bilingualism and biliteracy, and there are different ways to construct a program based on the needs of the students. Programs classified as 90/10 start by conducting 90% of instruction in the non-English language and 10% of instruction in English. In some programs, this transitions to

50% in both languages by the end of elementary school. Programs that are 50/50 start by teaching both languages for an equal amount of time and continue that balance throughout elementary school. The model a program uses will depend on the native languages of the students.

Sometimes, programs cannot provide instruction in the first/native/home language because it is not feasible or available. For example, in an extremely diverse school, there may be as many as 15–20 different languages spoken. Converting that school to an immersion school focused on only one of those languages potentially alienates the students who speak the other languages. Students who enter a DLI program in which neither language is their first/native/home language would be an unusual situation that the program could potentially face. DLI is not feasible under these circumstances, so transitional, developmental, and one-way programs must be used to educate students as effectively as possible, although they may not fully develop students' first/native/home languages. Support for first/native/home languages can still occur in other ways, including translated materials, books, and parental involvement.

The other kind of immersion program this thesis considers occurs when monolingual English speakers are immersed fully in a second language. Whether or not the program is DLI depends on the number of students speaking the non-English language. These immersion programs can provide 90/10 instruction in the non-English language throughout the duration of the program because the students are receiving enough comprehensible input in English within the 10% English instruction and in other places, like home and the community.

Categories of ELLs. Although it is necessary and easy to group ELLs by language, it is much harder to lump all ELLs into the same learning category. ELL is a blanket term used to describe a wide range of learner situations. In the Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL) field, ELL refers to those who do not speak English as their first/native/home language. Factors such as age of arrival, previous schooling, and parental involvement impact a student's language level (DeCapua & Marshall, 2010). To evaluate the conditions of DLI programs, it is necessary to understand the very diverse needs of different ELLs because programs will differ based on student needs. These students may be grouped in the following manner: immigrant, refugee, and native-born.

Immigrant students, no matter the age, come from a different country, culture, language, and educational background. Depending on previous life circumstances, some may have little formal education, while others may have attended an elite private school in their home country. Some may have learned English as a Foreign Language; others may have zero exposure to the English language. Their level of English language abilities will vary based on previous education and exposure to English.

Refugees share many attributes of immigrant students but may come from an area affected by civil war, strife, or instability and know little about school or formal education. Researchers such as DeCapua and Marshall (2010) recognize this phenomenon and seek to aggregate the data for these students with a study directed at researching ways to help this population.

Another category of ELLs includes native-born citizens who typically grow up in homes where English is spoken as a second language or not at all. These students may

grow up being able to speak and understand their home language, but they are not necessarily literate in it. These students are often placed in an ESL program intended to help them transition to English mainstream classes in which their home language is not supported or encouraged. They may be viewed as remedial or even special education students because they need special services to “catch up” to the English language level of their peers (Krashen, 1996). The leaders of bilingual education programs must recognize, understand, and use best practices to handle the differences in their newcomers.

Rising numbers of ELLs. The U.S. is experiencing overall growth in the number of enrolled K-12 students, projected to increase overall by 5% from 49.5 million students in 2011 to 52.1 million students in 2021 (National Center for Education Statistics [NCES], 2014b). This may seem insignificant, but when analyzed at the state level, the percentage of projected increase becomes much higher for fifteen states. These states, led by Nevada with a projected increase of 21.6%, are projected to have an increase in enrollment greater than 10% (NCES, 2014a). There are also increasingly large numbers of ELLs in the school systems. The same report shows that ELLs make up 9.1% of the overall population of students enrolled in public school. In urban areas, this percentage is 14.2%. In exclusively western states, it is even higher; California has the highest percentage of ELLs with 23.2%. English-Only supporters and multilingualism supporters read the same statistics, and the numbers are undeniable—the number of ELLs has grown and will continue to grow. If growth rates continue at the current pace, the percentage of ELLs could rise to as much as 30% of all students by 2043 (National Clearinghouse for English Language Acquisition [NCELA], 2006). Although these numbers are just

projections, they are important and call for preparation to meet the challenges the changes in our future ELL populations will bring.

The increasing number of ELLs further complicates current bilingual education issues by increasing the urgency of the issue. ELL growth is fueled in part because many people moving to the U.S. do not speak English as their first/native/home language. Every year for the last decade, approximately one million people have gained lawful citizenship (U.S. Homeland Security, 2013). Although not all of these immigrants speak English as a second language, the consistent number of new citizens shows a trend in overall number growth. More importantly, this number does not include illegal immigrants, who public schools are still required to serve. The number of ELLs is also growing from native-born citizens who have grown up in a home that speaks very little, if any, English. Pew Hispanic Center (2011) reported that the number of births of Mexican Americans was higher than the number of Mexican American immigrants. This fact is undeniable: we currently have a significant number of ELLs in our classrooms, and this number is very likely to increase (NCELA, 2006). The education system cannot influence the number of students it serves. It does not have the authority or resources to limit immigration or prevent residents from having more children. It does, however, have the responsibility to provide all children with the best education possible.

Demographics. In considering bilingual education programs, it is important to recognize the most commonly spoken languages other than English in the U.S. DLI programs rely on having enough native speakers of both languages to ensure that students receive sufficient comprehensible input in the new language (Roberts, 1995). For multiple reasons, individuals that speak the same language tend to gravitate to the same

areas, and it is these areas in which DLI programs would be most beneficial. Thus, it is important to note concentrations of learners for whom English is not their native language.

Spanish is the second most commonly spoken language in the U.S. There are more than 37 million Spanish speakers in the U.S. (Ryan, 2013). This number is projected to continue to rise (Ortman & Shin, 2011).

Chinese (specifically Mandarin) speakers represent a significant population of ELLs in the U.S.: there are about 3 million Chinese speakers (U.S. Census Bureau, 2013c). Although estimates vary, there are over one billion speakers of Chinese in the world (Lewis, Simons, & Fennig, 2015). Because of the worldwide increase of Mandarin speakers and the increase of China's political and economic influence, our education system should capitalize on the resources we have available in order to increase our linguistic abilities in foreign languages.

Other ELL populations are growing on a localized basis. Frequently, official state refugees are resettled in the same areas; families follow, and the community flourishes. For example, Orange County, CA is home to the highest concentration of Vietnamese Americans in the U.S. (Nguyen, 2011) due to the resettlement of refugees resulting from the Vietnam War. The city of Westminster, CA has the highest concentration of Vietnamese at 40.2% (U.S. Census Bureau, 2013b). Another example of a localized ethnic population is the Hmong in Minnesota. A large portion of Hmong refugees fleeing political unrest in Southeast Asia settled in the Minneapolis-St. Paul metropolitan area starting in 1976 (Minnesota Historical Society, n.d.). Although California has the highest total number of Hmong at around 91,000, Minnesota has the second highest number at

around 66,000, almost all of whom are concentrated in the Minneapolis-St. Paul metropolitan area, making it the metropolitan area with the highest percentage of Hmong (Pfeifer, Sullivan, Yang, & Yang, 2013). The demographics of Westminster, CA and the Twin Cities will be examined in closer detail in the next three sections.

The facts are undeniable—the number of ELLs is large and growing larger. The question is how our education system will deal with this growth. Bilingual education offers a way to rise to the challenges that will come from the increasing numbers of ELLs in the U.S. public education system.

CHAPTER II: REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Bilingualism Benefits Individuals

Bilingual education is good for educational systems as a whole because bilingualism is good for individual students. It benefits both ELLs and monolingual English speakers, sometimes in the same way and sometimes in ways that are unique to each group. Bilingualism is a positive factor for both groups in terms of brain health, career options, and empowerment. Exposure to both cultures benefits all learners in these programs, although the actual benefits differ by group.

Studies have shown that bilingualism is good for the brain, especially for children. The benefits of bilingualism begin at a very early age. Kovács and Mehler (2009) tracked the eye movements of 7-month-old infants and found that the infants being raised bilingual adapted better to a change in stimuli than monolingual infants. Bilingual children exhibit advantageous qualities even at this young, pre-verbal age. Studies have also shown that bilingualism creates new pathways in the brain, which is healthy for an aging brain at risk for Alzheimer's (Bialystok, Craik, & Luk, 2012). Bialystok, Craik, and Freedman (2007) showed that bilingual patients with dementia experienced the onset of symptoms an average of four years later than monolingual patients. Bilingualism represents a long-term investment in a healthy brain. Although additional studies on this subject are warranted, it seems certain that bilingualism contributes to the health of the brain at all ages.

Reviewing a few baseline studies will help show that bilingualism is beneficial. It is a common misconception that learning two languages simultaneously is confusing to children and slows down their ability to learn content. In reality, learning two languages

only causes short-term delays in language development while the brain is still sorting the languages out (Lightbown & Spada, 2013). If exposed to adequate comprehensible input in both languages, there is no difference in test scores by the time the student gets to fifth grade (Stipek, Ryan, & Alarcon, 2001).

Formal studies are not required to determine that bilingualism has a positive impact on future careers, as simply looking at the requirements for many current job listings will show. A simple search of “bilingual jobs” will bring up countless popular articles relating the numerous benefits of bilingualism in the job market. In economic terms, there is currently a low supply and a high demand for bilingual speakers. Basic economic principles say it is economically beneficial to be bilingual; being bilingual can open doors that speaking one language may not. Mehisto and Marsh (2011) assert that there are definitely economic advantages for bilingual individuals but concede that the nature and degree of the advantage can greatly differ by region. For example, Boswell (2000) found that Spanish-English bilingual Hispanics in Miami, Florida earned more per year than Hispanics who only spoke English. School districts and states should want high levels of future employment for their students to show that the education they are providing is having a positive impact on their students.

Bilingual education provides an opportunity for ELLs to become bicultural and students to maintain their first/native/home language while also learning English, the predominant language in the U.S. It enables immigrants, refugees, or other newcomers to transition slowly into a new culture instead of being forcibly assimilated into an entirely new culture too quickly. Even the staunchest of English-only supporters who want immigrants to assimilate into American culture should support efforts to accomplish this

in the most efficient and effective manner possible. Allowing students to acculturate to the new environment will help them to learn English as quickly as possible (Krashen, 2001). When these students join mainstream classes in English, the language level will be at a comprehensible level, thus allowing them to learn in a manner similar to their classmates.

Unlike some early-exit bilingual education programs that aim to assimilate ELLs into an English-only culture, DLI programs do not show preference towards one language over another. ESL programs with English monolingualism as the goal elevate English as more important. English is more important in that it is a lingua franca for the world, the language of higher education in the U.S., and the generally accepted language of the U.S. But emphasizing English without valuing the first/native/home language can be detrimental to ELLs' self-identity (Cummins, 2001). Developing students' home language allows them to communicate with family members, including extended relatives. Although monolingual programs strive for assimilation, adherence, and conformity to a prescribed view of American culture, bilingual education programs should strive to promote a multicultural understanding of the world.

Lastly, it is important to note that bilingual education programs give students a sense of empowerment. Conquering learning two languages helps students believe that they can conquer anything. It allows them to become invested in their education because it is unique. Language is highly connected to identity, and when students' identities are affirmed and supported, they will feel empowered. Cummins (2001) shows that empowerment helps students, that bilingual education is empowering, and that identity is connected to language.

Bilingualism a Worthy Goal

U.S. public schools should focus on providing their students with the best education possible, and bilingual education is one way to do that. The ultimate goal of this research is to provide recommendations based on the information gleaned about the contexts in which programs exist. It must first be established that bilingualism is beneficial to and bilingual education is an appropriate goal for U.S. public schools.

It has been discussed previously that bilingualism is good for individuals. Many of those reasons translate directly into why bilingualism is good for U.S. students. The U.S. often compares itself to other nations to see how we measure up and whether we are being successful. We want to be on top and stay there. This is not the case when it comes to bilingualism (Lewis, Simons, & Fennig, 2015). Beyond the competition factor lies the economic factor. Just as bilingualism helps individual careers, bilingual individuals benefit our economy. It benefits our economic interests because bilingual U.S. citizens can contribute to expanding trade with other countries and fill international roles that require communication with people using other languages.

Bilingual U.S. citizens can also play a vital role in homeland security. The U.S. has a relationship with almost all countries in the world. We need more bilingual people who can serve our country by being able to communicate as native speakers with people in other countries. This is especially true in countries with which we do not have a good relationship. The 9/11 terrorist attacks brought our government agencies' extreme lack of bilingual individuals, especially Arabic speakers, to national attention (Zakaria, 2011). The CIA has valid reasons for having a linguistics/language-learning program. It is

essential to be able to communicate with people in other countries in the world without having to rely on local translators and possibly unreliable translations.

The role of bilingualism in homeland security is just one example of why bilingualism is good for our entire country. The ultimate goal of our education system should be to provide our students with the best education possible. Bilingualism is good for individual students, especially ELLs, so schools should strongly consider implementing bilingual programs that suit their students' needs.

Language Learning Timeframe

Anyone who has ever attempted to learn a language knows that it takes time. With few exceptions, significant time, effort, and energy are needed in order to achieve the desired level of proficiency. Students who are ELLs come to the public school system with more than just a language barrier; many also arrive with a cultural background that creates a barrier to effective learning. Some may have had minimal or interrupted schooling or a lack of early childhood education. Even in ideal circumstances— a well-educated student from a peaceful place with involved parents and no economic hardships—language still takes time to learn. Seldom does this ideal set of circumstances occur. In addition to learning a new language, students are also trying to adjust to new culture elements like food, schooling style, and other cultural norms. There are too many factors, such as age and previous schooling, to give a definitive estimate on how long it should take. For most students, it will take longer than the one-year determined by California Proposition 227, as will be discussed below. Some students may need only a year before they are able to enter mainstream English classes because the English is at a comprehensible level for them. Most studies give a range for how long it takes to become

English proficient. MacSwan and Pray (2005) do not provide a specific number of years, but they build on previous research to affirm strongly that it takes longer than one year for ELLs to acquire English. This demonstrates that evidence-based information provided by research needs to drive the design of bilingual education programs.

It may take years of comprehensible input to create bilingual students. The evidence shows that even K-6 bilingual education is insufficient to ensure fluency. For this reason, many bilingual education programs continue into higher grades. DLI programs require ongoing support, thus taking longer than some of the other programs. The question is not how long students should receive instruction in the non-English language, but how much of their instruction should be in the non-English language.

The fact that learning a second language takes so much time is a strong argument in favor of DLI programs. Because any form of bilingual education program takes time and money, it makes sense to aim for a better outcome than just monolingual English proficiency. This is especially true for schools that have high percentages of ELLs. The conditions surrounding a program may impact how long students are allowed to be in bilingual programs.

History of Bilingual Education and Policy

There is no denying that bilingual education is controversial, because bilingual education is not just about pedagogy. Discussing bilingual education brings up immigration, civil rights, school funding, and what it means to be an American. In general, the research has shown that bilingualism is beneficial. Many people are impressed by and perhaps even jealous of those who speak more than one language. However, the acceptance of bilingualism has not transferred to widespread acceptance of

bilingual education. Bilingual education should be treated as a pedagogical issue that benefits our entire culture, not a political issue that is often used to push a political agenda. It is important to understand the history and context of bilingual education in the U.S. The current issues associated with bilingual education are based on a continuation or result of previous issues. These issues usually come to a head in the form of educational policy. The following overview of policy surrounding bilingual education shows the ongoing debate regarding bilingual education.

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 is a landmark measure that began the discussion of modern bilingual education policy. It does not directly mention bilingual education, but Title VI prohibits entities that receive federal funds (e.g. public schools) to discriminate based on race, color, or national origin. The Civil Rights Act's effect on bilingual education was extended by the Bilingual Education Act of 1968 (Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act), which was the first federal legislation to benefit ELLs (Díaz-Rico, 2013). The Bilingual Education Act was clarified by a second landmark case, *Lau v. Nichols* (1974), which decided that schools were required to provide ELLs with services as a civil right (Díaz-Rico, 2013).

Fast forward to California's incredibly controversial Proposition 227 (Prop 227) in 1998. This ballot measure severely limited bilingual education in California and passed with 60.88% of the votes (Jones, 1998a). Prop 227 attempted to respond to some of the issues with existing bilingual programs, such as students not getting enough English instruction (Jones, 1998b). Prop 227 limits the time students are allowed to spend in a class with non-English instruction to one year (Jones, 1998b). Ron Unz, an entrepreneur millionaire in technology and finance, took interest in bilingual education and led the

campaign for Prop 227, spending \$700,000 of his own money in doing so (Hornblower, 1998; Bruni, 1998). Unz, who does not have a background in education, was opposed by several key California teaching organizations—California School Boards Association, California Federation of Teachers, and Association of California School Administrators, to name a few—that claimed a wealthy entrepreneur with no education background should not be pushing educational policy (Jones, 1998b). Although the programs did indeed have issues, simply eliminating the programs did not solve all the problems. Carter (2014) explained that Prop 227 was confusing and supporters misinformed voters about the details of the measure, and he suggested that it is possible that Prop 227 would not have passed if people had understood it better.

Prop 227 allowed a loophole: parents who signed a waiver could have bilingual education for their children. This has allowed several successful bilingual programs to form, survive, and even thrive in California. Prop 227 is currently on the ballot, thanks to Sen. Ricardo Lara (D-Bell Gardens), as SB 1174 for California voters to re-vote on in November 2016 (Ash, 2014). The official popular name has not been determined yet, but Ballotpedia (n.d.) makes a clear distinction from anti-bilingual Prop 227 by calling it “California Multilingual Education Act.” It is likely to be highly controversial once again. This time, perhaps clearer wording on the ballot and more compelling research will help educate voters on the benefits of bilingual education. California now has several bilingual education success stories that could significantly affect peoples’ perceptions of bilingual education and thus their votes.

Prop 227 has an interesting place in this research. On one hand, it essentially squashed effective bilingual education. On the other hand, several bilingual education

programs thrived despite the policy. This unique relationship will be examined in more detail in subsequent chapters.

The next major legislation, also controversial, in the bilingual education debate is the No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB) of 2001. Like Prop 227, NCLB tried to address some problems in our current education system by using test scores to hold schools accountable. NCLB introduced a wave of controversial high-stakes testing into public schools (Díaz-Rico, 2013). High-stakes testing has a complicated relationship with bilingual education. The standardized tests used in an effort to hold schools accountable test ELLs in a language they do not know well yet, making the tests invalid and unreliable for testing content knowledge (Abedi, 2002). Even after being reclassified as English proficient, these students are still taking a test in their second language. Abedi (2002) also studied the impact of students' language background on their standardized test scores. He basically provided the data behind the issues that we are already aware of: ELL students perform less well on standardized tests than non-ELL students. He determined what specifically about standardized tests causes difficulties for ELL students and found that the size of the achievement gap differs across disciplines and concluded that subjects relying more on language for comprehension manifest a bigger gap. The more language the test requires, whether in terms of subject (math vs. reading) or grade (2nd vs. 9th), the greater the gap. The data also showed that there are more factors to standardized test scores than language background. Parent income and parent education level are other significant variables, but language background still makes the biggest difference.

If schools are evaluated based on test scores when a high percentage of their students are ELLs, they are being tested by invalid evaluation methods (Díaz-Rico, 2013). Schools and bilingual programs that score low may be forced to reorganize or close. This occurred in NYC: Menken and Solorza (2014) conducted a case study to measure the effects of NCLB on bilingual education in ten New York City schools. These schools cited pressure from NCLB as the impetus behind limiting bilingual education services and trying to turn away ELLs. The administrators knew that the ELLs would lower their progress score. Menken uses this study to call for a comprehensive language policy that addresses these concerns and the needs of the students more effectively. Although these conclusions cannot be generalized without a broader study, it may be likely that this occurs in other schools struggling to meet the high-stakes testing standards. High-stakes testing of ELLs is detrimental for the students and to the existence of bilingual education programs. NCLB has had an effect on the entire field of bilingual education, most of it negative. The Act even changed the name of the federal office from the Office of Bilingual Education to the Office of English Language Acquisition. Spring (2010) calls this a symbolic move that “clearly places the federal government’s support on the side of English acquisition as opposed to bilingual education” (p. 174). With NCLB, the federal government’s concern shifted from bilingual education to English acquisition.

Components vs. Conditions

Several researchers have already considered the components of bilingual education in detail. Lindholm-Leary (2011) provides a basic outline for what makes a dual language program successful in her presentation “Critical Components of a

Successful Dual Language Program: Research and Implications.” The following recommendations act as guidelines for those wanting to implement dual language programs in their schools. Lindholm-Leary (2011) recommends the following components:

- “Strong focus on biliteracy and bilingualism for all students
- Emphasis on equity and excellence for all students
- Administrative support and instructional leadership
- High quality teachers and professional development
- Parent involvement and home/school collaboration” (p. 5)

Howard and Christian (2002) discuss how to design a DLI program, which shows that research is being conducted about programs’ internal components. They provide recommendations for program implementation based on research. These researchers demonstrate the current existence of information about the internal components of bilingual education programs but not the external factors. They can make recommendations for schools looking to construct a program in their school, but they do not provide a broader look at implementing bilingual education on a systematic level. Leal and Hess (2000), on the other hand, provide an example of a study that looked at the conditions for success and not just the components of success. The case study examined the relationship between funding for ELLs and the ethnicity of school board members. They found that the school boards that had more racial diversity among its members provided more funding for ELLs. This is similar to the study I conducted of the conditions surrounding bilingual education programs because it considered a condition—the ethnicity of school board members—of bilingual education programs.

Criticism of Bilingual Education

Although the majority of the research shows that bilingual education is beneficial, it is not without its critics. Wiese (2004) claims that tension comes with any new reform models, which would include the implementation of bilingual education programs. For example, the researcher critiqued bilingual education programs because many programs do not take into account the linguistic needs of native speakers of English who speak a non-standard dialect (such as African American Vernacular English). This is definitely a concern that bilingual education programs should take into consideration when determining how to best serve the needs of their students.

Another criticism of bilingual education also considers the non-English-speaking students. Pimentel (2011) conducted a case study that initially sounds like a personal diatribe against the exploitation of Spanish speakers, but she introduced an important criticism of bilingual education. Bilingual education programs can reinforce “Whiteness” and use the second language as a commodity for White native speakers of English. She calls this preeminence of English the “racialization” of Spanish. Amselle (1991) would agree with Pimentel, claiming that “dual immersion programs are really nothing more than Spanish immersion, with Hispanic children used as teaching tools for English-speaking children” (as cited in Díaz-Rico, 2013, p. 316). Although this unfortunately happens in some bilingual education programs, well-structured programs should not do this. Bilingual education programs should fully support and value the first/native/home language. Nonetheless, this is an important consideration for those wishing to implement bilingual education programs.

Informing Research: Case Studies

Several studies in the current research brought critical issues to my attention. From these came the information that informed the analysis of program conditions within this research.

A number of case studies addressed the relationship between educational legislation and bilingual education programs. Johnson and Brandt (2008-09) conducted a case study of Arizona's Milagros School District. They outlined the problems the district experienced and drew parallels between the school district's program policies and legislation. The study did not blame the students; it blamed the system. This study informed the rationale to review legislation and its relationship to bilingual education programs.

Johnson and Brandt (2008-09) were not the only researchers to consider how policy affects programs. Menken (2013) found that NCLB has been the impetus behind shutting down bilingual education programs in NYC and claims that NCLB has failed to deliver on its goal to improve education for struggling populations. This is a strong claim and provided incentive to further consider both NYC and education legislation as related to bilingual education programs. Velasco and Cancino (2012) also looked at NYC to conduct a case study of five NYC bilingual education programs, but these programs were doing well in meeting the needs of their diverse students. They found that the key to overcoming legislative hostility was to focus on improving bilingual programs, not to eliminate them. The successful programs focused on components such as flexible curriculum, critical thinking skills, and holding students to high standards. This is an example of a case study in a highly diverse region that has experienced widespread

education issues. These programs have survived despite the legislation. Together, these two case studies represent a discontinuity of how much legislation affects bilingual education programs. My research sought to look closer at this discrepancy.

Also considering education policy, Bali (2003) conducted a case study to research compliance with policy and found that local influence overcame global initiatives. Policy cannot be implemented if local decision makers are not supportive, such as the programs in the Velasco and Cancino (2012) case studies. Bali (2003) provided another reason to look at legislation relevant to bilingual education. The principles of the study applied to San Francisco Unified School District (SFUSD). This helped explain how SFUSD overcame Prop 227 by creating bilingual programs that were well supported by research and supported the parents' decision for their child to receive bilingual education. The district supported the waiver and then backed up their support with well-designed programs. Put together, these case studies showed that further consideration of the correlation between legislation and bilingual education programs was warranted.

Other case studies considered the internal components of bilingual education programs. Stipek, Ryan, and Alarcon (2001) provide an example of a case study of a program that combined research with program implementation. This informed the direction of examining how programs use research. The researchers examined a program and had several interesting findings. Using several different proficiency tests, he found that there was no significant difference in the academic achievement gains between English speakers and non-English speakers. He also promotes the consideration of "local context," which was a very important factor in my research.

Alanís and Rodriguez (2008) also looked at the internal components of a DLI program to determine which factors benefited the program. They come to several important conclusions, finding four components that contributed to program success:

- “Pedagogical equity”: Research-based pedagogy that treats languages equally and exhibits a positive attitude towards bilingualism (both ways).
- “Effective bilingual teachers”: Teachers understand the goals of the program. They follow guidelines but enhance curriculum to meet the needs of students.
- “Active parent involvement”: Parents go to meetings, a community of support, and/or parent classes.
- “Knowledgeable leadership and continuity”: Strong leaders who are up to date on research and advocates for the program. (p. 312).

I drew from this case study the importance of quality research and supportive individuals, which is consistent with Stipek, Ryan, and Alarcon’s (2011) conclusion that research is vital to a bilingual program. Qualified teachers and principals were a vital part of the program’s success. They also end with a warning against standardized testing and quick transitions to English. Therefore, my research looked at legislation that affected testing (NCLB) and the importance of meeting student needs. This is an example of a case study that evaluated parts of programs to draw conclusions about successful programs.

Advocacy for bilingual education. Current research showed that there are advocates speaking up for bilingual education and against anti-bilingual policies. Carter (2014) wrote an editorial calling for a language policy based on research. He vehemently opposes Prop 227. He is one example of a professor who is an advocate for bilingual

education. This informed my decision to examine programs for researchers who support bilingual education programs. Gunderson (2008) compares education to “rocket science” (p. 187) in her call to action for better education. She says if we can get a human being on the moon, then we should be able to improve education in the U.S. She exemplifies what it means to be an activist for bilingual education program, which led me to look for bilingual education programs that had strong advocates.

Foundational Research. Foundational research from the 1990s shows that we have known about the benefits of bilingual education for years, and we have failed to implement it. Christian (1996) remarked almost twenty years ago about the future of bilingual education: “Effective implementation of the approach could contribute to our country's language resources by helping students develop high levels of native and second language proficiency. The prospects are somewhat fragile, but exciting” (p. 41). Her words still hold true in today’s education system. Freudenstein’s “plea for a new language policy” is an eerie foreshadowing of bilingual education advocates still echo today (1996, p. 45). Krashen (1996) confronted the case against bilingual education head-on almost two decades ago. He takes each argument from the 90s and pokes holes in it. He sums up his conclusions, saying, “Bilingual education has done well, but it can do better. The biggest problem, in my view, is the absence of books, both in the first and second languages, in the lives of students in these programs” (p. 67). Krashen is still writing editorials about the necessity for books in children’s lives. This foundational body of research shows that advocacy for bilingual education has existed for several years and that the issues faced then are still the ones faced today. I perceive this

information as a “slap on the wrist” to the education field for not implementing more bilingual education programs.

CHAPTER III: METHODOLOGY

This research focused on synthesizing information and data from various studies and sources to answer the question of what conditions exist around bilingual programs that contribute to making the programs successful. The data was collected in a two-stage process.

Stage One analyzed current research about bilingual education programs in order to determine which programs and conditions merited further study. This was accomplished by identifying and analyzing commonalities between programs to determine the programs and features to be reviewed. In Stage Two, the conditions surrounding the programs were examined to identify similarities and patterns in order to draw conclusions about favorable and unfavorable conditions surrounding programs.

Stage One

The first stage of research focused on a general survey of different kinds of bilingual education programs in the U.S. public school system, not a comprehensive review of all bilingual education programs. Some studies, like Velasco and Cancino (2012) and Alanís and Rodriguez (2008), described successful programs and others, like Johnson and Brandt (2008) and Menken (2013), discussed unsuccessful programs that were performing poorly on tests or being cancelled or shut down, respectively. Much of this research involved case studies, some of which looked at one particular aspect of one single program. Within these case studies, I determined patterns in what the studies were about and where the studies were conducted. For example, if several case studies addressed the same issue, I compared their conclusions to determine if the results were

consistent. In the case of legislation's effect on bilingual education, the conclusions were inconsistent, which showed that the issue needed to be examined further.

This stage helped determine that the programs/states appropriate to review were those that had been the subject of existing research or had established bilingual programs. In order to determine which programs to research, I asked two questions.

1. Was there research already done in the area?
2. Was there a need for bilingual education programs in the area?

In some states, bilingual education is of little consequence because of the demographics or because of the educational/political atmosphere. For example, Montana has a small percentage of ELLs and very few bilingual education programs for ELLs or monolingual English speakers, and little research has been done in the state or by universities in the state. It is difficult to draw conclusions about areas without a critical mass of bilingual programs or research available. It was important to choose areas in which bilingual education is a significant player in the education arena because that is where controversies arise and solutions are developed. Also, these areas may benefit most from this research.

This review focused on a variety of program types, primarily DLI (90/10 and 50/50) and one-way immersion (monolingual English speakers learning a different language). As discussed in Chapter I, the type of bilingual program is highly dependent on the needs of the students, which may vary based on the demographics of the students. Focusing on one type of program would exclude important data/areas. Uniformity across the selected programs is not essential because each program was inherently different. Although the internal components of programs were examined, analysis focused on

evaluating the conditions surrounding those programs. Internal components involve the elements that make up a program: i.e. program design. Conditions include external factors that form the context surrounding a program: i.e. policies. Diverse program types benefitted the research by showing a variety of contexts (not all inner city, border states, or all Spanish, for example) and providing a broad view of bilingual education programs. The following states/areas/programs were chosen.

Minnesota. Three bilingual education programs in Minnesota were studied. The Minneapolis-St. Paul metropolitan area is a diverse urban area that has a large percentage of households in which a language other than English is spoken, 20.3% in Minneapolis and 26.9% in St. Paul (U.S. Census Bureau, 2013d, 2013e). The Robbinsdale Spanish Immersion School is a public school established in 1987 (Minnesota Advocates for Immersion Network, 2015). It is a 90/10 program made up of mostly native English speakers. I selected this program because it was a well-established, stable public school. I wanted to see the conditions surrounding this kind of program. The International Spanish Language Academy (ISLA) is a public charter school started in 2007 (International Spanish Language Academy, 2014a). I wanted to see the conditions surrounding a charter school and a school with a more recent beginning. The Hmong immersion program embedded in Jackson Elementary, a St. Paul public school that started the immersion program in 2006, was the final program chosen (Jackson Elementary, 2012). This program provides 90/10 instruction to native Hmong speakers (Xiong, 2011). This is an example of a program doing what it can with limited resources (i.e. lack of books) to meet the language education needs of the large number of Hmong speakers in the area. I wanted to see the conditions surrounding an area with a concentration of same language

ELLs and what schools were doing to address their students' needs. These three 90/10 programs are successful in different ways, so I wanted to examine the conditions that surround successful 90/10 programs in a mid-size metropolitan area in a state that is considered to be generally supportive of education due to funding levels, test scores, and graduation rates (ACT, 2014; Leachman & Mai, 2014; NCHEMS Information Center, 2010).

California. California was chosen for its size and diversity. Two programs/areas in California were chosen. As detailed in Chapter II, California passed a controversial anti-bilingual measure, Prop 227, in 1998 that severely limited the number of years ELLs were allowed to receive bilingual education. I selected Westminster School District's (WSD) new Vietnamese DLI program and the San Francisco Unified School District (SFUSD) for this research. WSD's Vietnamese DLI program is a startup program scheduled to open its doors for the 2015-16 school year (Westminster School District, 2015a). They are currently in the planning and training stages of the implementation. I wanted to see what conditions existed that enabled a brand new DLI program to open. SFUSD was chosen because it has successfully implemented district-wide DLI programs; all students have the opportunity to become bilingual (StanfordCEPA, 2014). This school district is "all-in" because it provides a systematic handling of the language challenges faced by its students. I wanted to see what conditions were in place to make bilingual education successful on a large scale.

Michigan. Detroit has been undergoing very dramatic educational reform processes. They have a significant number of charter schools. Charter school enrollment made up 44.5% of students in the Detroit Public Schools district in 2013 (National

Alliance for Public Charter Schools, 2013b). The number of students in charter schools in Detroit Public Schools district has grown significantly in the last ten years (NAPCS, 2013a). Therefore, I wanted to see the state of bilingual education programs in an educational setting that faced challenges such as high poverty levels and declining enrollment (Dawsey, 2014). I wanted to see the conditions that exist where there are few bilingual education programs.

New York. New York City was chosen in part for its diversity (New York City Department of Education, 2015a). In addition, there was research already available, conducted by Kate Menken (2006, 2010, 2013) of Queens College-City University of New York about bilingual education within the city, specifically regarding controversies over the effect of high-stakes testing on bilingual education. I wanted to see how a diverse urban setting dealt with their large ELL population and identify what conditions affected the success of bilingual education programs.

Stage Two

The initial review and analysis identified three patterns or conditions that were initially shown to have an impact on bilingual education. The three conditions that warranted further consideration include demographics, university relationship, and legislation. How I examined each condition is detailed below.

Demographics. Current research and literature showed that a closer look at the demographics surrounding bilingual education programs was required. The previous research identified a possible correlation between successful programs and their demographics. My research then examined the demographics of the specific programs selected for this research. The following statistics were examined for each area: number

of students, number of ELLs, and pertinent race/ethnicity percentages. Other important data was noted as needed. These elements were then compared to the number of bilingual education programs in the area to determine possible patterns. This allowed conclusions to be drawn about how the condition of the demographics of the students influences the success of programs.

University Relationships. Current research showed that successful programs used research extensively in their creation, implementation, and ongoing improvement efforts. This informed the need to examine the sources of their research. I asked the following questions to examine the condition of university relationships:

1. Was there a relationship?
2. What was the nature of the relationship?
3. Was the program successful?
4. Did the relationship contribute to the success?

In comparing the answers to these questions, I attempted to discern information about whether a relationship was a significant and favorable condition for a bilingual education program. If programs get a large portion of their research from one particular source, then that source could be a significant condition for program success. Although more research from multiple sources is better than just one connection to a university, that one connection may be all that is available in a given area. Several programs were identified as having a strong, reciprocal relationship with a nearby university. The details of the nature of these relationships will be discussed in the analysis of the results in Chapter IV.

In the successful programs reviewed, an important component involved who started the program. Most successful programs had highly committed and very determined leaders; Alanís and Rodriguez (2008) validated this was one of the most important success factors for the program they studied. Therefore, my research sought to find out who the program leaders were and to determine whether they shared common characteristics.

Legislation. Previous research focused on states with existing research about their bilingual programs. This showed that anti-bilingual education policies, such as California's Prop 227, had a negative effect on bilingual programs, as discussed in Chapter II. Several case studies looked at the effects of the implementation of the legislation. This research focused on the educational policies of the states in which the programs existed.

In the current U.S. education system, the state and federal governments dictate the policies, and the individual school districts enforce the policies. Funding comes from the state or federal government, and the district uses the funds to translate the policies into practice. To identify the educational policies related to bilingual education, research examined the number of programs in those states and compared that to the state's legislation regarding bilingual education. Identifying the number of programs in existence to see if the number of programs had changed could allow conclusions about legislation being a significant factor of the conditions surrounding a bilingual program.

CHAPTER IV: RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

Demographics

In the first stage of research, the demographics of the programs previously studied varied considerably. An identifiable pattern could not be deduced relying solely on data from the case studies and other research studies. Therefore, examination turned to the demographics of each program/area/state in order to look for patterns that were significant. The statistics considered for each program/area/state included the number of all students, the number of ELLs, and the ethnicity of the students in the language programs studied. This data was compared to the number of bilingual education programs in the corresponding area. In the analysis, patterns were identified and evaluated for significance. Conclusions about these patterns and areas for future study will be discussed in Chapter V.

The demographical data in Table 1 (Appendix A) showed several patterns. For example, bilingual programs in highly diverse communities existed, but research was focused on DLI programs, not transitional or developmental immersion programs. Programs in more homogenous areas, which by necessity were 90/10 immersion programs, were also increasing in number. This was true of both English-speaking homogenous areas and homogenous areas of another language (Spanish, Vietnamese, Hmong, or Chinese). Some areas were devoid of bilingual education programs. Possible reasons include the area lacked the diversity to drive a need for bilingual education (e.g. Montana) or the affluence to use what some would consider discretionary spending on bilingual education (e.g. Detroit).

University Relationship

The relationship between a bilingual education program and a university is a favorable condition for the success and existence of the program.

Minnesota. In Minnesota, the two Spanish immersion schools studied had a relationship with Minnesota universities. The founders of the ISLA program, as well as many teachers, received their Bachelors and/or Master's degrees at Minnesota universities. One of the founders, Karen Tehaar, has an active relationship with the University of Minnesota's Center for Advanced Research on Language Acquisition (CARLA) (International Spanish Language Academy [ISLA], 2014b). She attends and presents at conferences hosted by CARLA. It is no coincidence then that ISLA cites research from CARLA, alongside research from the Center for Applied Linguistics, as an integral part of their guiding principles for immersion (ISLA, 2014c). Three of the four founders of ISLA came from the Robbinsdale Spanish Immersion School (RSI) after spending many years there (ISLA, 2014b). The only connection I found between RSI and universities was that many teachers came from the teacher training programs of local universities.

The Hmong DLI program at Jackson Elementary is doing its best to keep up with the demand from the Hmong community, but there is little research related to Hmong language immersion relative to Spanish. There are many educational materials in Spanish, but there are very few Hmong resources (Xiong, 2011). Although I could not find a direct connection between Jackson Elementary and a university, the U of M's CARLA promotes language learning in Less Commonly Taught Languages (LCTL), of which Hmong is one (Center for Advanced Research on Language Acquisition

[CARLA], 2014c). The U of M also has a rare college-level language program in Hmong (University of Minnesota, 2015). CARLA advocates for bilingual education by providing policy makers with research and data related to bilingual education. For example, the CARLA website includes a template that interested individuals can use to send a letter to their legislator to encourage and support bilingual immersion programs (CARLA, 2014b). They also provide user-friendly information such as videos that promote bilingual education (CARLA, 2014a). Although understanding the details of the relationship between specific bilingual education programs and specific universities requires more research, there is a positive connection between successful bilingual programs and universities in Minnesota.

California. SFUSD used their incredible wealth of information about language immersion to implement district-wide bilingual immersion programs. In their English Learner Program Guide, the district provides a detailed description of each language learning “Pathway” that students can take (San Francisco Unified School District, 2013). They cite an extensive longitudinal study conducted by Stanford University that shows the success of their Pathways model, showing that SFUSD has a positive relationship with Stanford (StanfordCEPD, 2014). Stanford provides research for the district to measure success, which in this case was narrowly defined as English Proficiency (as determined by the California English Language Development Test). This partnership has only strengthened in recent years. On February 8, 2012, the district and the Stanford School of Education announced an official partnership (Miller, 2012). Since then, SFUSD and Stanford have continued to work together to conduct research in and about SFUSD. There is even a Twitter account, @StanfordSFUSD, devoted to the partnership

(<https://twitter.com/StanfordSFUSD>). The account's description reads, "Uniting research and practice to improve achievement for all students." This exemplifies a positive relationship between a university and a bilingual education program.

WSD used research conducted by California State University-Fullerton (CSUF) to guide the implementation of their Vietnamese DLI program (Huang, 2015). CSUF provided the Vietnamese curriculum through its National Resource Center for Asian Languages (Westminster School District, 2015b). CSUF currently offers a minor in Vietnamese and is in the process of developing the U.S.'s only Vietnamese Bachelor of Arts (BA) program and a teacher-certification program in Vietnamese (Nguyen, 2013). The teachers that come from CSUF will be certified to teach Vietnamese in addition to being Vietnamese speakers. This research-based curriculum enables WSD to implement an authoritative DLI program. The relationship between WSD and CSUF is just beginning, but the progress of the positive relationship should be monitored for results.

Michigan. This researcher has been unable to identify or locate studies in bilingual education conducted in Detroit schools or used to improve or affect bilingual education in the Detroit Public Schools.

New York. The connection examined in the research was between Queens College of the City University of New York (CUNY) and bilingual education in NYC as a whole. Kate Menken, a professor and a research fellow at Queens College-CUNY, has published several articles detailing her research that declares the negative effects of NCLB on bilingual education in NYC (Menken, 2006, 2013; Menken & Solorza, 2014). This provides an example of one person who is part of a local university advocating for bilingual education by researching the effects of legislation.

Legislation

Minnesota. Minnesota does not have any anti-bilingual legislation. It emphasizes and supports education through increased funding and by encouraging non-traditional public education opportunities, such as charter schools and magnet schools. Charter schools can be immersion programs like International Spanish Language Academy. Minnesota was the first state to have charter schools, the first one opening in 1992 (Minnesota Legislative Reference Library, 2014). There are distinct advocacy groups for charter schools in Minnesota such as the Minnesota Association of Charter Schools. The National Alliance for Charter Schools has ranked Minnesota's charter laws highest in charter-friendly policies (2015). These policies can allow immersion programs to be formed through alternative methods. According to the U of M's College of Education and Human Development, there are 85 immersion programs in Minnesota (Marty, 2014). These immersion programs include DLI, one-way immersion, and heritage language programs. The Minnesota Advocates of Immersion Network (MAIN) kept track of immersion programs in Minnesota and reported that the number is growing. In the last ten years, immersion programs in Mandarin, Hmong, Korean, Ojibwa, Dakota, and German have opened. Previously, only Spanish and French immersion programs existed (Minnesota Advocates of Immersion Network, 2014).

California. As discussed in Chapter II, California has instituted anti-bilingual legislation in the passing of Prop 227. Despite this legislation, DLI programs are still being created. It is practically impossible to determine whether Prop 227 has had a negative effect on the existence and/or success of non-DLI programs. Since so many students are ELLs, a thorough analysis would need to take into consideration almost

every school in the state. DLI programs continue to flourish despite Prop 227 because the legislation allows parents to sign a waiver to allow non-English instruction for more than one year (Jones, 1998b). San Francisco Unified School District has implemented district-wide bilingual opportunities, and Westminster School District's Vietnamese DLI is an example of a program launched after the enactment of Prop 227. Both school districts demonstrate that bilingual education could be successful in California in spite of Prop 227.

New York City. Despite Menken's research that showed the impact of NCLB on bilingual education, there are still numerous bilingual education programs in NYC. Her research just scratches the surface of how legislation like NCLB affects bilingual education. There is insufficient data to determine the full effect that legislation in NYC has on bilingual programs. Menken and Solorza (2014) explain that current legislation requires schools to provide ESL and bilingual services to ELLs, but some schools are failing to achieve that measure. NYC experiences complex education issues because it is both extremely diverse and very large. Increasing bilingual education would be one approach to dealing with the various challenges. However, there is currently no evidence to support that legislation is directly affecting the number of bilingual programs throughout the city.

Detroit. In Detroit, there are no anti-bilingual laws that explicitly limit bilingual education. They have numerous charter schools, but none is trying to start new language programs, such as the International Spanish Language Academy program in Minnesota. Detroit's major education reforms are reflected in Governor Rick Snyder's claim that "the education reforms expected to unfold in Detroit could serve as a template for other

communities across Michigan” (Zaniewski & Higgins, 2015, para. 1). Like NYC, they are still working to improve current bilingual education service for their students. There is insufficient data to draw a correlation between legislation and the growth of programs. New programs are not being started, so any further evaluation could only examine the success of current bilingual programs.

CHAPTER V: CONCLUSIONS AND AREAS FOR FUTURE STUDY

The conclusions are categorized by the three main conditions (demographics, university relationship, and legislation) and then by areas/questions identified for further study. This pilot study determined which factors impact the success of bilingual education programs and which do not by analyzing a small subset of programs. The following conclusions consider the significance of the three conditions.

Demographics

Compiling the demographics surrounding each program/area provided baseline data to describe the context of the bilingual education programs.

Research found that homogenous areas implement 90/10 immersion programs. The nature of the homogeneity came in two forms: areas with high numbers of the same second language speakers and areas with high numbers of English monolinguals. The students at Robbinsdale Spanish Immersion School and International Spanish Language Academy (ISLA) are primarily monolingual English speakers (Minnesota Department of Education, 2014). In order for the students to receive enough comprehensible input in the Spanish language, they begin by using 90% Spanish in the classroom (ISLA, 2014c). These two programs are in districts and a state that support education well in terms of funding and charter school opportunities (Leachman & Mai, 2014). These are suburban areas without high levels of poverty (City-data, 2015b). For example, the ISLA charter school is in one of the wealthiest districts in the Twin Cities Metro area (City-data, 2015a).

Programs that meet the needs of their students stay open after being launched. The demographics of the students in a program relates to the type of bilingual program

implemented. ISLA would be unable to implement a full Dual Language Immersion program because they currently lack sufficient native Spanish speakers to support a DLI program. Conversely, San Francisco Unified School District has large numbers of speakers of several different languages (San Francisco Unified School District, 2015). They meet the needs of their students by creating DLI programs in the most prevalent languages (Spanish, Cantonese, Mandarin, and Korean). A 90/10 immersion program would not be useful because it would not provide enough comprehensible input for the learners at an academic level for any of the languages taught. The schools that shut down their bilingual education programs in NYC were not meeting the language needs of their students whose test scores were dropping (Menken & Solorza, 2014). In Westminster School District (WSD), the new Vietnamese DLI program is tailored specifically to that area, also known as “Little Saigon” (Westminster Chamber of Commerce, n.d.). There are few other Vietnamese DLI programs in the U.S. The limited number of bilingual education programs in Detroit, especially DLI programs, reflects a predominately-monolingual English-speaking city (U.S. Census Bureau, 2013a). Hispanics and Latinos account for the largest group for which a language other than English is spoken at home: Spanish, the second most spoken language, is spoken by only approximately 6% of the population (U.S. Census Bureau, 2013a). Detroit should continue to work towards meeting the linguistic needs of its population.

The most important conclusion that can be drawn regarding the demographics of these programs and the areas they are in is that programs need to be localized to meet the linguistic needs of the students they serve. The demographics of each state, city, district, school, and even neighborhood, will be different. Thus, the needs of the students will be

different. Schools need to use the data/research/information about their students to determine the best type of program to implement. The statistics that detail success factors are available, and this information needs to be used to promote student success in bilingual education. Statistics provide programs important information about their students, including their linguistic background/resources.

Unfortunately, as this research demonstrated, statistics at the state and district level were not consistently useful or available. Analyzing statewide statistics identified little connection between statewide demographics and program existence. Programs are much too localized for that type of analysis to be successful at present.

Areas for further study. Although this research provides initial insight into the relationship between basic demographics and bilingual education programs, there are several areas of study that could be considered in future studies. One possibility is to attempt to demonstrate a significant quantitative connection between student demographical information and types of successful bilingual education programs. An in-depth analysis with more controlled factors could produce numerical data to assist education decision-makers in understanding their students and determining the best programs to implement.

Less information/research exists regarding one-way immersion programs, although some research identifies the components of a good program and how to implement a program. These programs are typically late-exit ESL programs with monolingual English as their goal. Even though these programs are much more common, there is little research about whether or not these programs address the needs of their students based on student demographics. DLI programs receive much more attention,

which shows a disparity because the one-way immersion programs are the ones with the most controversy over the “hows” and “whys” of the program. Many factors affect one-way immersion programs, and additional research could help inform how they can serve diverse demographic groups differently, as research shows that programs should be highly localized.

Just as one-way immersion programs need more research regarding demographics by program, all education programs would benefit from more information about how to use demographic statistics effectively to capitalize on the students’ resources: e.g. linguistic, family, and community. For example, programs should use the student’s home language abilities to foster bilingualism. Fostering bilingualism will occur differently based on the other students at the school; all students must be considered, not just ELLs. For this to happen, data collection needs to be localized. State or district level data does not tell program administrators or implementers how to serve much smaller group of students comprising their program best. Strategies to collect data on a local level need to be identified, evaluated, and improved. This would provide a significant opportunity for future study.

University Relationship

Several existing bilingual education programs showed a positive relationship with a university. The nature of the relationship had several dimensions. Universities supply individuals and research that work together to advocate for and have an impact on bilingual education programs. These individuals can be founders, teachers, administrators, researchers, or advocates of bilingual education programs. ISLA is an example of a program founded by individuals from the University of Minnesota’s

CARLA research program. Universities also provide teachers through teacher training programs.

One of the most important elements of the university's relationship with bilingual education programs is the research produced by the university. This can affect local bilingual education programs because the research is often conducted in the local schools and the results can directly benefit local students. The relationship between SFUSD and the research done at Stanford is an excellent example of using research to benefit local schools. The research that a university produces serves as a source of information for policymakers.

In the programs used for this research, the DLI programs had a relationship with a university. ISLA and RSI both had connections to CARLA. Their founders and several of their teachers were graduates of or researchers for the U of M. SFUSD also had a strong tie to Stanford University, which conducted much of the research they used to improve their bilingual program design. WSD used research from the Vietnamese program at CSUF to implement their curriculum.

Based on these findings, I conclude that universities positively impact the bilingual education programs that were considered by being active in promoting bilingual education in their areas. Other universities should consider stepping up in their role as advocates for bilingual education. Similarly, other bilingual education programs should seek out universities to access and use their research and the individuals who can advocate for bilingual education programs.

Areas for further study. This thesis determined that a program's relationship with a university can be a positive condition. Beyond that, more research is needed to

help define the specific attributes of this relationship. One of the biggest questions surrounds teacher-training programs. Do teacher-training programs supply teachers that are qualified to teach bilingually? Do teacher-training programs prepare mainstream English teachers to teach the ELLs in their classrooms? If so, what is the nature of that relationship? What specific aspects of the training programs support bilingual education best? Along with Krashen's (2006) earlier concern about the lack of availability of quality materials, Crawford and Krashen (2007) claim that having staff well qualified to serve ELLs is the most pressing challenge that bilingual education programs face today, so this is a significant issue that warrants further study.

Having committed advocates is a positive condition for a bilingual education program, so advocacy is another area that needs more study. For example, who are the most effective advocates for bilingual education and how can they be even better advocates? This relationship needs to be studied. Bilingual education programs need individuals, especially those from universities who conduct research, to advocate for them because of the nature of education policy. As will be discussed in more detail below, legislation may have both negative and positive impacts on education. Further research concerning university and advocacy could ask the following: what is the relationship between universities and legislation? How much influence would university research have? Who or what do lawmakers pay attention to when it comes to policy decisions? The answers to these questions can contribute to understanding how to advocate for bilingual education programs more effectively.

Finally, a central issue that needs more attention is a more precise definition of the roles universities may play in furthering bilingual education. This thesis began

answering this question by finding positive relationships, especially between the bilingual education programs and the individuals associated with universities, but this subject needs more detailed research. Examining the nature of the relationship between universities and bilingual education programs in closer detail can yield information to help strengthen or start relationships to benefit bilingual education.

Legislation

Education and policy are highly related to one another in the U.S. public school system. The initial research showed a negative correlation between anti-bilingual policies and the existence of bilingual education programs. The second stage of this research considered this relationship in more detail by comparing policy to program. There are several conclusions that can be drawn from the results.

The first interesting point is that all schools have to deal with NCLB, but some programs suffer and others do not. The bilingual education programs in NYC that Menken and Solorza (2014) observed closed because of high-stakes testing, yet Dual Language Immersion schools are cropping up in California where they have even more stringent anti-bilingual education policies. DLI programs address the needs of their students, so they suffer less from the legislation. In California, the legislation mainly impacts the bilingual education programs that are one-way immersion or ESL with monolingual English as the goal. The schools affected are not “all-in” programs in which two languages are learned equally in terms of instruction time and importance. DLI programs are able to mitigate the impact of Prop 227 because parents are able to sign a waiver saying they want bilingual instruction for their children. This waiver policy is a positive condition for the existence of bilingual education programs. These conclusions

are consistent with Krashen's conclusions in 1999 that students in Westminster School District improved in test scores because they received additional support in their first language not because bilingual programs were limited to one year.

The issue is not so much the legislation but how compliance to the legislation is enacted. There was a discrepancy between the current research and the research this thesis conducted. The initial research confirmed what seemed obvious by showing that anti-bilingual policy would negatively affect the existence of bilingual programs. For the local areas discussed in the case studies, this was true. The conclusion that anti-bilingual education affected programs in the research population cannot be generalized to cover all bilingual education programs in a state, much less in a country. Programs tend to be too localized to draw a broader conclusion.

SFUSD has created the opportunity for all of its students to access DLI bilingual education programs. SFUSD is highly diverse with enough students of several different language speaking populations to provide district-wide DLI in several languages. Leaders in the SFUSD have recognized the needs of their students and use the students' resources to meet those needs.

Legislation and funding are tied together inextricably in regard to bilingual education. Therefore, states, districts, and schools need to make the most of their funding by using research to meet the student needs as based on their demographics. Sometimes those needs are not necessarily educational, but social. For example, SFUSD provides parental support programs, from information on how to help their children with homework to how to vote. This would be an interesting area for further study: how much

do the social programs impact the success of bilingual education programs? This thesis only served to notice this piece of information.

It is interesting to note that legislation does not appear to have a negative effect on well-researched and well-supported bilingual education programs. The programs surveyed by this research are structured and supported appropriately, and thus survive despite the legislation. This means that legislation appears to affect only the poorly performing programs, not those that have shown success. While eliminating underperforming programs may be appropriate, what replaces them is just as important. SFUSD would have a completely new set of issues to deal with if they had limited all bilingual instruction to one year instead of implementing the DLI alternative. This school district needs to be studied further to determine its success factors. There are countless school districts across the country with similar demographics that could benefit from learning how they could implement DLI programs district-wide. Some of the data that is useful, such as student success in careers and college, is long-term data that takes time to produce. SFUSD can serve as a model for other school districts.

Similarly, Minnesota's DLI programs serve as a model for areas that have monolingual English speakers, and want to enhance the educational opportunities they offer students. This needs a great deal of further research. It is possible that charter schools like ISLA are forums that provide that choice within a community.

Since legislation does not appear to affect good bilingual education programs and only in some cases eliminates ineffective programs, what are the benefits of bilingual education legislation? Current legislation is based on statistics such as graduation rates and is verified by the results of high-stakes testing. I question the validity of the results of

high-stakes tests when it comes to bilingual education. In most bilingual education programs, proficiency in English comes later because learning a new language takes time, so testing ELLs in a language that they do not know well makes the tests invalid and unreliable. Even after being reclassified as English proficient, students are still taking a test in their second language. Based on the research discussed above, legislation does not seem to be a significant factor in the success of bilingual education programs. Rather, using research to identify the needs of local students and implementing programs accordingly is a more important factor.

Areas for further study. Discussing anti-bilingual legislation leads to a discussion regarding the potential impacts of pro-bilingual legislation. What if legislation mandated DLI programs for all areas in which the demographics show it would be needed/successful? This may seem improbable because of the administrative and funding issues that would come with such a transition, but *Lau v. Nichols* created just as big of an impact in 1974.

Minnesota seems to be making significant strides towards providing additional bilingual education options. Maybe it is because the citizens and lawmakers support education in general, or maybe it is because of the charter school options available to families. SFUSD has already shown that widespread bilingual education can be implemented effectively. This thesis identified the relationship between successful bilingual education and legislation, but more research needs to examine the specifics of these different conditions.

There is so much information that already exists about the benefits of bilingual education programs, and I want to continue the discussion in order to determine how to

ensure more programs are created, especially in areas where they are needed the most. It would be important to understand what information legislators and decision-makers need in order to make decisions in support of bilingual education. Who needs to know what in order to expand bilingual education? Do state lawmakers, school board members, and school administrators need to see quantifiable data about money, results, and benefits? This would be an extremely useful area for further study. This thesis began the process of identifying the data needed for decision makers to support bilingual education; others can continue this quest. Determining what lawmakers need in order to support bilingual education would allow the appropriate information to be gathered and/or researched, and presented to make a compelling case for the expansion of bilingual education.

Lawmakers cannot make informed decisions without crucial information provided by research. Without research, educational policy can become an emotional or solely political issue about race and immigration. They need the information and people who care about the information to present it and advocate for bilingual education programs.

One big question concerns what will happen if/when Prop 227 is repealed in California when voted on in 2016. Schools should be prepared to use research to modify their programs to better serve their students without the strict timeline for English reclassification. Perhaps DLI programs can be asserted as a good alternative to current bilingual education programs.

Concluding Remarks

Christian made this claim concerning bilingual education two decades ago: “The prospects are somewhat fragile, but exciting” (1996, p. 41). I concur that the prospects of bilingual education are exciting, but I would also assert that they are no longer fragile, at

least from a research standpoint. The wealth of research conducted in the last twenty years continues to shape the face of bilingual education. Researchers like Collier and Thomas (2004) have worked hard to determine the education methods and programs that best serve ELLs, a rapidly growing population within the education system. Despite anti-bilingual legislation like Prop 227 and NCLB, support for bilingual education, especially for DLI programs, has grown because the research is clear: Bilingualism provides numerous benefits, and bilingual education is effective. A growing and diversifying education system presents challenges but also opportunities for new solutions to be found. Bilingual education is a way to rise to the challenge and pursue the attainment of a quality, equitable education for all students.

I echo Krashen's statement: "Bilingual education has done well, but it can do better" (1996, p. 67). The same holds true today. As this thesis has demonstrated, there are established, successful bilingual education programs. Districts like SFUSD can serve as a model for other districts with similar demographics for implementing widespread DLI programs. States like Minnesota can serve as a model for other states that want to increase support for bilingual education programs through advocacy groups. Universities like CSUF, U of M, and Stanford can serve as models of institutions that connect with and advocate for the bilingual education community. Schools like Jackson Elementary can serve as models of a localized effort to meet the needs of students through recognizing and incorporating their linguistic abilities. These programs provide examples of the "exciting" things happening within bilingual education. But, as Krashen said, there is room for improvement.

This thesis strove to provide another piece of the puzzle leading to increased support for and numbers of bilingual education programs. Determining and analyzing the conditions that surround bilingual education programs combines with the current body of research about the components that make up a successful program. This thesis showed that one of the most important conditions of success is advocacy for bilingual education programs. Sometimes it only takes a few committed individuals, like ISLA's Karen Tehaar, to take the initiative to form a research-based program. Researchers like Kate Menken and Stephen Krashen devote their research to improving education for ELLs. It might only take one legislator, like Sen. Ricardo Lara (D-Bell Gardens), to draft a bill to repeal anti-bilingual legislation and encourage and support bilingual education opportunities. Advocacy on a policy level is vital for the continued success of bilingual education.

It is within this vein of policy that I want to continue my studies and research. This thesis established a connection between legislation and bilingual education programs, but there is more investigation to be done. I want to find out what information lawmakers need in order to support bilingual education. Unfortunately, because of related race, ethnicity, and immigration issues, education policy is rarely a nonpartisan issue, so I want to seek to find the middle ground that focuses on success for all students. Within education policy, I am especially interested in the role of charter schools in increasing success for ELLs. ISLA is a charter school that demonstrates success, but it does not serve the highest-needs areas. Just like the number of ELLs, the charter school movement is growing at significant rates. I want to see if charter schools are a forum for bilingual education programs. I firmly believe that education policy based on research that is

conducted by committed advocates and supported by appropriate legislation can improve bilingual education and eventually the entire education system. The prospects are no longer “somewhat fragile”; the state of bilingual education is strong.

APPENDIX A: TABLE 1

Table 1

Demographic Data

Location / Unit	Total Students	ELL Students	Primary Ethnicity(s)	Programs/ Notes
Minnesota (State)	857,039	8.3%	Hispanic 8.4%	85 Immersion Programs
Robbinsdale Spanish Immersion (Public School)	765	2%	Hispanic: 13.6%	K-8 Spanish Immersion (established in 1987, the 3 rd immersion program in the state)
International Spanish Language Academy (Public Charter School)	299	0.7%	Hispanic 30.4%	K-6 Spanish Immersion (An International Baccalaureate Primary Years Program)
Jackson Elementary (Public School)	415	61.2%	Asian 54.5%	Hmong Immersion (first in nation) Note: Number of Hmong in area is largest concentration (10% of MSP), second only to California in total numbers
Westminster (School District)	9720	49.5%	Asian 37% Hispanic 38%	Vietnamese Immersion - one school Note: 40.2% Vietnamese population in 2010 (US Census) in the city of Westminster (highest concentration of an incorporated U.S. city)

Location / Unit	Total Students	ELL Students	Primary Ethnicity(s)	Programs/ Notes
San Francisco (Unified School District)	57,620	28%	Latino 25% Chinese 32%	District-wide bilingual immersion (languages offered: Spanish, Cantonese, Mandarin, and Korean)
Detroit (School District)	49,870	ELL 11.63%	Hispanic 12%	French Immersion–1; Spanish Immersion–1; Multiple Immersion–1 Remaining instruction transitional or ESL
New York City (School District)	985,695	14.3%	Spanish (96,163; 61.8%) Chinese (22,170; 14.2%)	Non-English speaking at home 43.3%

Note. Data for total students, ELL students, and primary ethnicity(s) for Minnesota, Robbinsdale Spanish Immersion, International Spanish Language Academy, and Jackson Elementary from Minnesota Department of Education (2014), for programs/notes for Minnesota from Marty (2014), and for programs/notes for Jackson Elementary from Pfeifer, Sullivan, Yang, and Yang (2013A/B). Data for total students, ELL students, and primary ethnicity(s) for Westminster and San Francisco from EdData (2013), for program/notes for Westminster from U.S. Census Bureau (2013b) and Nguyen (2011), and for program/notes for San Francisco from San Francisco Unified School District (2013). Data for total students, ELL students, and primary ethnicity(s) for Detroit from MI School Data (2015). Data for New York City from New York City Department of Education (2015a).

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