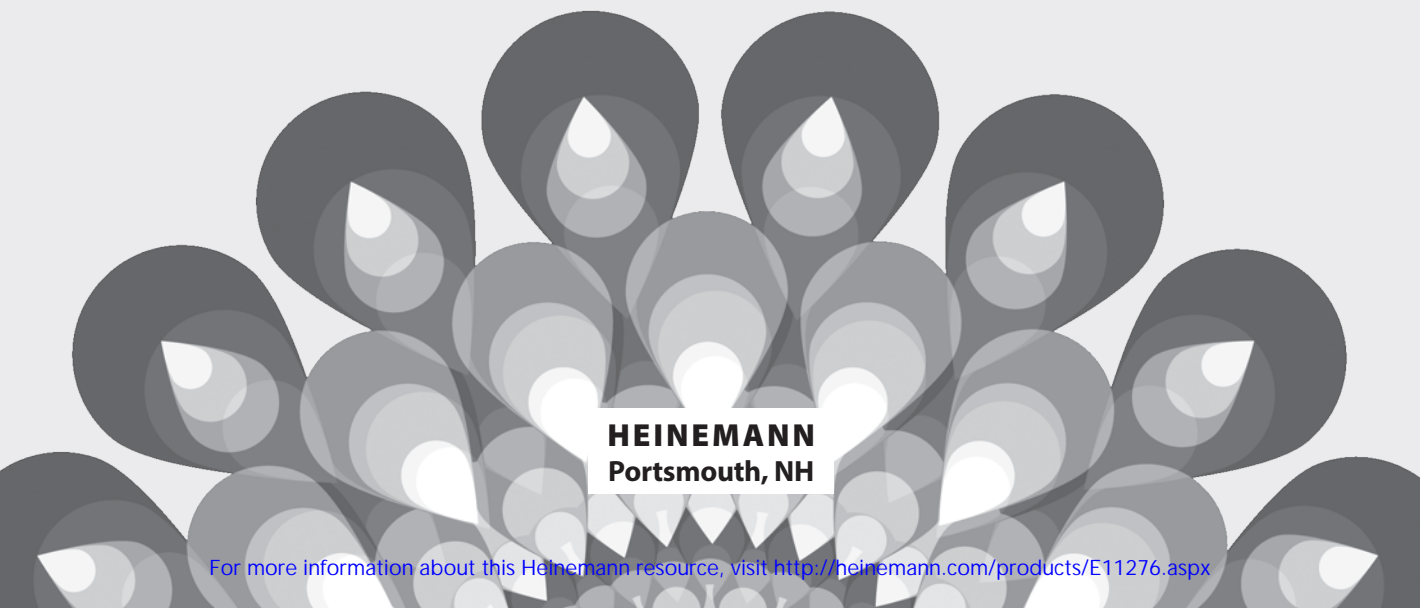


Between Worlds

Second Language Acquisition in Changing Times

David E. Freeman • Yvonne S. Freeman • Mary Soto

FOURTH EDITION



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We dedicate this book to our grandchildren, Maya, Christiana, Romero, and Alexander, who provide us with very personal lessons about acquiring language and learning to live between worlds.

—*Yvonne and David Freeman*

I dedicate this book to my husband, Francisco, a dual language teacher who has devoted his twenty-four-year teaching career to making sure that his students are proud to be bilingual and to know that they are a great asset to this country.

—*Mary Soto*

Contents

Acknowledgments ix

Introduction xi

- Chapter 1 **What Factors Influence the School Performance of Emergent Bilinguals?** 1
- Chapter 2 **Who Are Our English Learners and What Factors Affect Them?** 23
- Chapter 3 **How Do People Learn and How Do They Acquire Language?** 52
- Chapter 4 **What Influences How Teachers Teach?** 88
- Chapter 5 **How Have Views of Bilinguals Changed and What Models Have Been Used to Teach Them?** 117
- Chapter 6 **How Can Schools Provide Equitable Education for Emergent Bilinguals?** 160

References 201

Index 217

Introduction

The focus of this book, as the subtitle indicates, is to provide readers with an understanding of second language acquisition. Our goal is to make acquisition theory understandable and to suggest the implications for teaching students who are living between worlds. To accomplish this goal, we look carefully at a number of factors that influence the acquisition of a second language. One factor that we consider is how the COVID-19 pandemic is affecting schooling for English learners. As we write this book, schools are taking a variety of approaches to deliver instruction safely, but clearly the changes are having a significant impact on schooling for English learners.

Our Audience for This Fourth Edition of *Between Worlds*

The idea for writing the first edition of this book in 1994 came to us as we taught a course called Language Acquisition and Cross-Cultural Communication. The teachers in our graduate program needed a text that described different theories of language acquisition and also provided examples for putting theory into practice.

In addition, as we worked with teachers in schools, we were reminded daily that teaching multilingual/multicultural learners (MMLs) involves much more than having an understanding of theory, methods, and materials. We realized that this text needed to address linguistic, social, political, and cultural factors that influence students' learning. Our goals for this fourth edition are not different. We bring to readers what we now understand even more deeply as the result of our own work, the work of teachers around us, and the work of other researchers and theorists.

Our national, state, and local communities are constantly becoming more diverse, and both mainstream teachers and language specialists need to be able to respond to the changes in their student populations. When we wrote the first edition of this

book, there were only a few states that had large numbers of English language learners (ELLs), and in those areas, schools were only beginning to recognize the need to adapt their instruction to these students. The context has changed dramatically since 1994.

Now ELLs are attending schools across the country. Teachers and administrators need to know about their English learners (ELs) and the practices that will support their language acquisition. Even when second language students have been exited from limited English proficient (LEP) classification, they need extra support in mainstream classes. For that reason, we do not intend that the audience for this book be restricted to students taking formal coursework or to designated English as a second language (ESL) or bilingual teachers. We hope that mainstream teachers will also find this book useful. In fact, we wrote this book with several possible audiences in mind.

It is our hope that teacher educators continue to find this book useful in courses dealing with learning theory, second language acquisition, and the various factors that influence learning. These courses might be part of a preservice program for prospective teachers, part of a program for teachers wishing to continue their professional development, or part of a graduate program of study.

We have also written this book for school administrators, counselors, paraprofessionals, and parents. Administrators provide leadership in curriculum, and they support the efforts of classroom teachers. In many schools, language-minority students have become the numerical majority. For administrators to carry out their role, they need to be aware of the factors that influence the academic performance of second language students as well as their curriculum needs. Counselors with a good understanding of second language acquisition can better advise students and ensure that their schedules are appropriate for their level of English and academic proficiency.

In many classes, paraprofessionals play a key role in providing support for students learning English, especially paraprofessionals who speak these students' home languages, and the more they understand about language acquisition, the more support they can provide. Finally, we have written this book for parents and for community members interested in school improvement. Parents and other community members play a key role in the academic success of ELs. Successful programs must involve knowledgeable parents and other community members.

As we explain various theories, discuss current research, and describe classroom practice, we will provide you with opportunities to reflect on what you are reading and consider implications for application to your own situations. Since we believe that learning takes place in social interaction, we have often suggested that the reflections be completed in pairs or small groups.

The Need for a Fourth Edition

We have updated this text because of all the changes that have affected the teaching of English learners since we wrote the third edition in 2011. The current period, to quote Charles Dickens (2009), is the best of times and the worst of times, especially for ELs, their teachers, and the schools where they are being educated.

In many ways, this is the best of times. Federal government agencies and the different states have responded to the increase in the number of English learners by enacting new laws and regulations that have resulted in school districts implementing more effective programs and methods for teaching these students. These changes have come in response to greater demands for accountability. The Every Student Succeeds Act (ESSA) legislation that replaced the No Child Left Behind (NCLB) initiative states that every teacher must attend to teaching academic language as well as academic content to all students, including English learners. In addition, states like California and Massachusetts have adopted new legislation to promote bilingual education and overturn English-only laws.

Other positive changes have come as the result of new research. A good example has been the increased implementation of dual language bilingual programs in response to research showing their effectiveness. The use of translanguaging strategies in both bilingual and ESL settings is also the result of recent research being done with translanguaging in schools. A growing awareness of the benefits of bilingualism and biliteracy in the twenty-first century has led many states to adopt the Seal of Biliteracy and to promote global education.

However, in other ways, this is the worst of times for many English learners in America. Many live in poverty, have suffered from trauma, or are homeless. For this reason, as Suárez-Orozco (2018) and others point out, social-emotional learning (SEL) is a crucial component of the curriculum of any school with ELs and other immigrant students. As Suárez-Orozco states, SEL development is

an essential part of pre-K–12 education that can transform schools into places that foster academic excellence, collaboration, and communication, creativity, and innovation, empathy and respect, civic engagement, and other skills and dispositions needed for success in the 21st Century. (6)

Social-emotional factors become particularly important during times of stress. As we write this edition, many schools across the country are closed to in-classroom

teaching because of the COVID-19 pandemic. Schools are struggling to provide on-line education for students, and social inequities are increasingly noticeable. Many ELs do not have access to the internet, and families have neither the devices students need to access online platforms like Google Classroom, nor an understanding of how to use them. These factors from outside the school can have a greater impact on our students than factors within the school.

Further, the current political climate has created an atmosphere in which racist attitudes and divisions among groups of people have increased. The Black Lives Matter movement has brought renewed attention to the racist policies and practices that affect persons of color. Immigration policies have resulted in the separation of children from their parents. DACA students and other undocumented immigrants live in fear of deportation even when they complete school and find good jobs.

As the number of English learners has increased, schools in many parts of the country cannot find teachers with proper certification to teach them. In states like California and New York, the increase in dual language programs has not been matched by an increase in qualified bilingual teachers. Further, in many schools, rapid changes in the EL school population have made it difficult to develop and maintain effective programs. For example, a school with a large number of Spanish-speaking English learners may establish an effective Spanish–English dual language program and then see the population of English learners in the school community change as Burmese students or Somalis move into the neighborhood in large numbers.

With concerns about the coronavirus, some teachers worry that returning to the classroom is dangerous for their students and for themselves, especially older teachers and teachers with underlying health issues. Many teachers have chosen early retirement. Even with the development of vaccines, the possibility of virus spread is likely, given that many people may refuse to be vaccinated or to follow health recommendations.

As a result of all these changes, good and bad, we have decided to update this text in order to provide the latest thinking about language acquisition. Educators should be able to apply current learning theory as well as articulate research and theory on language acquisition, bilingualism, literacy, and academic language. This knowledge enables teachers to teach effectively and to advocate for best practices for both in-class and online teaching with colleagues at their school, as well as with parents and community members.

As we have worked with educators in different states, we have seen many more teachers working to prepare themselves to work effectively with ELs. Teachers in

small communities as well as cities in Iowa, Nebraska, Oregon, Alaska, Alabama, North Carolina, Georgia, and Kansas are learning about effective approaches to teaching their multilingual and multicultural students.

While teachers are becoming better informed, misconceptions among the general public about new immigrants and their needs have also grown. Immigrants have been blamed for economic and social ills, and there have been strong movements to limit immigration to the United States. Throughout the country anti-immigrant movements have been a concern for all those teaching second language students. We believe that it is perhaps more important now than ever before for educators to be aware of the many issues affecting the academic performance of immigrant students in our schools so that they can be advocates for all their students.

Certainly, no magic formula will ensure the academic success of any group of learners, and while this book offers examples of theory-based practices that have proved effective with a variety of students, we are aware that each learning situation is different. What works in one classroom may not apply down the hall, much less in another part of the country. We hope, however, that by identifying and discussing the factors that impact students who are learning academic content in their second or third or fourth language, we can help professionals examine their programs and their classroom practices to ensure that they are providing what is best for all their students.

In addition to continuing our own research through our reading and school visits, for this edition we have added a new coauthor, Dr. Mary Soto, who teaches in the teacher education program at California State University East Bay. This university has the most diverse student body of any university in the continental United States. Mary teaches classes for preservice and graduate inservice teachers. In addition, she works with them, observing in schools and discussing their progress with their master teachers. Since Mary works every day with teacher candidates working in classes with English learners, she provides many current examples of the contexts and practices schools are using to teach English learners. Her insights were valuable as we wrote this new edition.

Our Title

The title for this book, *Between Worlds*, reflects our conviction that in providing the best education for English learners, we must understand the different worlds students negotiate. They often move between their native countries and the United States as

well as moving between the worlds of their families and communities and the world of school.

In a sense, school is a place that is between worlds for all students. Students entering school are leaving the smaller world of their home and entering the larger world of their community. For English language learners, these two worlds are often very different. In schools, they are often surrounded by other students who speak English and whose experiences have been limited to the mainstream culture and whose attitudes and values have been shaped by mainstream views. Even in schools where the majority of the student body includes linguistically and culturally diverse students, there are few teachers or administrators who share their students' cultural or linguistic backgrounds.

Many ELs who live between worlds never fully enter the mainstream school community, and they are no longer fully part of the home culture. They may be marginalized in schools by the instruction they receive and the attitudes they encounter. In their home communities, they are often in a state of cultural ambivalence, because they are now living in a context that is no longer their home country. They struggle with maintaining their home language as they acquire English, and their home culture's values and customs often clash with those of their new country. Rather than experiencing the best of both worlds, many English learners cannot participate fully in either one.

Students who enter school as monolingual Spanish, Arabic, or Korean speakers often leave school as monolingual English speakers. They may succeed in school but find themselves no longer able to communicate fully with family and friends in the home community. These students often distance themselves from their heritage language and culture in order to become part of the mainstream. They leave behind the world of their heritage and trade that world for another.

The subtitle of our book, *Second Language Acquisition in Changing Times*, is important because, as we have already indicated, there are a number of factors that either support or limit students' access to the acquisition of English in these changing and often chaotic times. However, the subtitle also has another purpose. This book also gives those involved with English language learners access to second language acquisition research theories and examples of classroom practices that promote the acquisition of an additional language.

We hope to bring the research and theories alive for you by providing numerous examples of ways teachers have successfully supported emergent bilinguals. Educators who understand research, theory, and the real needs of their students can provide ELs

with access to their new language. With knowledge and understanding, teachers can help students living between worlds to develop the academic English proficiency and academic content knowledge they need to succeed in school.

Terms to Describe Students

We wish to comment on the terminology we use to refer to the students we write about in this book. It is always difficult to choose a descriptive term for any group because the words used may, in fact, label or limit the people in that group (Wink 1993). For example, the label used by the federal government office is *limited English proficient* (or *proficiency*) *students*. This term focuses attention on what students cannot do. All of us have limited (or no) proficiency in a number of languages.

In this introduction, we have referred to students in our schools who do not speak English as their home language as *English learners* or *English language learners*. Another term is *languages other than English (LOTE) speakers*. A commonly used term is *second language learners*. This term makes the point that these students already have another language, and English is an additional language. However, we are aware that many English learners are, in fact, adding a third, fourth, or even fifth language to their repertoire. As a result, some people use the term *multilingual learners* (*MLLs*). New York has adopted the term *multilingual learner/English language learner* (*MLL/ELL*).

Additional labels used in some parts of the country are *English for speakers of other language (ESOL) students* and *culturally and linguistically diverse (CLD) students*. All of these designations focus on what these students are trying to do—what they have in common—so we use these terms at times. In addition, preschool students who start school speaking a language other than English are referred to as *dual language learners* (*DLLs*) since they are continuing to develop their home language as they acquire English. This term does not refer to children in dual language programs. In federally funded preschool programs such as Head Start, the language of instruction is English.

The terms *emergent bilinguals* and *experienced bilinguals* (*EBs*) have been proposed by García (2009). Emergent bilinguals are students who are in the early stages of developing an additional language while experienced bilinguals are those who have developed higher levels of proficiency in an additional language. These terms refer to students who come to school speaking English and are studying in a program that teaches them an additional language as well as students who come to school speaking languages

other than English. *Emergent* and *experienced bilinguals* are positive labels that focus on the fact that these students are becoming bilingual and biliterate as they learn the academic content of school subjects.

Undoubtedly, other terms are being used to refer to students who speak languages other than English. We varied our use of these terms as we wrote this book, always being aware that it is important to be cautious about the use of any label. We also sometimes refer to students' *home language* and their *new* or *additional language*. These terms reflect the complex language resources (or linguistic repertoires) that all students develop and are preferable to first and second language. In addition, since the majority of emergent bilinguals are from Spanish-speaking countries, we use the term *Latinx* to refer to them. This newer term was coined to create a more gender-neutral word to refer to both Latinos and Latinas.

Overview of the Chapters in This Book

The six chapters in this book focus on the factors that contribute to the performance of English learners in schools, the characteristics of English learners, theories of second language acquisition, the factors that influence teachers who teach English learners, new views of bilingualism and models that have been developed for teaching English learners, and the issue of how best to provide English learners with an equitable education.

One feature that we have added to this book is a list of key points to serve as an overview for each chapter. We have also added to each chapter invitations for readers to reflect or turn and talk with other readers on sections they have read. Since we believe that learning occurs during social interaction, we encourage you to discuss the reading with others. If you are reading this for a class or as a professional learning community book study, you could use these prompts as you read and discuss the chapters. In other cases you will simply be reading the book for your own professional learning, and we offer these suggestions as a way to reflect as you read each chapter.

The first chapter explains a contextual interaction model that includes factors that influence the education of emergent bilinguals at different levels. We discuss factors at the national, state, and community levels that impact the education of emergent bilinguals in our schools.

Chapter 2 poses the question, Who are our English language learners and what factors affect them? We begin by reviewing different context-free single-cause explanations for the academic performance of ELs. Next we explain the importance of conducting case studies to learn about our emergent bilinguals. We give examples of case studies of several different types of English learners. We conclude by describing five categories of English learners and showing how the different case study students fit one of these categories.

Chapter 3 reviews theories of learning and theories of second language acquisition. We begin with current theories of learning. We review key understandings, including Vygotsky's zone of proximal development (ZPD) and his distinction between spontaneous and scientific concepts. We also explain Goodman and Goodman's description of learning as a tension between invention and convention.

Next, we turn to second language acquisition. We review Cummins' research on the difference between conversational and academic language. We also discuss how linguistic competence includes both grammatical competence and communicative competence. We describe in detail Krashen's monitor model of second language acquisition. We also discuss Swain's theory of comprehensible output. We conclude by outlining Van Lier's model of language acquisition that includes both input and output.

Chapter 4 considers factors that influence how teachers teach. We review legislative changes at the federal and state levels that affect teaching. Next, we explain different orientations toward language that have resulted in different approaches to teaching ELs. We then consider the importance of teachers' attitudes on students' success and how changes are stressful for teachers. We tell Yvonne's story of how one teacher has changed over many years of teaching in response to new research and theory. We conclude by arguing for the importance of teachers taking a principled orientation toward teaching.

We begin Chapter 5 by discussing how widespread bilingualism is in the world. Then we turn to theory and research on educating bilinguals. Changing views of bilingualism have led to changes in bilingual programs. We discuss these changes and explain how teachers can use translanguaging strategies to draw on the home languages of emergent bilinguals as they acquire English and learn academic content knowledge in English. Finally, we discuss the different program models for emergent bilinguals, including ESL and bilingual programs.

Chapter 6 considers ways teachers can provide emergent bilinguals with an equitable education. We begin by distinguishing between equity and equality. Then we

explain how schools can take an intercultural orientation and promote equity by providing linguistic and cultural equity as well as equity in materials, in signs and daily routines, in grouping, and in academic language development.

We hope that the information in this book will be useful to teachers, counselors, paraprofessionals, administrators, parents, and others involved in the education of emergent bilinguals. We are convinced that by developing a good understanding of the factors that affect second language acquisition, educators can work with parents and community members to provide an equitable education for all students, especially for the many emergent bilinguals in our schools.



1

What Factors Influence the School Performance of Emergent Bilinguals?

English learners are found in schools across the country. Some states, like California and Texas, have had large numbers of emergent bilinguals for years. Data for California and Texas in 2018–19 indicated that almost 20 percent of the students were considered English learners (CDE 2019a; TEA 2019). In other states, like Georgia and North Carolina, only 8 percent and 7 percent, respectively, were ELs in 2017–18, but those states have experienced a growth rate in emergent bilinguals of over 80 percent, a rate that is double that of other parts of the country (Sugarman and Geary 2018).

At the national level, data from the National Center for Education Statistics (nces.ed.gov) shows that the percentage of public school

Key Points

- The contextual interaction model of learning includes the factors that influence emergent bilinguals at different levels.
- At the national level, anti-immigrant attitudes have led to increased racism and immigration policies that negatively impact speakers of languages other than English.
- National education mandates influence how schools must meet the needs of English learners.
- State policies and laws dictate programs for emergent bilinguals and change if programs are not successful.
- Communities and family contexts influence the schooling success of emergent bilingual students.
- Across the country, educators are addressing the needs of ELs in diverse ways.

students in the United States identified as English learners was higher in the fall of 2017 (10.1 percent, or 5 million students) than in the fall of 2000 (8.1 percent, or 3.8 million students). All but seven states reported higher numbers of ELs in 2017 than in 2000, and ten states had a more than 10 percent gain. This increase in the number of ELs has resulted in more states implementing programs to serve these students.

The success of emergent bilinguals in schools is influenced by a complex combination of factors that goes much beyond the demographics. Just as there is no single factor that will lead to success or failure of students in general, there is no magic formula that will ensure the academic success of EBs. There are multiple influences on teachers, students, and schools that should be considered in teaching English learners. We argue for a contextual interaction model (Cortés 1986) that will be a framework for this book as we discuss effective practices for teaching students who live between worlds.

The Contextual Interaction Model

Cortés (1986) presents the factors that influence emergent bilinguals in schools with a series of concentric rings (see Figure 1–1). The outer ring consists of societal influences at the national and state levels. The next ring lists factors from the community and family levels. The center of the model contains the different school influences. Based on their research with immigrant youth, Suárez-Orozco and Marks (2016) discuss how factors from different contexts interact to influence the academic success of immigrant students. Even though not all English learners are immigrants, their list of factors applies to all English learners. They write, “Whether or not immigrant students will be successful educationally is determined by a convergence of factors” (108). They list social factors, family capital, student resources, and the kinds of schools immigrants attend. They conclude by writing, “This complex constellation of variables serves to undermine, or, conversely, to bolster students’ academic integration and adaptation” (108).

In the following sections we discuss different factors at each level of Cortés’ model, considering the current contexts for emergent bilinguals. We are well aware that factors within each context change. The key point is that factors from these contexts interact in ways that influence the school success of EBs.

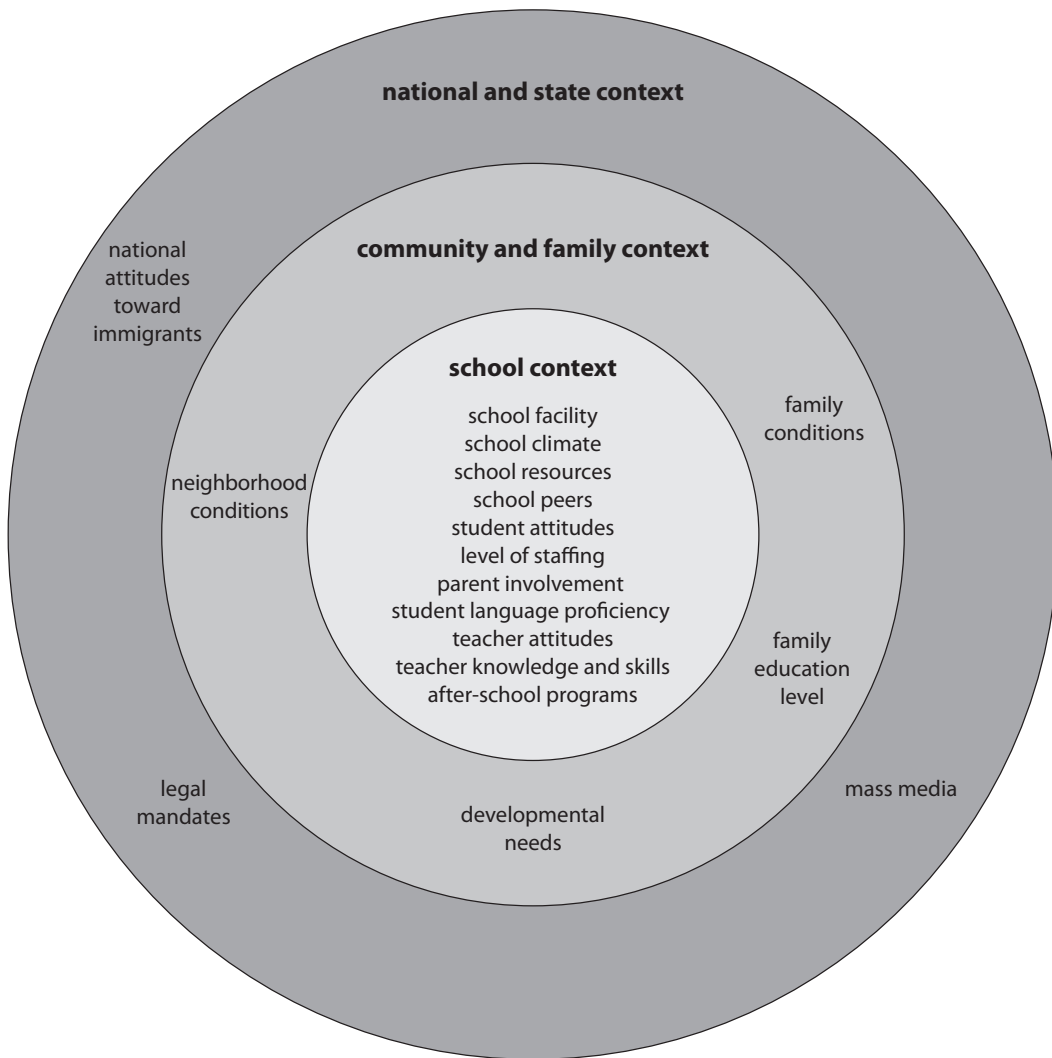


Figure 1-1 • Cortés' Contextual Interaction Model

National Context: Attitudes and Immigration

The outer ring of the contextual interaction model includes factors from the national and state levels. These include attitudes toward immigrants, the mass media's coverage of immigrant issues, and legal mandates that regulate education, including the testing requirements. We describe here the national climate at the time of this writing to show how emergent bilinguals in schools are affected by attitudes toward their languages, their cultures, their communities, and their families.

The current negative climate against immigrants and persons of color that exists has been fueled by political leaders at the national level. Each year the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) publishes their annual report titled “The Year in Hate and Extremism” (SPLC 2019) and each year the amount of hate and extremism has increased. We are well aware that events change, as do influences. Our description here focuses on some of the events, including the coronavirus pandemic, that impacted emergent bilinguals at the national level in the year 2020.

With the election of Donald Trump in 2016, there followed a rise in incidents in which immigrants were targeted for their linguistic, cultural, and religious differences. There have been frequent incidents where people felt justified in abusing immigrants both verbally and physically, especially Asian Americans, since the virus was thought to have originated in China. For example, people speaking a language other than English in public experienced abuse from strangers who resented hearing any language other than English spoken (Horowitz 2019). Negative attitudes leading to incidents like these are often shaped by the mass media, including TV shows, newspaper articles, and radio talk shows.

Anti-immigrant attitudes in this country are not new. Little more than a century ago, Irish, Italian, and Jewish immigrants were ostracized and were only gradually assimilated into the mainstream. A new wave of anti-immigrant sentiment leading to deep political, racial, and cultural divisions arose with the election of Donald Trump (Horowitz 2019). Trump’s campaign promises to restrict Muslim immigration, build a wall between the United States and Mexico, and resurrect stop-and-frisk policies for police caused culturally and linguistically diverse learners, many of whom were emergent bilinguals, great anxiety. The day after his election some students arrived in schools in tears. Many feared they or their parents would be deported, and others, including many Muslim students, were confused and frightened by attacks on what they believed and held sacred (Deruy, Wong, and Glatter 2016).

During his time in office, the president continued to fuel these fears by his policies and rhetoric. He insisted that immigrants took American jobs and that the American way of life was threatened by them and movements like Black Lives Matter. There was an increase of white supremacist groups, such as neo-Nazis, anti-Muslim, antisemitism, anti-immigrant, and conspiracy groups like QAnon (Beirich and Buchanan 2018). This culminated in an insurrection and attack on the U.S. Capitol led by extremist group members trying to thwart the certification of Biden’s presidential win, believing they could keep Trump in power. After Trump’s election, there was an

increase of white supremacist groups, including neo-Nazis, anti-Muslim groups, and anti-immigrant groups (Beirich and Buchanan 2018).


The immigrant children in schools have had other reasons to fear beyond acts of racism and hate. Many are constantly worried about deportation. The Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA), an American immigration policy that allowed over seven hundred thousand immigrants who were brought to the country as children of undocumented parents to receive a renewable two-year period of deferred action from deportation, was announced by President Barack Obama in June 2012. Although the bipartisan Dream Act allowing those in DACA a path to citizenship was submitted to Congress, it did not pass. Although in 2017 Trump's Attorney General declared the Act unconstitutional and illegal, the Supreme Court blocked this move. In 2021, President Biden is moving to provide Dreamers with a path to citizenship.

Other Trump immigration policies included the deportation of parents and sometimes families who have lived in this country for years without legal status. Many of these deportees have contributed in important ways to their communities. In addition, refugee children were separated from their parents as the families tried to enter the United States. In 2018, three thousand children were separated from their parents, and when the public outcry demanded a stop to the policy, the administration could not find information on many of the children to reunite them. As recently as 2019 *The New Yorker* (Gessen 2019) reported that the administration had continued to separate over 1,500 children and parents without public knowledge. The constant bombardment of this kind of news instills fear in students in schools and creates challenges for teachers trying to support these students' learning.


A clear example of this comes from Francisco's third-grade dual language bilingual classroom. In his classroom students read and write daily and discuss a variety of topics including current events based on what the children see on television and in articles they read together from online sources, including Newsela (<https://newsela.com/>). Francisco has his students write in journals and create their own stories for books to publish for the class library. His students choose their own topics for their writing. During Spanish language arts time his student Noemi worked on the beginning of a book that clearly showed how the news about parents and children being separated was on her mind. Figures 1–2a, b, c, and d are her unedited drafts describing a girl anxiously awaiting a visit with her parents, who were separated from her at the border when she was a baby.

Un día, Analayah ^{Capítulo 2}
estaba muy
emocionada. Hiba
a visitar a sus
padres después
de mucho tiempo.
Sus padres la
habían abandonado
cuando estaba
recién nacida.
Pero, no se pre-
ocupen. No la

abandonaron
porque no la
querían. La
tuvieron que
abandonar por
causa de la migra.
Sus padres



no eran de los
Estados Unidos.
Eran de México.
Entonces estaba
empaquetando sus
cosas. Libros,
ropa, colores,



tuallas, teléfono,
papel, y más
importante,
pasaporte.

One day Analayah was very emotional. She was going to visit her parents after a long separation. Her parents had abandoned her soon after she was recently born. But, don't worry. They didn't abandon her because they didn't love her. They had to leave her because of the immigration officials. Her parents were not from the United States. They were from Mexico. They were packing their things [to take]. Books, clothes, crayons, towels, telephone, paper and more. And most important their passport.

Figure 1-2a-d • Noemi's Story

Gessen wrote, “The Trump Presidency is, in its way, like Halloween, but the R-rated, slasher-movie version: a festival of violence, cruelty, and fear” (2019, 1). Trump’s politics built on different fears including immigrants committing crimes in cities, non-Christian groups invading the country, and “most of all, fear of immigrants who take your jobs and disadvantage your children and future hopes” (2). A truly frightening example showing how Trump opposed immigration was the help-build-the-wall activity at a yearly White House Halloween party. Children of White House staff members were invited to add bricks of paper with their names on them on a construction paper wall that represented the border wall built to separate the United States and Mexico and keep out immigrants (Gessen 2019). These actions instill fear in students in schools and make it difficult for teachers to know how to support their students’ learning when they are concerned about these issues.

REFLECT OR TURN AND TALK

The politics and policies under the Trump administration had a profound influence on emergent bilinguals and their families. What is the present political situation related to immigrants and what are the attitudes toward them at your school and in your community? How are these issues directly addressed?

National Context: Educational Mandates

Legal mandates on education at the national level also provide a context that influences the schooling of emergent bilinguals. The Every Student Succeeds Act (ESSA) of 2020 requires that schools test ELs after only a short time in the United States. The act has had the positive effect of drawing attention to the needs of emergent bilinguals. There is a better understanding that every teacher is a teacher of language and content. ESSA replaced the NCLB act, which relied on “scientifically based” research that often resulted in drilling of students on grammar and phonics without giving them instruction in meaningful academic content. However, the new standards of the ESSA are very rigorous, and the testing is difficult even for native English speakers.

National and State Levels: Legal Mandates

In 2016, because of ESSA, programs for English learners were placed in Title I instead of Title III and the emphasis of language instruction educational programs (LIEPs) changed so that programs were directed to help students develop academic language in the content areas to compete with native English speakers. In addition, each state was required to develop language proficiency standards for ELs that included speaking, listening, reading, and writing, and were aligned with the challenging state academic standards (US Department of Education 2016). LIEP also called for instruction to take into account varying proficiency levels of English learners.

The language proficiency standards and the emphasis on effective programs have led to an improvement in instruction of English learners. However, emergent

bilinguals are still required to be tested after only one year in schools, too short a time for newcomers to catch up with native English speakers.

REFLECT OR TURN AND TALK

Are you aware of the language proficiency standards for English learners in your state? How is your school or a school you are familiar with working to help emergent bilinguals meet the language proficiency standards? If you are not aware, how can you find out more?

State-Level Legal Mandates

Legal mandates at the state level have also impacted schooling for emergent bilinguals. In 1998, 2000, and 2002, respectively, California, Arizona, and Massachusetts passed laws restricting the use of students' home languages for instruction despite research showing the benefits of home-language instruction for academic success (August and Shanahan 2006). As a result, 40 percent of the English learners in the country were restricted from receiving home-language support in their instruction (Mitchell 2019). In addition, Arizona's Proposition 203 restricted the method of English instruction, requiring four hours of sheltered English immersion (SEI) instruction for English learners, which segregated them from native English speakers. In the last few years, all three states have made major changes in their views of bilinguals and how to educate them.

CALIFORNIA

In 2011, California approved a bill to recognize a State Seal of Biliteracy, marked by a gold seal on students' diplomas or transcripts. The seal recognizes high school graduates who have attained a high level of proficiency in speaking, reading, and writing one or more languages in addition to English (CDE 2020). Currently, thirty-nine states and the District of Columbia offer the seal.

Then in 2016, Californians passed Proposition 58, a bill that allowed California schools to offer multilingual programs to ensure students could become proficient in English and, at the same time, be allowed to learn in other languages. Dual language

bilingual programs are on the rise in the state, and the California Department of Education has set goals in the Global California 2030 Initiative of having half of all K–12 students participate in programs leading to proficiency in two or more languages and by 2040 having three in four students reach proficiency (CDE 2019b). The state suggests that schools provide one or more of six types of programs to develop proficiency, including dual language bilingual as the first option.

MASSACHUSETTS

Since the passage of Question 2 in Massachusetts in 2002, which called for all public schoolchildren, with limited exceptions, to be taught all subjects in English and placed in English language classrooms, emergent bilinguals in the state have scored low on standardized tests. Many English learners have performed below grade level and only 64 percent were graduating in four years, compared with 88 percent of native English speakers. Because of the success in other states with dual language education and programs that allowed the use of students' home languages and the popularity across the country of the Seal of Biliteracy, which puts a high value on bilingualism, the state changed its English-only stance. In 2017 the Massachusetts legislature passed a bilingual education bill, Language Opportunity for Our Kids (LOOK), that allows local school districts flexibility in tailoring programs for the more than ninety thousand students who are not fluent in English (Glatter 2017). This has led to high interest in dual language bilingual education and the implementation of new programs.

ARIZONA

After the passage of Arizona's English-only law, Proposition 203, in 2000, academic growth for English learners continually declined. The law required that all emergent bilinguals be segregated for four hours each day for SEI instruction. This practice not only segregated ELs from native English speakers but kept them from receiving important academic content instruction.

By 2008 state officials began to see that states with English-only initiatives had a greater achievement gap than states that did not, and doubts as to the effectiveness of Proposition 203 began to arise, but it wasn't until California passed Proposition 58 and Massachusetts passed the LOOK act that state educators began to look closely at the approach the state was taking for educating emergent bilinguals.

Business leaders, educators, and legislators were influenced by the Seal of Biliteracy movement as they began to see the value of bilingualism. In 2017, Arizona had the lowest graduation rates for English learners in the country. Only 18 percent graduated,

compared with 75.7 percent of all other graduates (Sanchez 2017). That was 25 percent below the national average (Mitchell 2019). By 2019 it was clear that attitudes toward teaching English learners had changed, as reflected in a quote from the state superintendent of schools: “Our best examples of teaching English well do so with great respect to, and use of, the native language” (Mitchell 2019, 11). At the time of this writing, HCR2026, the proposition to repeal Proposition 203, has passed both houses of the Arizona legislature but has not been approved by the voters because it was not on the 2020 ballot.

Research has shown that Spanish speakers, who make up the majority of English learners, succeed academically at higher rates when they are placed in bilingual or dual language programs where they can draw on their home language as they learn English and other academic content subjects. As a result, there has been an increase of these programs available.

REFLECT OR TURN AND TALK

How do you feel about teaching English learners using their home language(s)? How do you respond to the fact that two states have rescinded their English-only stance? How do you think teachers and the community you live in feel about teaching using students’ home languages?

However, there are other factors that influence the success of Latinx students in schools. Gándara (2017) points out that Latinx students make up 25 percent of the K–12 school population in the United States, a growth from 8 percent in 1980. This growth is not primarily the result of immigration, but simply of the explosion of the population of Latinx already living in the country. For example, more than 90 percent of Latinx children were born in this country. While two-thirds of the Spanish-speaking Latinx are of Mexican origin, the rest come from a variety of countries, including Puerto Rico, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, and Central and South America.

While most of the Latinx population live in the traditional states of California, Arizona, New York, New Jersey, Illinois, and Texas, there has been a dramatic shift in

where they live. In 1980, 1.1 percent lived in the southern states of Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, North and South Carolina, and Tennessee. By 2015, 12.1 percent lived in those states, changing communities and schools. These states are new to the issues related to these students, and schools are often overwhelmed when they try to meet the needs of an influx of emergent bilinguals. These students “tend to share many demographic characteristics, such as low educational attainment, high rates of poverty, and a longtime presence in the continental United States” (Gándara 2017, 5).

REFLECT OR TURN AND TALK

Is your state a state that has always had many English learners, or is the growth of the emergent bilingual population relatively new? Do you believe your state and your school have responded with support for teachers who work with English learners? What kinds of supports are available?

Family and Community Contexts

Researchers point out that the effects of the community and family contexts lead to academic struggles for Latinx students, by far the largest group of English learners (Gándara and Contreras 2009). Many live in neighborhoods where there is a prevalence of poverty and limited availability of preschools, social services, and recreational facilities. Children in these communities often do not have access to extracurricular school activities either. Evidence suggests that children who participate in high-quality after-school programs spend more time on educational activities and perform better academically (Lauer et al. 2006; Miller 2003). Extracurricular activities, however, are often difficult for English learners to participate in because of the cost, lack of transportation, after-school jobs, or family responsibilities, or simply because they do not feel welcome.

Often Latinx students live in neighborhoods with underperforming schools. Research has shown that “many parents may not have the time or knowledge to evaluate the quality of their children’s education” and may not feel empowered to press schools to improve the education of their children (Gándara 2017, 6). In addition, Latinx

students and English learners from other ethnic groups are isolated from mainstream society. As a result, they seldom encounter peers who are knowledgeable about opportunities outside their neighborhoods or who go on to postsecondary education.

Both Gándara and Contreras (2009) and Suárez-Orozco and colleagues (2008) are concerned about the segregation that new immigrants and other English learners experience at school. Gándara and Contreras point out that “approximately half of all Latino students in Texas and California attend intensely segregated (90 to 100 percent minority) schools, and more than three-quarters of these schools are also high-poverty schools” (2009, 113).

This applies to all immigrants, including emergent bilinguals. As Suárez-Orozco and colleagues write, “The new segregation tends to be not just about color or race, but about poverty and linguistic isolation—so-called triple segregation” (2008, 89). Within these schools emergent bilinguals generally spend time with other English learners, rarely interacting with native-born students, even those of their same ethnic groups.

Gándara and Contreras and Suárez-Orozco and colleagues discuss how neighborhood schools can be dangerous places for immigrants. Safety, in particular, was an issue cited by both sets of authors. Gándara and Contreras found that 10 percent of Latinx students do not feel safe at school or on their way to school. In describing the schools they studied, Suárez-Orozco and colleagues state that “rather than providing ‘fields of opportunity,’ all too many were ‘fields of endangerment’” (2008, 89). For example, they describe in detail a large, poorly cared-for school in a run-down neighborhood with buildings covered with graffiti announcing the presence of five different gangs. The school has students who are Latinx, Blacks, Asians, Filipinos, Pacific Islanders, Native People, and a few who are white, but the racial groups stay separated. As the authors point out, “when the groups come together, it is usually to fight” (98). A murder suspect was arrested on campus, and on one section of the school grounds an Asian boy was beaten up by a Mexican boy who saw the Asian boy talking to his girlfriend. In another incident, a girl was gang-raped there. No school guards ever watched that part of campus. It is clear that this campus was not a safe place for learning.

IMMIGRATION

Suárez-Orozco and colleagues (2008) investigated factors related to the difficulties of the process of migration for new immigrants, including Latinx but also Asians, and the profound effect that both family separations and then later reunifications have on newcomers. Immigrant children often have to adjust not only to a new language, a new school, and a new country but also to a new family.

REFLECT OR TURN AND TALK

What kinds of neighborhoods do students in schools that you teach in or have observed live in? Do you see obstacles for students because of where they live and their economic situations?

For example, our son-in-law Francisco, from El Salvador, was separated from his mother for seven years, from the time he was seven until he was fourteen. While she established a home in the United States, Francisco's grandmother took care of him and his older brother, with only two short visits from his mother. When the time came to move to the United States, Francisco felt he was going to live with a stranger. Francisco's experience is not unusual among immigrant children in our schools.

Immigrant families and communities where they live exert a strong influence on the success or failure of emergent bilinguals in schools. It is critical, then, that the schools be aware of these factors as they plan for programs to meet the needs of their students. It is important for schools to consider how to meet the specific needs of the students in their communities.

REFLECT OR TURN AND TALK

What are the issues that affect the immigrant communities in your area? Are immigration issues a problem for the English learners in your school or in schools in your community? Discuss any situations you are familiar with.

School Context

Cortés (1986) points out several factors that should be part of any approach to teaching English learners in schools. Teacher knowledge and skills as well as teacher attitudes impact the school context. Emergent bilinguals have a greater chance for

success in a school with adequate numbers of highly qualified teachers with background in second language acquisition, second language teaching, linguistics, and cross-cultural communication. The presence of counselors with training in working with second language students is also essential. School resources, including bilingual libraries and adequate technology access, are important for success as well. As is true in all schools with strong parent involvement, programs that include the parents of culturally and linguistically diverse students result in better outcomes for emergent bilingual students.

REFLECT OR TURN AND TALK

How prepared to work with emergent bilinguals are the teachers, counselors, and administrators in your school or in a school you are familiar with? What resources are available for emergent bilinguals? Are parents of the English learners in the school involved in meaningful ways?

Contextual Interactions in Different Schools

In order to show how the interaction of different factors influences our emergent bilinguals in schools, we describe the factors impacting emergent bilinguals in six schools in different parts of the country. We describe an elementary school, a middle school, a dual language elementary school and a dual language high school, a school district, and an entire state. As we have worked with educators across the country, we have constantly been impressed by how differently English learners are perceived and served. As you read over these scenarios, think about the schools in your area. How are these stories similar to what you have observed? How are they different? What factors are influencing these students, the teachers, and the schools themselves?

Texas Border Elementary School

An elementary school located next to the old town plaza of a border city in Texas is a neighborhood school with a student population of almost all children of Mexican

origin. The school is a meeting place for this community, and Spanish is heard everywhere around the school. This area is one of the highest poverty districts in the state. There is constant tension felt in this neighborhood because of continuous gang problems directly across the border, stricter immigration policies leading to deportations of undocumented family members and friends, and the presence of a new migrant detention center a few blocks away.

The school's dedicated teachers, who are themselves bilingual, struggle to help the 71 percent of the student body who are designated as English learners. Some first language support is provided, but the district's philosophy is one of English immersion, so most instruction is delivered through English as a second language or transitional bilingual education (TBE) for newcomers and students not yet proficient in English. Students are exited out of any home language support as soon as possible or taught only in English. Despite the dedication and the good intentions of the staff, students struggle with the state's standardized tests, and 84 percent of the students are identified as at risk of dropping out.

New York City Middle School

An ethnically diverse middle school in Brooklyn, New York, has approximately three hundred students from over twenty-one countries and is a microcosm of the surrounding community, which is predominantly African and Caribbean. Several of the students are refugees from areas of Africa that have experienced the violence of ethnic wars. Many of the students are undocumented and have suffered trauma. The principal of the school reported that thirty of the students are homeless, and many others live in challenging home situations (Ebe and Chapman-Santiago 2016).

Students in the school speak nine different languages in addition to English. The largest numbers are native Spanish, Haitian Creole, and Fulani speakers. Other language groups include French, Arabic, Bengali, Mandinka, Sonike, and Twi. Around one-fourth of the students have been identified as emergent bilinguals. Quite a few of these have also been classified as students with interrupted formal education (SIFE). The school's program for emergent bilinguals was originally a Spanish-English bilingual program, but because the school's population has shifted to include so many diverse languages, the school now has implemented an ESL push-in model where ESL specialists work with content teachers to support ESL students in mainstream classrooms. Teachers in the school realize that their students face many challenges so they "have gotten to know their students well in order to

tailor the curriculum to build on the backgrounds, knowledge, and strengths they bring to the classroom” (Ebe and Chapman-Santiago 2016, 58).

Dual Language School in Houston, Texas

Cedar Brook is an elementary dual language bilingual school in a large district in Houston, Texas. The district has forty-seven schools and 35,022 students. Fifty-six percent of the students in the district are economically disadvantaged and 34 percent are emergent bilinguals. The students speak over seventy-two different home languages other than English, but the majority home language of the emergent bilinguals in the district is Spanish.

Because of the large numbers of Spanish speakers, both one-way and two-way dual language programs are offered in several schools. One-way dual language programs are for students from Spanish-speaking backgrounds who come to school speaking Spanish, English, or both with various degrees of proficiency. Two-way dual language programs have an equal number of native English and native Spanish speakers. In both programs, the content is taught in both Spanish and English with the goal of having students become bilingual and biliterate in Spanish and English (Freeman, Freeman, and Mercuri 2018).

At Cedar Brook, almost 79 percent of the students are identified as at risk and 77.3 percent as economically disadvantaged. Of the almost nine hundred students, over 80 percent are served in one of the two dual language programs (one-way or two-way). The dual language programs are helping students at Cedar Brook succeed. The school profile shows that student achievement in 2017 was up 10 percent, student progress increased by 35 percent, and performance gaps were closed by 25 percent. However, the leadership of the school and the central office have changed. In addition, the population in the neighborhood is in constant flux. These kinds of changes influence everything that takes place at Cedar Brook, and the future of the effective dual language programs is not clear.

High School in Chicago Suburbs

Highland Park High School is located in an affluent suburb of Chicago. It is a large high school with a population of over two thousand students. The school population has stayed stable, but the demographics of the school has changed fairly recently with an influx of Latinx students. While the school is still 71 percent white, 26 percent of the present student body is now Latinx.

The district has implemented dual language programs in elementary and middle schools over the past several years, and parents of students in the dual language programs have been eager for their children to continue their studies in two languages into high school. This parental support and the change of demographics have prompted school administrators and faculty to take a hard look at their programs. One of the things they noticed was that although only 3.4 percent of the Latinx students in the school were identified as needing home-language support, many other seemingly English proficient Latinx were not succeeding in school. They could speak and understand English, but they struggled to read and write at grade level, all characteristics of long-term English learners.

The principal of the school advocated to his faculty and the community for a dual language program at the high school to help these students succeed. He pointed out to faculty that the demographic data demonstrated the increase of Spanish-speaking families in their community, and he shared research that showed that dual language is the only program that effectively eliminates the achievement gap for those emergent bilingual learners. To convince the community that dual language was an option, he presented the vision of what twenty-first-century students need in order to be successful in an increasingly globalized, interconnected world (Partnership for 21st Century Learning 2019). The school is only beginning to implement dual language, and the program already has a reputation for high academic rigor, and early results show that all students are succeeding academically (Freeman, Freeman, and Mercuri 2018). However, as with the school in Houston, leadership changes have taken place. The principal who advocated for the dual language program has left. As the contextual interaction model indicates, these changes may affect the program either positively or negatively.

A Large School District in the Midwest

While one expects to find multilingual students from many different countries in metropolitan centers like New York City and Chicago or border states like Texas and California, the Midwest is not usually thought of as a place where one might find lots of diversity. Omaha Public Schools (OPS) defies this assumption. OPS is the largest school district in the state of Nebraska, with over fifty-three thousand students reported in the 2019–2020 year. Of these students, 75 percent were students of color. The English learner population was 9,540 (<https://district.ops.org>). The English learner population grew 500 percent in the last twenty-three years and makes up almost 18 percent of all the students in the district (Muñiz 2019).

While most emergent bilinguals in the district are US-born, 11 percent of the entire district population is foreign-born and 5 percent are refugees. The majority of emergent bilinguals in schools are Spanish speakers, and the refugee population has grown 123 percent between 2009 and 2019. There are over 120 different languages spoken by students in the district, including Karen, Somali, Nuer, and Nepali. In addition to Nepal and Somalia, refugee students come from places like Bhutan, Ethiopia, Kenya, Myanmar, Sudan, and Thailand (Muñiz 2019). The support system is well developed in the district, and attitudes toward refugees are positive. Muñiz (2019) described refugee students as bringing “enormous strengths to their new classrooms, including extraordinary resilience, high educational aspirations, and diverse cultural backgrounds” (para 1).

The district provides multiple supports for the EL populations and their families. At the district level, EL teacher leaders and teacher trainers, a refugee specialist, and dual language supervisors work together to ensure a coordination of efforts in the sixty-two elementary schools, twelve middle schools, seven high schools, and thirteen alternative programs. To meet student needs there are dual language programs and both elementary and secondary ESL programs.

Closely connected to the ESL program is the Yates Community Center. The Omaha Public Schools is part of the Yates Educational Community Partnership, which helps newcomers adjust to life in Nebraska. The district provides full- and part-time personnel for the center including a student and family advocate, bilingual liaisons, interpreters, and childcare workers. Veronica Hill, the teacher leader based at the center, explains the goals of the center: “We help families to integrate successfully and to mitigate some of the stress, change, and trauma involved in being in a new place so that parents can be happy and successful and they can pass that on to their kids” (Muñiz 2019, para 5). The center provides ESL, citizenship, computer, and sewing courses for refugees in the community. In addition, they connect families with resources within the community to help make their difficult transition to life in this country less stressful.

The district is committed to meeting the needs of its diverse student body. The English learner core beliefs include giving students opportunities to practice and produce academic language, ensure that ELs can participate fully in rigorous lessons and achieve high academic standards.” Students’ languages and cultures are nurtured, and English language proficiency standards guide the culturally responsive curriculum (<https://district.ops.org>).

Testing results as well as graduation rates show that this commitment is helping the district’s emergent bilingual students reach grade-level proficiency and graduate.

Omaha Public Schools is dedicated to meeting the needs of a linguistically and culturally diverse student body, and the district's advocacy approach to the academic and social needs of students and families has led to success for emergent bilinguals there.

California

We mentioned California earlier, but because this state has the most emergent bilinguals, with 29 percent of all the English learners in the country (Sanchez 2017), it seemed important to give more details about what is being done in the state to try to meet the needs of English learners. As of the spring of 2019, the California State Department of Education reported that a total of 1,195,988 students in California schools were classified as English learners. The number represents 19.3 percent of the total school population for the state. Almost 42 percent of all students in California's very diverse state speak a language other than English at home. While 82 percent of these emergent bilinguals speak Spanish as a first language, there are over sixty-seven home languages reported for students in the schools. Other top-ten languages spoken in schools include Vietnamese (2.21 percent), Mandarin (1.87 percent), Arabic (1.53 percent), Filipino (1.25 percent), Cantonese (1.21 percent), Korean (.81 percent), Punjabi (.77 percent), Russian (.75 percent), and Hmong (.69 percent) (CDE 2019a).

The majority of emergent bilinguals in California, 70.2 percent, are in elementary schools in grades kindergarten through sixth grade, yet the remaining older learners also have important needs to be met. Types of ELs in the state are diverse, including newcomers, long-term English learners, students with interrupted formal schooling, students with disabilities, and gifted students.

In 1998, California voters passed Proposition 277, the English for the Children initiative. This proposition curtailed bilingual education and stipulated English immersion for one year for ELs. However, these mandates did not result in positive academic outcomes for ELs. An increased attention to Common Core State Standards led California to develop an ELA/ELD (English language arts/English language development) framework in 2015 that called for the development of academic language across the subject areas for English learners (CDE 2015).

Two years later the new federal ESSA requirements calling for accountability for all students including emergent bilinguals inspired educators in the state to develop the *California English Learner Roadmap: Strengthening Comprehensive Educational Policies, Programs, and Practices for English Learners* (Hakuta 2018). This document lays out in detail research-based policies, programs, and practices for the states' ELs.

Other important supports for English learners include the passage in 2016 of Proposition 58, the California Education for a Global Economy Initiative, and the Seal of Biliteracy, a multilingual initiative that gives recognition to students who have studied and attained proficiency in two or more languages by high school graduation. Proposition 58, approved by 73.5 percent of California voters, repealed some of the restrictions on bilingual education and provided districts with flexibility in the programs they offer, including dual language bilingual programs.

The *California English Learner Roadmap* (Hakuta 2018) calls on California schools to welcome and respond to the diversity emergent bilinguals bring. The mission of schools should also be “to prepare graduates with the linguistic, academic and social skills and competencies they require for college, career, and civic participation in a global, diverse and multilingual world” (50).

The document lays out four key principles that schools should follow. These principles are research based and promote success for emergent bilinguals everywhere. Principle 1 states that schools should value emergent bilinguals’ cultural and linguistic abilities. In addition, schools should value and build strong partnerships with families and communities. Principle 2 calls for schools to provide ELs with meaningful access to the full curriculum and give them the opportunity to develop English and other languages. Principle 3 requires that every level of the school system have both leaders and educators who are knowledgeable of and responsive to the needs of English learners and their communities and that assessments inform instruction and lead to school improvement. Principle 4 expresses the need for a coherent and well-articulated set of practices across grade levels that lead to college and career readiness and participation in a global, multilingual twenty-first-century world.

In “Facts About English Learners in California,” the California Department of Education sets goals to ensure that English learners acquire full proficiency in English and attain parity with native speakers of English, and that ELs meet the same grade-level academic standards expected of native speakers (CDE 2019a). The CDE suggests the following programs to meet those goals: dual language immersion programs, transitional developmental programs, or structured English immersion. We provide a detailed description of these programs for emergent bilinguals and others in Chapter 5 on bilingualism. California has laid out detailed information about EBs and developed standards and goals that are critical in a state where there is so much cultural and linguistic diversity and there are so many students that need organized support.

Despite these efforts, the coronavirus pandemic has impacted California schools in unexpected ways. The Californians Together organization conducted a survey of 650 teachers. They concluded that

the results were sobering. Just 17 percent of respondents reported that most of their ELs were regularly participating in distance learning each week. More than half of the respondents said that the majority of their ELs weren't participating weekly, which could be due at least in part to the fact that ELs' families are disproportionately likely to be marginalized by digital divides and reliable internet connectivity. One-third of survey respondents said their districts hadn't ensured that all ELs had access to the internet this spring for virtual learning through school closures. (Hernandez 2020)

The article provides ten helpful tips for providing effective instruction for ELs, but clearly, as this report shows, ELs in California are falling behind in learning despite the state having made many efforts to improve learning for emergent bilinguals.

REFLECT OR TURN AND TALK

The examples in this chapter are meant to provide a snapshot of the diverse school settings of emergent bilinguals and the programs that serve these students. How are these vignettes similar to what you have observed in your school or in schools you know about? How does California's commitment to ELs compare with your state's commitment? What do you see as differences? What factors in schools in your area are influencing emergent bilinguals, the teachers, and the schools themselves?

Conclusion

The contextual interaction model is dynamic. Societal and educational contexts constantly change as new families enter the community and the school. For example, when we visited the Midwest, educators were talking about the impact large numbers

of refugees from Somalia were having on their classrooms. These educators had adjusted for their immigrants from Mexico, but immigrants from another part of the world brought new challenges. Teachers in the Southeast had questions about the growing numbers of Latinx and Hmong students in their schools. There had been some Mexican students in the past, but now their Latinx population was changing, and the Southeast Asians brought new cultural and educational challenges.

Cortés' model is a two-way model. The school context is influenced by the larger social context at different levels, from national to family. It is also important to understand that the social context is impacted by attitudes, knowledge, and skills of the students who graduate and achieve some economic success. Some do return to their neighborhoods, where they serve as role models for students still in schools, but many move away. These immigrants change the mainstream community, but their departure from the neighborhoods where they attended school negatively impacts the immigrant communities. Parents and grandparents often feel abandoned. On the other hand, if educated immigrants return to their communities, they often present a challenge to traditional values.

The children of educated immigrants may feel conflicted because they are not sure of their own values or identities. Suárez-Orozco and colleagues (2008) describe poignantly the feelings of the immigrant Chinese and Haitian parents whose children are succeeding academically but losing some of their Chinese and Haitian roots.

Students' success or failure results from complex interactions of dynamic contexts. No single factor can explain success or failure, but change in any one area may alter the dynamics of the whole system in such a way that success is more or less likely.