

CHAPTER 7

The Linguistic Isolation of Hispanic Students in California's Public Schools: The Challenge of Reintegration

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According to Frankenberg, Lee, and Orfield (2003), segregation for black students declined substantially after the landmark 1954 U.S. Supreme Court decision, *Brown v. Board of Education*, reaching its lowest point 30 years later. Since this low point, however, because of changing policies governing school desegregation (e.g., the termination of desegregation orders in many areas of the country) as well as increasing residential segregation, American public schools have increasingly become *resegregated* as the proportion of black students in majority white schools has decreased. In the 2000–01 school year, for example, black students in Atlanta and Chicago attended schools in which white students were only 3% of the students enrolled.

By comparison, Latino students have experienced “steadily rising segregation since the 1960s” (Frankenberg & Lee, 2002, p. 2). Unlike black students who have been the focus of desegregation orders and Office of Civil Rights enforcements, Latinos have remained segregated both because of limited policy efforts on their behalf and because of their increasing numbers (a result of increased immigration and high birth rates) in public schools (Frankenberg et al., 2003).

In this chapter, we focus on the educational challenges of linguistic isolation for Latino students by examining the case of California. We first provide a historical overview of Spanish in California, tracing the climate of evolving hostility toward Spanish and Spanish-speaking

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immigrants and describing the challenges of achieving equity for Latino students segregated by language. We then address four objectives that are of paramount importance in the challenge of reintegration. The first objective is to summarize the dramatic changes occurring in the racial, ethnic, and linguistic composition of the California public schools, with a special focus on the consequences of these changes for Hispanic students. By design, this summary is considerably more granular than previous efforts (cf. Carroll, Krop, Arkes, Morrison, & Flanagan, 2005; Tienda & Mitchell, 2006a, 2006b). Our conclusions will explain why we believe it is shortsighted to conceive of the challenge of improving the academic achievement of Hispanic students as subsidiary to the larger policy objective of promoting systemic educational reform. Separating these objectives from one another may make for tidy policy discussions, but in light of the demographic and linguistic realities of California's public schools, treating these two objectives as if they were actually divisible is not feasible.

The second objective is to examine the connection between these demographic changes and the corresponding seismic shifts in the linguistic landscape of the California public schools. A better understanding of these interdependent transformations will make it evident why we believe so strongly that any educational initiative that claims to be capable of promoting significant improvements in the academic achievement of Hispanic students must address the challenge of accelerating the acquisition of English among Hispanic English language learners (ELLs). It is only through language acquisition that students can become full participants in their community. We are not suggesting that all Hispanic students are ELLs; in fact, many have sufficient proficiency in English to participate in all-English mainstream classrooms. However, in instances where such fluent English-speaking Hispanic students attend schools populated mainly by Hispanic ELLs, they face a burden that few other students must deal with: functioning as English language informants, models, and mentors to their classmates while performing as exemplary students themselves.

The third objective of this article is to examine the distribution of Hispanic students, particularly ELLs, within the California public schools. As we have noted, a system in which the ELL students are highly concentrated within a limited number of schools, largely populated by other monolingual Spanish-speaking students, makes the task of promoting proficiency in English among Hispanic ELLs much more difficult. The nature of this linguistic isolation¹ will be described, and

the relationship between this isolation in school contexts and the economic status of these students' households will be examined. The correlation between this isolation and student academic achievement will be explored by making extensive use of the Academic Performance Index (API), a composite indicator of school-level academic achievement developed by the California Department of Education (CDE)² to analyze the progress made by schools in meeting the Annual Yearly Progress (AYP) requirements of the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 (NCLB).

Our fourth and last objective is to situate our statistical findings within a policy context that acknowledges the legacy of *Brown v. Board of Education*, but seeks to further expand upon this legacy. Unlike the situation facing African Americans, the highly problematic circumstances currently facing Hispanic students enrolled in the California public schools is not the result of 200-plus years of state-sanctioned racism and oppression. Rather, they stem from the federal government's failure to acknowledge the consequences of its schizophrenic immigration policies on the public schools; specifically, U.S. officials' inability or unwillingness to craft an immigration policy that acknowledges the reality of the integrated character of the U.S.–Mexico economy or the larger possibilities of an integrated common market of North and South American countries, spurred by the movement of people across national borders.

Current U.S. immigration policy has and continues to encourage the movement of large numbers of “unauthorized resident” workers into California, principally from Mexico and other Latin American nations, while penalizing these individuals once their families become members of the new community. These workers are attractive to many U.S. employers because they are inexpensive, willing to take on work that U.S. citizens will not do, isolated from other workers and the larger polity, and usually too frightened to defend themselves against predatory employers. They are attracted to the United States because they live in countries plagued by corrupt politicians, underdeveloped economies, and discrimination against “Mestizos” and women (Nazario, 2006). Although children born into the households of these “unauthorized residents” are legal U.S. citizens, they are not exempt from the dangers and uncertainties that afflict their “unauthorized” family members, including high rates of household poverty, poor schools, inadequate health care, and limited employment prospects.

Frustratingly, the U.S. immigration policies that have both encouraged and permitted school-age children of unauthorized residents to

enter the California public schools also treat them as if they are uninvited dinner guests who have exhausted the generosity of their hosts, at best, and at worst as criminals, guilty of stealing educational benefits they do not deserve. It is likely that these schizophrenic policies have fed the sentiments that produced the series of propositions California voters enacted to express their frustration with the character of U.S. immigration policies in the last 25 years.

Spanish Speakers in California: A Historical Overview³

Currently, Spanish is spoken in California by 8.1 million of California's residents over age five, out of a total population of 33.8 million (U.S. Census, 2003). Because recent immigrants often struggle with the English language (Hill & Hayes, 2002), many English-speaking, monolingual Californians view Spanish as a persistent threat to English, a language of the undocumented and the uneducated that has little value for ordinary Americans who do not plan to work in immigrant communities.

The Spanish language entered California in 1542 with Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo's arrival at the port of San Diego and was established as the language of interaction and imposed on the native people (Schiffman, 1996). According to Mar-Molinero (2000), three types of pressures led to the imposition of Spanish during the colonial period: the pressure toward centralization, the belief that the native people would not adopt Christian values as long as they spoke their original languages, and the belief that other tongues could not convey Christian beliefs.

The Imposition of the English Language

In 1823, after a bitter war of independence with the mother country, the provinces of New Spain, including California, became provinces of the new Republic of Mexico. For *Californios* who had not been involved in the war of independence, the change was a difficult one. They did not see themselves as Mexicans and deeply resented changes made by Mexican government officials, especially the secularization of the missions. *Californios* subsequently resented the Mexican government even more when they learned that California had ceded to the United States as an outcome of the Mexican War.

The English language arrived officially in California in 1846 when Sloat raised the American flag in Monterrey, the capital of California. In 1848, Mexico and the United States signed the Treaty of Guadalupe

Hidalgo. According to Schiffman (1996), the treaty included guarantees of the rights of the citizens within the ceded territories, including customs, religion, and language. The first California Constitution, ratified in 1849, interpreted the language of this treaty as ensuring that Mexican citizens would receive the same freedom and privileges granted to other citizens of the United States, and convention delegates accepted the proposal of delegate Noriega from San Luis Obispo, which established that:

All laws, regulations, and provisions emanating from any of the three supreme powers of this State, which from their nature require publication, shall be published in English and Spanish. (Constitution of the State of California 1849, Article VI, Section 21)

Historical accounts of the period after 1846 suggest that, as had been the case with the first conquerors of California (the Spanish), the Anglo-Americans also viewed themselves as racially and culturally superior to the vanquished population. Anglos who arrived in California felt great disdain for the wealthy and aristocratic *Californios*, seeing them as indolent, unproductive, and lazy (Haas, 1995; Mapes, 1992). Accounts of the lifestyles of wealthy ranchers written by Easterners traveling in California (e.g., Mapes, 1992; Pitt, 1998) emphasize differences between Anglo-Protestant values stressing frugality and hard work and their perception of the ranchers as irresponsible with their land, exploitative of the native people, and ostentatious.

Unfortunately, by 1878, as Crawford (1992a) points out, not a single Spanish-speaking delegate was present at the Constitutional Convention that revised the 1849 document. Perhaps as a result, the Constitution of 1879 revoked its earlier policy on publishing laws in English and Spanish and limited the publication of all official state proceedings to English. During the convention debates, proponents of the English-only stance argued that *Californios* had had 30 years to learn English, and that the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was not an implied contract to protect language rights.

The English-only, anti-Mexican stances that influenced the new Constitution also influenced the daily lives of the Spanish-speaking population of California. According to Macías (2001), by 1855 the State Bureau of Public Instruction decreed that all schooling, public and private, should be conducted exclusively in English. Up until that time, Spanish was used in 18% of private and Catholic schools. In 1870, a second state law was passed requiring English as the only language of

instruction in all schools. Macías concludes (p. 347) that by the beginning of the 20th century, California had subjugated non-English languages, especially Spanish. English was the official language of instruction in the schools, English literacy was required for voting, and English was the language for administration of government.

The Segregation of Spanish-Speaking Students

The early segregation of Mexican-origin students in California schools is an example of a policy directed, in theory, at providing language services, through special instruction and programs, for English learners. However, an examination of school segregation in California as it has impacted African American, Asian, and Mexican children revealed that “throughout the state’s history there has been a conflict between those who have seen the schools as universal and unifying institutions and those who have seen the schools as particularist and separated institutions” (Wollenberg, 1976, p. 6).

In the case of Mexican students in California, Wollenberg (1976) presents evidence of the routine segregation of children of Mexican workers beginning in 1910. By the 1920s, 10% of the state’s total school population consisted of Mexican-origin students. This increased enrollment of Mexican children led to the opening of separate Mexican schools in many areas of the state as well as segregated swimming pools, theatres, and restaurants. Schools segregated children largely in response to the demands of white parents who feared educational retardation for their own children.

It was not until 1945 that Mexican parents took legal action against the schools. The 1946 case of *Mendez v. Westminster* held that the State Education Code did not provide for the segregation of children of Mexican origin and that no clear valid educational reason justified their segregation (Wollenberg, 1976); however, although the plaintiffs prevailed in the appeal, the decision had an impact only on de jure and not on de facto segregation.

Bilingual Education Policy

In 1976, the California legislature approved the passage of the Chacon-Moscone Bilingual-Bicultural Education Act (1976), which made it legal to give non-English-speaking students access to the curriculum through their primary language. Macías (2001) argues that federal policies (e.g., the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Bilingual Education Act of 1968) and the 1974 *Lau v. Nichols* U.S. Supreme Court decision had created a context in which states like California were

encouraged to repeal existing laws limiting or prohibiting the use of non-English languages in education. Chacon-Moscone required schools to provide pupils who were limited- or non-English speaking with equal educational opportunities. In 1980, the Bilingual Education Improvement and Reform Act mandated schools to provide bilingual education to limited English-speaking students.

These two statutes, however, expired (or sunsetted) in 1987 and were not renewed. By that time, controversies surrounding the vagueness of the language of the *Lau* decision had provoked a debate around the country about the types of remedies considered legitimate in providing equal educational opportunities to ELLs.⁴ As a language policy, Chacon-Moscone overtly dealt with the implementation of instruction in non-English languages, and as a civil rights policy, it obligated the state of California to provide a meaningful and equitable education for all students. However, to some degree, California's Bilingual Education and Reform Act (1980) could be seen as a covert exclusionary policy. It allowed Spanish-speaking students to be educated separately from other students, and it justified this separation—as was done in the case of *Mendez v. Westminster*—by arguing that the special language needs of certain groups of students required the development of unique educational programs designed to meet their special needs.

For those concerned about segregation, bilingual education appeared to be a language policy that masked exclusion. For those concerned about the futility of educating students in a language that they did not understand, bilingual education was a compensatory education policy that focused on language, the condition that prevented students from accessing the curriculum. Finally, for those concerned about providing too many benefits to an undeserving population, bilingual education was an employment boon for Spanish-speaking teachers, an expensive drain on state resources, a Spanish language program designed to prevent students from learning English, and a manifestation of new immigrants' refusal to become American. Over time, negative views about bilingual education resulted in the passage of a number of anti-immigrant, anti-Spanish-speaking, and anti-Mexican legislative initiatives during the 1980s and 1990s in California.⁵

From 1976 to 1995, immigration to California increased dramatically, and by 1994, one-third of the foreign-born population in the United States resided in California (Population Resource Center, 2004). The political climate toward Spanish-speaking people is a hostile one

in California, and disputes about education continue. No Child Left Behind rhetoric permeates discussions about the schooling of ELLs while budgetary constraints have led to per pupil spending that is well below the national average in an environment replete with challenges caused by changing demographics (i.e., relative youth of the population, racial/ethnic diversity, number of English language learners, and the geographic redistribution of the population) (Carroll et al., 2005), which we examine now.

Demographic Changes in the Hispanic and English Learner Population

Our examination of recent demographic shifts begins with the “scissor graph” plotted in Figure 1.

Beginning with the 1996–97 school year, the proportion of Hispanic public school students exceeded the proportion of non-Hispanic white students enrolled in the California public schools, and this trend has since continued. The proportion of Hispanic students in 2004–05 (46.8%) exceeded that of non-Hispanic whites (31.3%) by more than one-half. The data compiled in Table 1 enable us to examine the micro-demographic forces responsible for the downward bend in the lower blade of the scissors graph in Figure 1.

The recorded data show that during the period 1999–2000 to 2004–05, the growth in the K-12 student population was three-quarters of the total for the previous period (371,000 versus 484,000 students). This drop was fueled by a 9.8% decline in the non-Hispanic white student population, along with a lesser decline in the African American student

FIGURE 1

CHANGES IN THE PROPORTION OF HISPANIC AND NON-HISPANIC WHITE K-12 STUDENTS ENROLLED IN THE CALIFORNIA PUBLIC SCHOOLS: 1995–96 TO 2004–05.

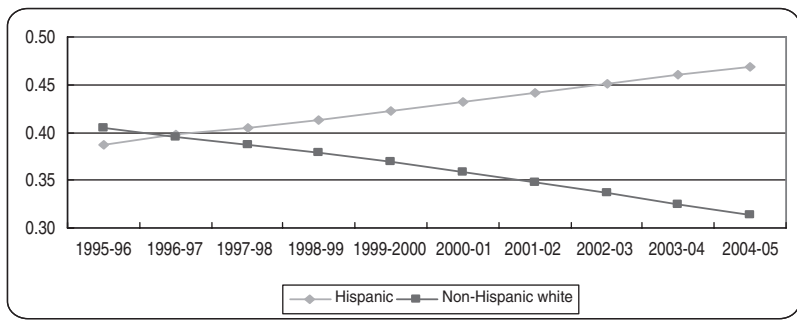


TABLE 1
CHANGES IN CALIFORNIA'S PUBLIC SCHOOL'S STUDENT POPULATION SEGMENTS BETWEEN 1995-96 TO 2004-05

Segment	School Years			Changes: 1995-95 to 1999-2000			Changes: 1999-2000 to 2004-05		
	1995-96	1999-2000	2004-05	Number	%	Distribution	Number	%	Distribution
Hispanic	2,118,028	2,513,453	2,961,101	395,425	18.7	81.6	447,648	17.8	120.8
White	2,209,717	2,195,706	1,981,597	(14,011)	(0.6)	(2.9)	(214,109)	(9.8)	(57.8)
Asian	449,725	479,073	510,450	29,348	6.5	6.1	31,377	6.5	8.5
African American	478,912	509,637	505,215	30,725	6.4	6.3	(4,422)	(0.9)	(1.2)
Filipino	131,820	141,045	163,149	9,225	7.0	1.9	22,104	15.7	6.0
American Indian	47,697	50,750	51,822	3,053	6.4	0.6	1,072	2.1	0.3
Pacific Islander	31,325	37,995	39,634	6,670	21.3	1.4	1,639	4.3	0.4
Multiracial/Other		23,953	109,214	23,953		4.9	85,261		23.0
Totals	5,467,224	5,951,612	6,322,182	484,388	8.9	100.0	370,570	6.2	100.0

Note: Tables prepared by authors from California Department of Education data files.

population.⁶ These declines were more than offset by a dramatic increase in the Hispanic student population. Between 1995–96 and 2004–05, California’s public schools increased their enrollment by 856,000 students, 843,000 (98.6%) of them Hispanic—a number higher than K-12 enrollment in 31 states, including Delaware, Indiana, Missouri, and Minnesota. The cumulative effects of these sharp declines in the non-Hispanic white population and the substantial increases in the Hispanic K-12 population accounts for the downward bend in the lower blade of the scissor graph in Figure 1.

Figure 2 traces changes in the proportion of Hispanic K-12 students enrolled in the California public schools at three grade levels: K-5, 6–8, and 9–12. The line graph for K-5 Hispanic students shows that, for the first time ever, the proportion of K-5 Hispanic students in the total school populations exceeded 50% during the 2004–05 school year.

The New Linguistic Landscape

In Figure 3, the percent of Hispanic students designated by school authorities as ELLs is presented. These are students whose current level of fluency in English makes it difficult for them to keep up with their classmates in classrooms in which English is the primary language of instruction.

Assessed strictly in terms of the challenge confronting California’s public schools, the good news in Figure 3 is that the proportion of Hispanic ELLs at the K-5 grade level shows signs of declining. This falloff may be caused by the growth in the numbers of K-5 Hispanic students born in the United States. The bad news, in terms of the

FIGURE 2

CHANGES IN THE PROPORTION OF HISPANIC K-12 STUDENTS AT THREE GRADE LEVELS ENROLLED IN THE CALIFORNIA PUBLIC SCHOOLS: 1995–96 TO 2004–06.

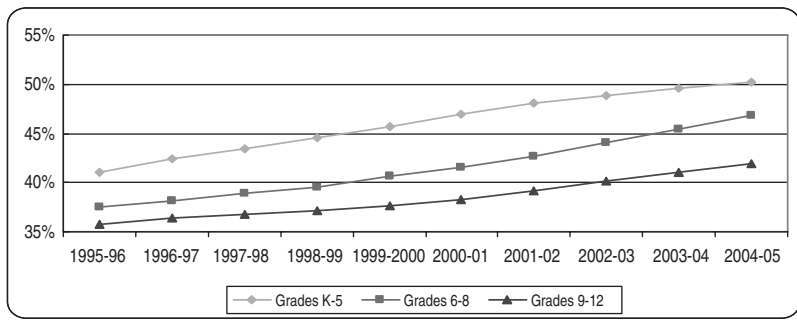
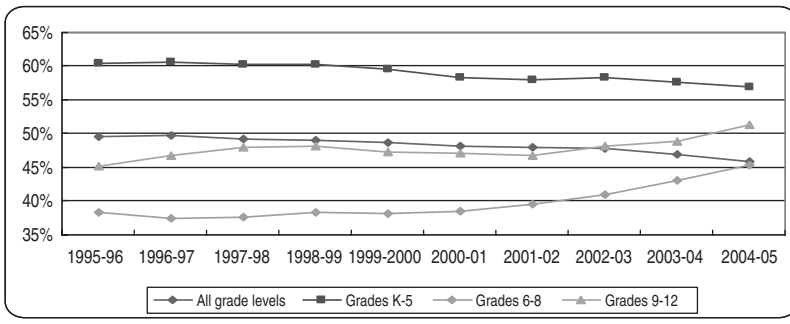


FIGURE 3

PERCENT HISPANIC ENGLISH LEARNERS AT THREE EDUCATIONAL LEVELS ENROLLED IN THE CALIFORNIA PUBLIC SCHOOLS: 1995–96 TO 2004–06.



availability of an adequate supply of role models and mentors, is that in recent years the proportion of Hispanic ELLs in grades 6–8 and 9–12 has increased rapidly, likely caused by increased rates of immigration of older children from Spanish-speaking countries and/or the failure of California’s public schools to facilitate the acquisition of critical levels of English language fluency among Hispanic middle and high school pupils.

Table 2 provides a microdemographic portrait of these shifts in the linguistic landscape of the California public schools. A notable feature of the data is the light they shed on the divergence in the ELL landscape. The Spanish-speaking ELL population has continued to increase and the non-Spanish-speaking population has declined significantly.

From 1995–96, the rate of growth in Hispanic enrollment exceeded the rate of growth in Spanish-speaking ELLs at every educational level, consistent with a demographic scenario in which the growth in Hispanic students, fueled by children reaching school age and by the migration of Hispanic students from other states, exceeds the rate of growth of Hispanic students immigrating to California from Spanish-speaking countries. From 1999–2000 to 2004–05, the growth in Spanish-speaking ELLs exceeded the growth in Hispanic students. This pattern is consistent with a scenario in which the growth in the Hispanic public school population is fueled largely by the immigration of school-age children from Spanish-speaking countries.

The 1995–96 to 1999–2000 rate of growth of non-Hispanic K-12 students increased while the rate of the non-Spanish-speaking ELL

TABLE 2
 CHANGES IN CALIFORNIA'S HISPANIC ENGLISH LANGUAGE LEARNER (ELL) POPULATION: 1995-96 TO 1999-2000 AND 1999-2000 TO 2004-05

Segment	School Years			Changes: 1995-95 to 1999-2000			Changes: 1999-2000 to 2004-05		
	1995-96	1999-2000	2004-05	Number	%	Distribution	Number	%	Distribution
Hispanic Students	2,118,028	2,513,453	2,961,105	395,425	18.7	100.0	447,652	17.8	100.0
Grades K-5	1,098,459	1,312,969	1,439,515	214,510	19.5	54.2	126,546	9.6	28.3
Grades 6-8	483,067	559,062	708,904	75,995	15.7	19.2	149,842	26.8	33.5
Grades 9-12	536,502	641,422	812,686	104,920	19.6	26.5	171,264	26.7	38.3
Spanish-Speaking ELLs	1,051,125	1,222,809	1,357,778	171,684	16.3	100.0	134,969	11.0	100.0
Grades K-5	663,231	782,207	819,116	118,976	17.9	69.3	36,909	4.7	27.3
Grades 6-8	200,045	231,831	270,916	31,786	15.9	18.5	39,085	16.9	29.0
Grades 9-12	187,849	208,771	267,746	20,922	11.1	12.2	58,975	28.2	43.7
Non-Hispanic Students	3,349,196	3,438,159	3,361,085	88,963	2.7	100.0	(77,074)	(2.2)	100.0
Grades K-5	1,581,833	1,558,978	1,430,265	(22,855)	(1.4)	(25.7)	(128,713)	(8.3)	167.0
Grades 6-8	805,643	817,111	806,520	11,468	1.4	12.9	(10,591)	(1.3)	13.7
Grades 9-12	961,720	1,062,070	1,124,300	100,350	10.4	112.8	62,230	5.9	(80.7)
Non-Spanish-Speaking ELLs	272,642	257,718	233,747	(14,924)	(5.5)	100.0	(23,972)	(9.3)	100.0
Grades K-5	154,939	144,209	138,702	(10,730)	(6.9)	71.9	(5,507)	(3.8)	23.0
Grades 6-8	55,503	50,428	41,877	(5,075)	(9.1)	34.0	(8,551)	(17.0)	35.7
Grades 9-12	62,200	63,081	53,168	881	1.4	(5.9)	(9,913)	(15.7)	41.4

population declined at nearly double the rate. The 1999–2000 to 2004–05 enrollment of non-Hispanic K-12 students fell, as did the non-Spanish-speaking ELL population numbers. This pattern shows that the majority of growth in the ELL population is caused by Spanish-speaking ELLs, with significant decreases in the non-Spanish-speaking ELL population.

Clustering the Hispanic Elementary School Population

To better characterize the growth of the Hispanic and Spanish-speaking ELL population, we focus on examining the characteristics of the Hispanic population enrolled in the 5,537 elementary schools in California. We begin by analyzing the distribution of these students within these schools, rank ordering them by their percent Hispanic enrollment. We then subdivide the results of this ordering scheme into 20 clusters, according to the percent Hispanic in those schools. While not as sophisticated as the cluster allocation schemes reviewed in Bailey (1975), Bryson and Phillips (1975), or Yun and Moreno (2006), our method is consistent with approaches commonly used to generate indices of student segregation and isolation (Reardon & Firebaugh, 2002). The principal advantage of our approach is that it does not require that we situate this exploratory data analysis within the context of a specific explanatory theory. Rather, our method generates the data one needs to construct plausible causal theoretical relationships. The outcomes of these procedures, in terms of the mean percent Hispanic students, the number of schools, and the mean total number of students, as well as the mean number of students associated with each cluster, are summarized in Table 3.⁷

Table 4 tabulates the number of students in each of the population segments assessed in conjunction with the API.

The Hispanic and non-Hispanic white students represented here show a strong inverse relationship between these two segments, and is indicative of a high degree of segregation between Hispanic and non-Hispanic white students in those clusters (Figure 4).

Using the data tabulated in Table 4, we created Figure 5. The height of the bar graphs in Figure 5 represents the proportion of students in a particular population segment enrolled in the corresponding cluster of elementary schools.

Referring to Tables 3 and 4, the first cluster consists of 350 schools in which the Hispanic enrollment is between 0–4.9 percent. These schools enroll 4% of the 2.2 million elementary school stu-

TABLE 3
 DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS ASSOCIATED WITH 20 CLUSTERS CREATED BY RANK-ORDERING ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS BY THEIR PERCENT
 HISPANIC ENROLLMENT

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
Group	Group Range Percent Hispanic	Mean Percent Hispanic	Std Error	Std Dev	Num of Schools	Distrib	Mean Number of Tested Students	Std Error	Std Dev	Mean Number of Hispanic Students	Std Error	Std Dev
1	0-4.9	3.18	0.084	1.579	350	6.32	251.9	9.27	173.43	8.3	0.38	7.12
2	5-9.9	8.02	0.066	1.428	474	8.56	323.3	7.90	172.05	24.2	0.63	13.79
3	10-14.9	12.85	0.066	1.404	447	8.07	329.3	8.53	180.27	39.4	1.08	22.73
4	15-19.9	18.02	0.073	1.395	364	6.57	359.3	8.71	166.22	59.3	1.44	27.48
5	20-24.9	23.02	0.076	1.402	342	6.18	367.3	9.20	170.20	78.0	2.02	37.34
6	25-29.9	27.83	0.082	1.359	275	4.97	375.5	10.59	175.62	95.9	2.71	44.88
7	30-34.9	32.93	0.088	1.449	270	4.88	382.9	10.98	180.39	115.3	3.33	54.77
8	35-39.9	37.85	0.094	2.133	241	4.35	384.8	11.80	183.17	132.5	4.07	63.17
9	40-44.9	43.01	0.087	1.427	269	4.86	381.5	10.83	177.67	150.8	4.31	70.76
10	45-49.9	47.95	0.095	1.400	219	3.96	390.3	11.04	163.36	170.5	4.74	70.13
11	50-54.9	52.78	0.085	1.353	252	4.55	411.0	10.50	166.75	198.3	5.10	80.98
12	55-59.9	58.00	0.097	1.421	215	3.88	408.1	12.11	177.62	215.5	6.33	92.75
13	60-64.9	62.96	0.102	1.412	192	3.47	420.5	13.77	190.78	241.6	7.94	110.01
14	65-69.9	68.00	0.088	1.350	237	4.28	453.5	12.16	187.23	282.3	7.54	116.06
15	70-74.9	73.03	0.094	1.339	204	3.68	447.5	12.47	178.15	299.7	8.33	118.99
16	75-79.9	77.98	0.102	1.436	197	3.56	459.6	12.94	181.56	329.1	9.44	132.51
17	80-84.9	82.95	0.094	1.470	247	4.46	467.9	13.03	204.71	358.2	10.13	159.27
18	85-89.9	87.89	0.100	1.506	226	4.08	468.0	13.28	199.70	378.6	10.83	162.81
19	90-94.9	93.04	1.400	1.400	263	4.75	500.3	13.88	225.13	430.4	12.04	195.22
20	95-100	97.79	0.080	1.272	253	4.57	533.5	17.36	276.17	487.6	16.15	256.94
		44.54	0.404	30.038	5,537	100.0	394.0	2.66	198.11	179.5	2.36	175.96

Grades 2-8
 Std error, standard error; Std dev, standard deviation; Num of Schools, number of schools; Distrib, distribution.

TABLE 4
DISTRIBUTION OF THE EIGHT CALIFORNIA POPULATION SEGMENTS IN 20 CLUSTERS OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

Group	% Hispanic	Hispanic Students	White	Asian	African American	Filipino	American Indian	Pacific Islander	Multiracial / Other
1	0-4.9	2,906	55,041	19,377	2,683	1,089	1,414	298	5,362
2	5-9.9	11,462	96,621	22,350	7,543	3,238	2,190	654	9,167
3	10-14.9	17,599	83,069	18,449	10,084	5,537	1,624	934	9,881
4	15-19.9	21,585	67,494	14,407	10,833	4,115	1,397	980	9,983
5	20-24.9	26,684	55,656	15,307	11,793	4,949	1,099	995	9,124
6	25-29.9	26,376	43,633	11,222	7,926	4,398	988	859	7,860
7	30-34.9	31,129	37,506	10,741	9,622	3,346	1,067	989	8,993
8	35-39.9	31,936	29,874	7,817	9,344	3,808	925	750	8,288
9	40-44.9	40,566	29,621	8,271	10,555	3,641	841	831	8,305
10	45-49.9	37,337	22,944	6,291	7,529	2,350	634	561	7,840
11	50-54.9	49,968	22,641	7,364	9,981	2,826	612	875	9,309
12	55-59.9	46,323	15,996	4,692	8,584	2,476	677	715	8,285
13	60-64.9	46,386	11,574	3,806	8,636	1,705	472	525	7,634
14	65-69.9	66,910	13,287	5,332	8,998	2,016	602	674	9,665
15	70-74.9	61,135	8,781	3,710	6,850	1,713	434	519	8,158
16	75-79.9	64,836	7,650	2,788	5,198	1,362	286	361	8,060
17	80-84.9	88,487	6,948	2,578	5,275	1,718	380	365	9,809
18	85-89.9	85,562	4,222	1,973	3,303	1,229	267	244	8,960
19	90-94.9	113,206	2,851	1,326	2,198	995	253	219	10,533
20	95-100	123,373	825	369	689	268	164	94	9,186
TOTAL	0-100	993,766	616,244	168,170	147,624	52,779	16,326	12,442	174,402

FIGURE 4

PERCENT ELEMENTARY SCHOOL ENROLLMENT BY POPULATION SEGMENT IN THE 20 CLUSTERS INFORMING OUR EXPLORATORY DATA ANALYSIS: 2004-05. API, ACADEMIC PERFORMANCE INDEX.

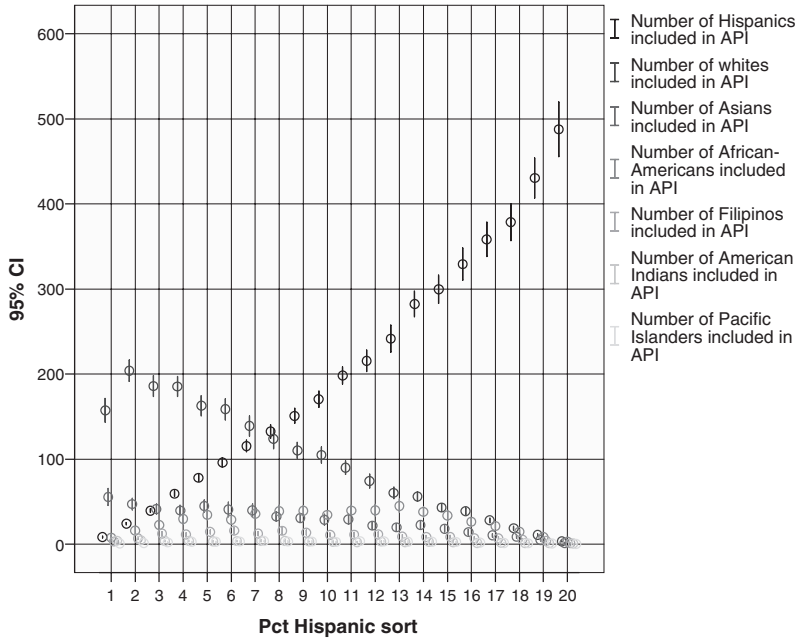
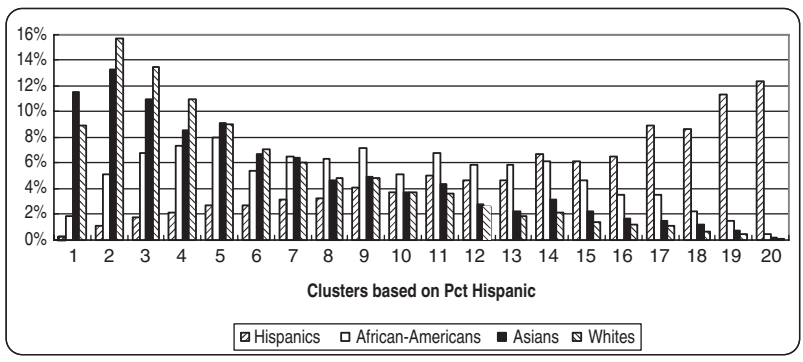


FIGURE 5

DISTRIBUTION OF THE FOUR LARGEST ELEMENTARY SCHOOL STUDENT POPULATION SEGMENTS, BY PERCENT HISPANIC STUDENTS: 2004-05.



dents in grades 2–8 assessed during the 2004–05 school year. The enrollment of Hispanic and African American students in this cluster totaled 2,900 and 2,700, or approximately 0.3% and 1.8% of the total Hispanic and African American student populations. The enrollment and distribution figures for Asian and white students tell a very different story regarding the degree of contact among students. Nearly 12% of the total Asian population attends schools where Hispanic students make up no more than 5% of the total student population; this figure is even greater than the 8.9% of white students enrolled in these schools.

The 478 schools corresponding to clusters 9 and 10, the two clusters with the most equally heterogeneous populations, enrolled 8.6% of the elementary student population. These schools also enrolled 7.9%, 8.5%, 8.6%, and 12.2% of the total number of the state's Hispanic, white, Asian, and African American elementary school population.

The 253 schools in the 20th cluster, the most heavily Hispanic cluster, enrolled 6.2% of the elementary students assessed in 2004–05. The number of Hispanic students attending these schools, 123,400, made up 14.4% of the total Hispanic enrollment. The figures for African American, Asian, and whites were, respectively, 0.5%, 0.2%, and 0.1%.

Distribution of ELLs

Table 5 provides additional data on the distribution of Hispanic, ELL, and socioeconomically disadvantaged (SD) students. Again, the clusters from Table 3 of the mean percent Hispanic of the students tested are used, and the percent of each group is given.

The data in columns three and four indicate that the concentration of Spanish-speaking ELLs is even higher than the concentration of Hispanic students. For example, 23.8% of California's Hispanic elementary students attend schools that are 85% or greater Hispanic, compared to 29.8% of the state's native Spanish-speaking ELLs.

Hispanic Student Concentration and Academic Performance

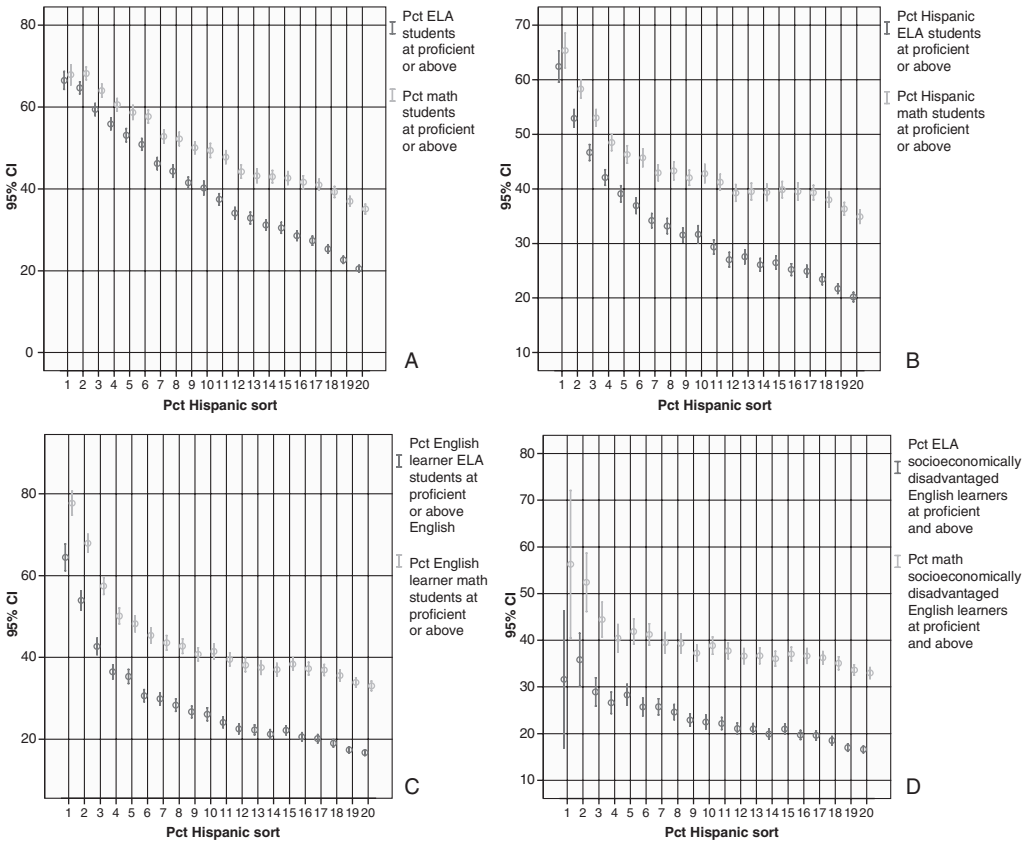
Figures 6a to 6d show the performance of non-SD and SD Hispanic students and ELL students on the standards-based examinations in English language arts (ELA) and mathematics administered to elementary school students. These exams are used to compute school-level API scores.

TABLE 5
DISTRIBUTION (IN PERCENT) OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOL ENGLISH LANGUAGE LEARNERS ACROSS 20 CLUSTERS

(1) Group	(2) % Hispanic	(3) % Hispanic Students	(4) % Spanish ELL	(5) % Non-Hispanic Students	(6) % Non-Spanish ELL	(7) % All Students	(8) % Hispanic	(9) % ELL
1	0-4.9	0.29	0.10	7.18	5.07	0.87	0.04	0.16
2	5-9.9	1.15	0.41	11.93	8.23	2.36	0.25	0.42
3	10-14.9	1.77	0.82	10.91	9.00	2.74	0.46	0.60
4	15-19.9	2.17	1.13	9.19	8.75	3.06	0.73	1.13
5	20-24.9	2.69	1.57	8.33	8.95	3.37	1.06	1.49
6	25-29.9	2.65	1.65	6.47	7.38	3.18	1.30	1.72
7	30-34.9	3.13	2.27	6.08	7.31	3.79	1.96	2.26
8	35-39.9	3.21	2.32	5.12	5.39	3.65	2.14	2.15
9	40-44.9	4.08	3.20	5.22	5.98	4.47	3.21	3.20
10	45-49.9	3.76	2.86	4.05	4.30	3.93	3.17	2.86
11	50-54.9	5.03	4.60	4.51	5.93	5.43	4.78	4.62
12	55-59.9	4.66	4.46	3.49	4.09	4.85	4.90	4.63
13	60-64.9	4.67	4.65	2.89	3.11	4.82	5.00	4.63
14	65-69.9	6.73	7.06	3.42	2.97	6.55	7.29	7.12
15	70-74.9	6.15	6.46	2.54	2.97	5.71	6.69	6.42
16	75-79.9	6.52	7.12	2.16	2.54	5.96	7.37	7.08
17	80-84.9	8.90	9.72	2.28	2.57	7.79	10.20	9.69
18	85-89.9	8.61	9.75	1.70	1.99	7.41	10.17	9.88
19	90-94.9	11.39	13.74	1.55	1.48	9.68	13.89	13.94
20	95-100	12.41	16.08	0.98	0.58	10.38	15.37	15.99
TOTAL		993,766	864,026	1,187,987	147,648	1,174,750	831,502	623,779

Note: The entries for Spanish-speaking and non-Spanish-speaking English language learners (ELLs) include students enrolled in grades K-1. The APT elementary school data in this table, as well as the others in this article, include students in grades 2-8.

FIGURE 6
 STUDENT PERFORMANCE ON THE STANDARDS-BASED ENGLISH LANGUAGE ARTS (ELA) AND MATH ASSESSMENTS ADMINISTERED BY THE CALIFORNIA DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION TO COMPUTE SCHOOL-LEVEL ACADEMIC PERFORMANCE INDEX SCORES.



The student performance data plotted in Figures 6a to 6d permit us to track student learning in ELA and mathematics across our 20 clusters. The results are anything but encouraging. Students enrolled in schools with large numbers of students from these population segments do not perform as well on these exams, particularly those who are SD.

Hispanic Student Concentration and the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001

NCLB requires that students in Grades 2–9 be measured yearly against a set of standards to determine student “proficiency” in English language arts (ELA) and mathematics and to track adequate yearly progress (AYP). If a school does not meet AYP goals, it goes into Program Improvement (PI) during which remediation must take place. PI Years 1 and 2 are considered School Improvement years and a Local Educational Agency (LEA) provides technical assistance and professional development to the school staff to develop and implement a school plan and teacher professional development activities. In Year 3, the Corrective Action year, the LEA replaces school staff, implements new curriculum, or provides some other type of corrective action. In Years 4 and 5, the Restructuring years, the school is restructured, which can mean reopening as a charter school, replacing the school staff, or other major restructuring; professional development and other school improvement activities continue.

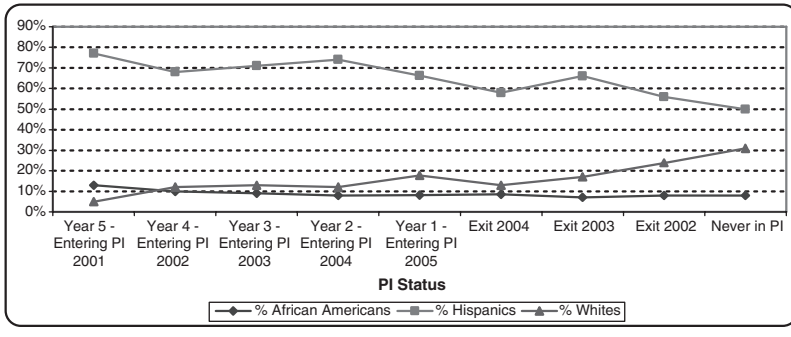
We wished to look at not only the percentage of Hispanic students in PI and non-PI schools, according to status of the school, not in PI or in PI (denominator number of students not in PI or in PI schools), but also the percentage of Hispanic students not in PI and in PI schools when looking at the total number of Hispanic students in California (denominator number of students in population segment). When looking at California students, using data provided by the California State Department of Education, we see that 53% of Hispanic students are not in PI schools and 42% are in PI schools; yet looking solely at the percentage of Hispanic students in PI schools, 72% are Hispanic and only 11% are white.

The State of California identifies schools that have (1) never been in PI, (2) have been in PI and exited, and (3) are currently in PI and for how many years. We organize the data as a time series, beginning with those schools that have been in PI the longest (Year 5; entered PI in 2001). Figure 7 shows Hispanic students as the highest proportion of each PI status group. While the curve heads up for whites, with the largest proportion of whites in schools that have never been in PI, the curve heads down for Hispanics, with the largest proportion of Hispanics nearly reaching 80% in schools in Year 5 of PI. Barely 50% of the students in schools that have never been in PI are Hispanic.

This creates an extremely challenging set of circumstances for Hispanic students in California schools. Not only are they segregated

FIGURE 7

PERCENT OF AFRICAN AMERICAN, HISPANIC, AND WHITE STUDENTS IN CALIFORNIA SCHOOLS BY PROGRAM IMPROVEMENT (PI) STATUS AND NUMBER OF YEARS.



from the mainstream population, but they are also attending schools in need of program improvement—schools that have a greater proportion of free and reduced price lunch participants than non-PI schools, a greater proportion of English learners, and less highly qualified teachers.

Linguistic Isolation and Education: A Policy Challenge

Recent media coverage of the challenges created by a growing influx of new immigrants (e.g., Thornburgh, 2006) makes evident that there is an increasing concern among ordinary citizens about Latino immigration—both legal and illegal. Whether coverage involves vigilantism on the Mexican border (Redeker, 2005) or responses to legislation designed to penalize individuals who aid undocumented residents (Williams, 2006), American public opinion appears to support immigration reform legislation that will address the many perceived economic and security problems. In 2006, the U.S. Senate began reviewing the issue of comprehensive immigration reform, and at this writing, it is unclear whether new legislation will lean heavily towards enforcement, as proposed by H.R. 4437 (the Border Protection, Antiterrorism and Illegal Immigration Act of 2005), or true immigration reform provisions. What is evident is that there are strong feelings about providing amnesty to “unauthorized migrants”⁸ and about providing pathways to citizenship to those who have broken the law. At the same time, it is also clear that business groups favor a

solution that will allow them to fill jobs they contend Americans will not or cannot fill.

Hispanic immigrants are—because of their numbers—at the center of the current immigration debate. According to *Hispanics and the Future of America* (Tienda & Mitchell, 2006b), Hispanics are unlike other ethnic and racial groups because of their age, their low education levels, their employment in unskilled jobs, their language, and the presence of large numbers of individuals who are here illegally. Contributing authors explore these differences and how successfully Hispanics are assimilating into the U.S. mainstream. In a companion volume called *Multiple Origins, Uncertain Destinies* (Tienda & Mitchell, 2006a), the authors conclude that the most profound risk facing this population is “failure to graduate from high school” (p. 7). Concerned about the importance of English language proficiency for Hispanic students, they add, “Hispanic students who fail to master English before leaving school incur considerable costs. English proficiency is mandatory for success in the labor market and is vitally important for navigating the health care system and for meaningful civic engagement. How to ensure proficiency in English remains highly controversial; there is no consensus on how best to teach non-English-speaking students across the grade spectrum” (pp. 7–8).

For the 3 million Hispanic students currently enrolled in California schools, who constitute 20% of the school population and whose numbers continue to grow, the future is here. Non-Hispanic white and non-Spanish-speaking ELLs are decreasing in absolute numbers and as a proportion of the school population, and Spanish-speaking ELLs are increasing in number. Whether legislators vote to develop a coherent immigration policy or not, the challenge to California schools is clear. We must educate the children who are now in California so that we can ensure their and our long-term economic and social well-being, and we must abandon nativist fears and unrealistic separatist illusions about reclaiming the original lost territories of Aztlan as we work to address this challenge.

Our analysis of the hypersegregation of Hispanic students, and particularly Spanish-speaking ELLs, suggests that little or no attention has been given to the consequences of linguistic isolation for a population whose future depends on the acquisition of English. Unfortunately, segregation of ELLs from both their white and black English-speaking peers has profound consequences for their acquisition of English. For ELLs, interaction with ordinary English-speaking peers is essential to their English language development and consequently to their acquisi-

tion of academic English, “the English used to obtain, process, construct and provide subject matter information in spoken and written form” (Valdés, 2004, p. 19).

It is not difficult, therefore, to imagine that schools in financially stressed and disadvantaged communities with high numbers of immigrants face particularly urgent crises when their students are among the most disadvantaged and vulnerable. As we have pointed out, the school clusters with the highest number of Hispanic students tend to also have a higher proportion of African American students and a lower proportion of non-Hispanic white and Asian students. This places the educational futures of the students in these clusters further at risk: curriculum suffers and budgets are strained because academic resources must be diverted to provide for the increased demand and accommodations for ELLs and these resources require funding. These crises are real, and they are also difficult to examine because of the strong opinions and emotions expressed by opponents and proponents of public education to newly arrived immigrants.

Moving Forward

In moving forward, we suggest that the larger message of *Brown v. Board of Education* compels us to explore ways in which we might achieve the reintegration of American society and the original vision of the common public school (Tyack, 2003). Although flawed and often surrounded by “winner-take-all policy conflicts,” Tyack argues that public schools “have had a public mandate to teach children about civic and moral life” (p. 183) and that “democracy in education and education in democracy are not quaint legacies from a distant and happier time” (p. 185). Immigrant children and their families have long been contributors to the American system of public schooling as well as beneficiaries, largely because of the opportunities presented by attending school with other youngsters who represent the diversity of their new homeland. However, as the data shows, this integration is not currently happening in California.

Ideally, the policy conversation about the education of Hispanic ELLs will carefully consider the federal role in educating all children, states’ roles in ensuring the quality of education, and local responsibility in making schools less homogeneous. Since the 1980s, civic and political groups in states with large numbers of unauthorized migrants have engaged in contentious arguments over who was responsible for providing essential health care, education, and social

welfare services to “undocumented immigrants.” Some of these groups contend that the federal government should fund such services, on the grounds that these costs, already burdensome, will continue to increase as a result of ongoing national failures to reconcile espoused policies on immigration with enforcement strategies and to address the insatiable desire of U.S. employers for inexpensive immigrant labor. Other groups hold that the solution to the gap between espoused and enacted immigration policies is not more federal funding but a stepped up commitment on the part of the federal government to prevent individuals from traversing U.S. borders without official permission.

The debate over who should pay for the essential services needed by unauthorized migrants, and whether or not such services should be provided at all, has been particularly divisive in California, Florida, and Texas. In California, for example, this polarization has resulted in the passage of a number of popularly sponsored ballot measures mandating that state agencies deny services to “undocumented immigrants.” In some instances, the courts have found these measures to be in gross violation of U.S. civil rights laws, but these decisions have not dampened the fires of political discontent. In fact, they appear to have increased the hostility of some groups to the notion that state governmental agencies have a fundamental moral responsibility to address the basic needs of their state’s least advantaged residents, even if they have entered the country without the approval of the U.S. immigration authorities, and have resulted in state residents being increasingly unwilling to vote to raise taxes to pay for these services.

This gap between the federal government’s *espoused* and *enacted* immigration policies, though, presents an opportunity for states with large new immigrant populations to make a case for desperately needed funding. Specifically, this policy gap can and should be exploited in a manner that turns the question of federal financial assistance into an opportunity for public schools to seek funding to provide much needed assistance for both Hispanic students and SD students. Issues, evidence, and precedents related to the financial responsibilities and obligations of the federal government to public schools must be analyzed and examined. The aim is to produce solid, clear, and unbiased research and analysis of federal immigration policies and legislation with regard to education for school-age children residing in immigrant households—both legal resident immigrant households and households headed by undocumented immigrants.

The Arguments for Educating

Providing education to unauthorized migrants is ethical in a nation that values unauthorized migrants as a productive workforce. It is to the advantage of the national and state economies to support the education of children of unauthorized migrants as a means for them to become contributing members of society and to sustain the maintenance of a healthy social fabric in communities where unauthorized migrants live, work, and socialize and where their children play and learn.

Education is a resource that is universally accepted and recognized as a necessity in our society. The argument must therefore underscore the fairness of providing “unauthorized resident” children access to education while their parents provide labor. Twenty years ago, *Plyler v. Doe* (1982) upheld the right of unauthorized migrant children to receive a public school education, holding that a “statute which withholds from local school districts any state funds for the education of children who were not ‘legally admitted’ into the United States, and which authorizes local school districts to deny enrollment to such children, violates the Equal Protection Clause of the 14th Amendment” (p. 222), further noting that “the deprivation of education takes an inestimable toll on the social, economic, intellectual, and psychological well-being of the individual, and poses an obstacle to individual achievement” (p. 223).

Education specialists thus clearly stand on strong legal ground when arguing that if states are responsible for the education of “unauthorized resident” children, the federal government bears the responsibility not to make this financially impossible by delegating the responsibility and financial burden to individual states, regardless of these states’ resources and proportion of unauthorized migrants in their population.

Educational tourism. Educational policymakers and education specialists must further argue that the provision of education to the children of unauthorized migrants is not the motivation behind unauthorized entrance into the United States. “Educational tourism” is a myth. In fact, many “unauthorized resident” parents face enormous difficulties enrolling their children in U.S. schools. Many speak poor English, have low levels of education, and fear risking deportation because of enrolling their students in public schools. They often feel intimidated by educational institutions, finding it difficult to articulate their educational needs to teachers, principals, and supervisors.

Migrants, both legal and unauthorized, leave their homes, their communities, and their countries of origin in search of better working and living conditions, not to enroll their children in American schools. As researched by Portes and Rumbaut (1996), “individual migration is determined by . . . two different types of social structures: those linking sending and receiving countries and those linking communities and families in places of origin and destination” (p. 272). As migrants leave their homes of origin, they do not choose their destinations randomly; they choose on the basis of close networks of relatives and friends who are in a position to provide them with valuable information regarding housing and work opportunities.

Strengthening communities. Similarly, educational policymakers and education specialists must make it clear that providing federal funding to public schools with unauthorized migrant children would significantly strengthen the social fabric of these communities. As *Plyler v. Doe* states, “[p]ublic education has a pivotal role in maintaining the fabric of our society and in sustaining our political and cultural heritage” (p. 230). Denying “unauthorized resident” children access to public schools would increase already existing social tensions—not only within immigrant communities, but also between these communities and communities that consider themselves nonimmigrant.

The impact of NCLB. Another argument that education specialists may choose to consider is how the educational “reforms” of NCLB are affecting the priorities and prospects of public schools. NCLB requires that schools be assessed and evaluated annually using student test data; it also requires that schools implement educational interventions to raise the achievement of students in different demographic segments.⁹ Unfortunately, as the sanctions imposed by NCLB increase in severity, the implications become ominous for schools with large numbers of immigrant children. Sanctioned schools are given 5 years in PI status to raise the scores of the students or face restructuring, and these are the schools with the highest number of Hispanic students; each year in PI results in a higher percentage of Hispanic students in these schools as well.

The reality of NCLB is that school districts in communities with children with special needs, such as ELL children, generally lack the quantity and quality of expertise and resources needed to foster significant improvement. Assisting such schools is clearly necessary, because as children of unauthorized migrants continue to enroll in schools, legal Hispanic resident children find themselves at additional risk. Primarily

Hispanic schools are vulnerable to closure because of their inability to raise scores, since many are underfunded “majority minority” schools with uncredentialed teachers, but closing these schools would have an adverse impact on their communities as well as on the future of both the unauthorized and resident Hispanic children.

In a report entitled *Who's Left Behind*, Consentino de Cohen, Deterding, and Clewell (2005) argue that NCLB, because it holds schools accountable for the academic performance of ELLs, must examine the ways in which such learners are educated. They point out, as we have above, that a large percentage of ELLs (70%) are concentrated in 10% of what they call high limited English proficient (High LEP) schools. They also argue “the segregation of LEP students results in their isolation from the educational mainstream and the attendant loss of the benefits of interacting with English-speaking classmates” and “a loss for English-dominant students” (p. 16).

California, with its increasing Hispanic population, presents a special challenge in terms of contending with the reduced achievement level of this population. We too argue that for ELLs, the intense and sustained linguistic isolation that results from racial and ethnic segregation is one of the central factors of this challenge and is critical to address. As we imagine the future, we agree with Tienda and Mitchell (2006a) as they point out,

During the first quarter of the 21st century, the Hispanic age bulge will offer a unique opportunity to improve the common good by attenuating the social and economic costs of an aging majority population while enhancing national productivity and global competitiveness. Realizing this potential will require educational investments that position future entrants into the labor force to compete for high-paying jobs in a service and information economy. . . . Given the projected growth of the Hispanic population over the next quarter century, compromising the future economic prospects of Hispanics by underinvesting in their education will likely compromise the nation's future as well. (pp. 126–127)

NOTES

1. The census defines linguistically isolated households as those in which everyone over the age of 14 speaks English less than “very well.” We use the term linguistic isolation as synonymous to linguistic segregation.
2. All raw data are from California Department of Education, <http://www.cde.ca.gov/ta/>
3. This section draws significantly from Valdés, Fishman, Chavez, & Perez (in press).
4. For a discussion of the debates surrounding the *Lau* remedies, see Crawford (1992a).

5. Proposition O in 1983 urged the federal government to amend the Voting Rights Act; Proposition 63 in 1986 named English as the official language of California; Proposition 187, from 1994, called upon school and health and welfare agencies to ask students and clients to prove their legal status before receiving services; Proposition 209 in 1996 urged an end to affirmative action through constitutional amendment; and in 1998, 61% of voters agreed to dismantle bilingual education by supporting Proposition 227. For further information see Adams and Brink (1990) and Crawford (1992a, 1992b) for Proposition 63; Herrera (1995) and McLaughlin et al. (1995) for Proposition 187; Gibbs and Bankhead (2001) for Proposition 209; and Butler, Orr, Gutierrez, and Hakuta (2000) and Garcia and Curry-Rodriguez (2000) for Proposition 227.

6. It is possible that the falloffs in the non-Hispanic white and African American student segments may in fact be significantly lower than the totals listed in Table 1 because of the explosive increase in the number of students who identify themselves as "Multiracial/Other." If students elect to classify themselves as such, the bottom blade in the scissor graph in Figure 1 would reflect this change with a downward bend.

7. To determine the "mean Hispanic percent" we divided the "mean number of Hispanic students" by the "mean number of tested students" and then clustered the schools by the "mean Hispanic percent." The mean total number of students tested in grades 2–8 is 394 students (with standard error and deviation of 2.66 and 198, respectively).

8. Passel (2006) uses the term "unauthorized migrants" to refer to individuals who reside in the United States but who are not U.S. citizens or persons admitted to the U.S. for permanent residency or persons authorized to work or reside in the United States on a temporary basis.

9. NCLB requires that school districts maintain achievement data for students according to their gender, ethnicity, socioeconomic status, mobility level, English language proficiency level, and disability status, as well as according to the percentage in schools employing teachers who are fully credentialed and the percentage in schools employing teachers who hold emergency credentials.

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