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An Urban High School's Response to a Demographic Shift

By Tristian Cox

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of

Ed. D.

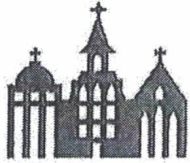
College of Education and Human Services

Higher Education Leadership, Management and Policy

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COLLEGE OF EDUCATION AND HUMAN SERVICES
SETON HALL UNIVERSITY

APPROVAL FOR SUCCESSFUL DEFENSE

Tristian M. Cox has successfully defended and made the required modifications to the text of the doctoral dissertation for the Ed.D. during this **Spring Semester 2020**.

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The mentor and any other committee members who wish to review revisions will sign and date this document only when revisions have been completed. Please return this form to the Office of Graduate Studies, where it will be placed in the candidate's file and submit a copy with your final dissertation to be bound as page number two.

Abstract

With the increasing numbers of Latino English Learners in United States, school educators are tasked with how to better service this population of students. New immigration destination schools are being affected by challenges that come with this increasing population of students. High schools that are experiencing demographic shifts from being predominantly African American to Latino are not prepared to meet the needs of these students. Moreover, additional challenges that arise with this group of students involve addressing their socioemotional and acculturation needs. This qualitative study examined how key personnel in an urban high school responded to a swift demographic shift from a student population that was predominantly African American to one that is predominantly Latino. The data was analyzed using the dedoose program to organize and identify patterns. The themes within the data identified relationships within the data that was collected. The data was configured and generated into individual textural rich thick descriptions of the findings.

A qualitative research design was conducted by looking at the experiences of school personnel and their practices and policies implemented to assist Latino English Learners. The case study focused on understanding perspectives of school personnel in order to identify themes related to how school personnel respond to servicing this group of students. To accomplish this, the research collected data by conducting 25 interviews of school personnel. The researcher also gathered background information about the school, which detailed how the school currently services Latino students. The general themes that emerged from data analysis: (a) Challenges School Personnel Face, (b) Student Mobility, (c) Traumatic Experiences of Latino ELs, (d) Lack of Training, (e) The District's Response, (f) Cultural Integration, (g) Positive Social and Emotional Development for Latino ELs, (h) Language Acquisition, (i) Funding, and (j)

Measuring Success—Outcomes. The findings of this study will assist school districts across the United States that face changing student demographics to reflect a large portion of the student body that is Latino. The gathered information will also contribute to enhance practices for teacher education programs that attempt to train preservice teachers who are learning how to meet the needs of Latino English Learners.

Keywords: Demographic shift, Latino students, English learners, School Personnel, Urban High School, ESL

Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to my son Benjamin L. Cox. This one was for you my heartbeat. I look forward to many fishing trips together...

Love DAD

Acknowledgments

It takes a village to raise a child is a widespread African proverb that bids a clear message: the community should have a pivotal role in the socioemotional development and growth of children in order for those children to prosper safely and healthily. When I graduated high school in 2005, I entered Rutgers as a freshman with the Village in mind—even if I did not have a plan to accomplish an Ed.D. Fifteen years later in 2020 after my RU graduation with my M.A.T. in History/Social Studies, my goal was merely to teach history. Even back then, I had no idea that I was joining the ranks of what education scholars deem now as Black males who make up only two percent of the teacher workforce. So, as it happens, how did I get here? Well, this popular ancient aphorism prompts me to urgently shout out a group of people who helped me thrive throughout this challenging yet remarkable journey known to me as a Black man in education who in recent years craved to earn an Ed.D. in Educational Leadership. Therefore, it is at this moment that I need to respectfully acknowledge how I am lucky to have family and friends who supported me as I navigated into a multitude of draconian unforeseen barriers all while trying to steer through a rigorous dissertation journey.

Above all, this work is dedicated to my son, Benjamin Luis Cox. When you were born on 7 May 2019, I reminded myself that my goal was to complete this dissertation process before your first birthday. Frequently, your presence motivated me to stay on track with that goal-date I successfully met. To my wife, Laura Marie Diaz, M.D., I would not have advanced to become Dr. Tristian Myles Cox if I lacked your steadfast support. Nightly, I felt guilty as I spend endless hours at Panera Bread where I was stuck writing these chapters while you were home taking care of Baby Ben who was safe and healthy because of your supervision.

The **village** of people who played a pivotal role in my life filled with successes include my family: Grandma Veronica Cox, Grandma Jamesetta Goodson, Grandfather Bob Goodson,

the Warrens in my life, Uncle Beef, my dad Martin, my mom Dorianne, my brother Cameron, Aunt Hope, Great Grandma Eva Marie Fort, Aunt Patty, Cousin Rocky, Momma Davis, Uncle Eric, Uncle Tim Goodson, Morris Lucky and Uncle Robby. My longtime Rutgers family: Professor B. Rubin, Cienai, Heather, Professor Joy Smith, Asa, Emo, Leke, Marcos, Deshawn, Charles, Robert, Richard, Roger, and Dean Larry Jones. I also want to acknowledge Sergio, Ricky, Marlon, Coach P., Evan Horng, Stephanie, John, Julianna, Jim Leake, Mike Reny, Kevin Sheridan, Patricia Hembree, Rashawn Adams, Theresa Radline, Patricia George, Andre McCauley, William Daves, Jamar Braddy, Vinchey Griffen, Kaz Beverley, Dr. Calvin John Smiley; my life coach mentor Ronald Feldhun and my education mentor Ernest Caldwell. Thank you is also in order for district superintendent Dianna Mitchell and school personnel who served as study participants. Shout out to all of my colleagues who welcomed me into the school communities I worked in.

Lastly, I would like to dedicate these chapters to all of the schoolchildren I taught within the Plainfield, New Jersey community in my role as a history/social studies teacher for the past 10 years. You kept me focused on the historical certainty that my role as a Black male educator was to encourage you to be active learners as I tirelessly endorsed my students' intellectual and moral development inside my classroom space.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

The United States of America has long served as a place of refuge for people seeking a better life. Freedom from oppression and the potential for an increase in opportunity show up in historical accounts of immigrant families who have come to America. The size of the U.S. foreign-born population has grown significantly since 1960, rising from 9.7 million to 43.7 million, or 13.5% of the U.S. population (Pew Research Center, 2018). Immigrant families have seen migration to the United States of America as a pathway to improve education, financial status, and social conditions (Baum & Flores, 2011; Borrero, 2011; Ceja, 2004; Erisman & Looney, 2007; Kiyama, 2010). The ethnicities and the faces of immigrants to the United States of America have changed over time, but their reasons for leaving their countries behind to start a new life in America are the same: they seek better employment options, safer living conditions, better and an improved standard of living (Hendriks, 2018).

The United States has more immigrants than any other nation in the world. One in every seven people living in the United States was born in another country and the U.S.-born children of immigrants (second-generation Americans) make up another 11.9% (30.8 million) of the nation's population. By 2050, these two groups could account for 19% and 18% of the population, respectively (Pew Research Center, 2018). Immigration added over 47 million people to the U.S. population and also brought about unprecedented ethnic and racial diversity, dramatically altering the demography of the country between 1960 and 2000 (Pew Research Center, 2018). More than 11 million U.S. immigrants were born in Mexico, putting it at the top of birth countries. There are nearly as many immigrants from Mexico as from all of South and East Asia. Mexicans were the largest group among new arrivals to the United States over the past three decades, but in

recent years that has changed as immigration from Mexico has slowed and India and China have grown in immigrant population share (Migration Policy Institute, 2018).

Although there has been a recent decline in the proportionate number of migrants from Latin America, Hispanics remain the most significant and largest ethnic group.¹ The Hispanic population includes the population originating from Spanish-speaking countries in Latin America and the Caribbean, including Central and South Americans, Cubans, Puerto Ricans, Mexicans, and Dominicans (Ortiz, Valerio, & Lopez, 2012). At last count, Hispanics comprised 18.1% of the U.S. population (56.6 million people), and this figure is expected to grow by 86% by 2060 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2017).

Concomitant with the rapid expansion of the Hispanic population in the United States, there has been a large increase in the number of Hispanic students in U.S. K-12 schools. Hispanics accounted for 25% of the nation's 54 million K-12 students in 2016, up from 16% in 2000. In 14 states, Hispanics accounted for at least 20% of K-12 students in 2016 and about half or more of all K-12 students in three states: New Mexico (61%), California (52%), and Texas (49%) (Pew Research Center, 2018). The increase in the enrollment of Hispanic students in America makes it crucial to ensure that Hispanic students achieve the same educational standards as their white counterparts who are required to be successful in the workforce.

Compelling evidence shows a persistent opportunity gap between Hispanic students and their White peers, indicating that significant numbers of Hispanic youth will not be adequately prepared for higher educational attainment and subsequent leadership

¹ Hispanic and Latino are often used interchangeably. Hispanic refers to people who speak Spanish and/or are descended from Spanish-speaking populations, while Latino refers to people who are from Latin America or descended from Latin American populations. Latino and/or Hispanic are terms that are thought of as racial categories and are often used to describe race in the way that we also use Black, White, and Asian. In this dissertation I use the terms interchangeably (Pew Research Center, 2013). Hispanics are defined as individuals and their offspring originating from Cuba, Dominican Republic, Mexico, Puerto Rico, and South or Central America. The complication with this definition is that it does not include people from Brazil. The U.S. Census Bureau employs a method of self-identification to determine who is Hispanic (Pew Research Center, 2009).

roles in society (Martinez et. all, 2004). The White-Hispanic gap on the NAEP in eighth-grade reading scores was 19 points in 2017, which is not significantly different from 2015 but smaller than the 26-point score difference in 1992 (Alliance for Excellent Education, 2017). The ongoing disparities in academic performance (as measured by tests) indicates a need for examination of the factors contributing to gaps and understanding of the conditions that increase the likelihood of success among these underserved students.

English Learner (EL) is a broad term that refers to students learning English who are a diverse group from many different states and native language backgrounds (Pew Research Center, 2018). Spanish is the most common language spoken at home for EL students, but not in all states (Pew Research Center, 2018). The differences between the terms *Latino* and *English Learner* can be confusing because they are different, but overlapping (Pew Research Center, 2018). English Learners represent a growing portion of the student body in the United States. In the fall of 2015, there were almost 5 million English Learners (ELs) enrolled in public schools (Pew Research Center, 2018). This represented 9.6% of all public school students (4.9 million), which is an increase from 8.1% (3.8 million) in 2010 (Pew Research Center, 2018.) In 2014-15, more than 75% of EL students were Hispanic (US ED, 2017). There are roughly 2.3 million first-generation Latino EL students and 4.4 million second-generation Latino EL students in the United States (Auclair, 2014). English Learners make up a large portion of the students in the United States.

There are wide gaps between ELs and all students in rates of graduation from high school (Migration Policy Institute, 2018). Sixty-three percent of EL students graduate

from high school (Callahan, 2005). The AGCR (adjusted graduation cohort rate) for EL students is 63%, which is significantly lower than the national average for Hispanic students, which is 80%. The ACGR² for White high school students is 89% (NCES, 2018). For the class of 2017, the share of ELs to graduate within four years was 76%, compared to a four-year graduation rate of 91% of all students. However, both of these rates were considerably higher than rates at the national level for the most recent year available (SY 2015-16), which were 67% for ELs and 84% for all students (Migration Policy Institute, 2018).

This study sought to understand how administrators and other school personnel in a secondary school respond to a significant demographic shift in the student population from predominantly African American to predominantly Latino with a large EL population. This study also looked to understand what a school is doing in response to a swift demographic shift, and how school personnel think and feel about the shift in demographics. Finally, this study examined how the administration evaluates their success.

Problem Statement

Although some Latino students successfully navigate the American educational system, the majority struggles academically (Gandara & Contreras, 2009). The majority of Latino children (62%) live in low-income families (Addy, et al., 2013).

² This indicator examines the percentage of U.S. public high school students who graduate on time, as measured by the adjusted cohort graduation rate (ACGR). In this indicator, the United States includes public schools in the 50 states and the District of Columbia, except for the Bureau of Indian Education schools. State education agencies calculate the ACGR by identifying the “cohort” of first-time ninth-graders in a particular school year. The cohort is then adjusted by adding any students who transfer into the cohort after ninth grade and subtracting any students who transfer out, immigrate to another country, or die. The ACGR is the percentage of students in this adjusted cohort who graduate within four years with a regular high school diploma.

Latino children from low-income families often attend the most poorly equipped urban schools in the most impoverished school districts that lack the resources to educate their increasingly diverse populations (Davila & Michaels, 2016). Most urban schools are located in neighborhoods that have high crime rates, high poverty, educational failures, and significant rates of welfare dependency (Simon, Lewis, Uro, Uzzel, Palacios, & Caserly, 2011). Urban public schools have fewer educational programs, and limited resources. While most public high schools, regardless of poverty level, offer courses like algebra and biology, disparities in access are associated with school poverty level for more advanced courses like calculus, physics, and those that may allow students to earn college credit, like Advanced Placement (AP) courses (Nowicki, 2018)

Schools with large EL populations face the challenge of communicating with parents, some of whom have comparatively low levels of literacy in their native language, in addition to not speaking or reading English (Good, Masewicz, & Vogel, 2010). Less than one sixth of teacher preparation programs include EL content in their curriculum (Menken & Antunez, 2001). Research suggests that districts and school leadership should work together to ensure strong support systems for teachers so that they can meet the needs of EL students, including through improved family engagement (Calderon, Slaving, & Sanchez, 2011). Elfers and Stritikus (2014) identified five themes that are critical to the advancement of EL students: commitment to resolving fragmentation by focusing on high-quality instruction, creating a productive blend of district- and school-level leadership initiatives, communicating a compelling rationale, differentiating support systems at elementary and secondary levels, and using data for instructional improvement.

Over the past several decades, suburban communities across the United States have undergone significant and rapid demographic shifts in their student populations (Holme, Diem, & Welton, 2014). Between 1960 and 2000, seven states known as immigrant destinations— California, New York, Florida, Texas, New Jersey, Illinois, and Massachusetts—have collectively attracted more than 60% of the foreign-born population. Between 2000 and 2009, the number of immigrants grew by 24% from 31.1 million to 38.5 million.

While most of the country was experiencing more or less stagnant growth and even decline, the foreign-born population grew by 49% or more in 14 states known as the new immigrant destinations: South Carolina, Alabama, Tennessee, Delaware, Arkansas, South Dakota, Nevada, Georgia, Kentucky, North Carolina, Wyoming, Idaho, Indiana, and Mississippi (Terrazas, A. (2011). Research has shown that schools in new immigrant destinations are a critical point of contact for newcomers, and the educational systems must adapt to serve these growing populations of students (Lowenhaupt, 2014). Schools and neighborhoods in new destinations lack immigrant-specific resources and ethnic support systems to meet the diverse needs of children of immigrants. New immigrant destination schools also struggle to train teachers in bilingual and ESL education and to offer linguistic supports for EL students and their parents (Bohon, MacPherson, & Atilas, 2005; Dondero & Muller, 2012; Wainer, 2006).

Fewer studies have looked at urban schools that change from a school with predominantly African American students to a school that is comprised predominantly of Latino students. This study focused on that demographic shift and administrators' responses to supporting the students and staff to successfully navigate this shift.

Purpose

The purpose of this qualitative study was to investigate how administrators and key personnel in an urban school respond to a significant demographic shift in their student population from being predominantly African American to being majority Latino with a large number of the Latino students being English Learners. More specifically, this study looked to explore strategies, methods, and resources used by an urban high school to address the academic needs of Latino English Learners in a school district that underwent a recent rapid transition.

Research Questions

This study was guided by the following research questions:

1. What resources do school administrators employ to facilitate language acquisition, cultural integration, and positive social-emotional development among Latino EL students in an urban public high school that recently underwent a large demographic shift?
 - a. What training is provided to school personnel to assist with EL students?
 - b. What additional funds do schools receive to provide services to EL students?
 - c. How do administrators use those funds?
2. How do school administrators define and measure success for their students in a school with a rapidly expanding Latino population, a large proportion of whom are English Learners?
3. What challenges do school personnel identify in meeting the needs of Latino EL students?
4. How do they attempt to address the challenges?

- a. What additional resources or supports do school administrators and teachers need in order to effectively address the challenges they experience in meeting the needs Latino EL students?

Theoretical Framework

In order to examine the support that is provided to immigrant students at an urban public high school, it is necessary to utilize theoretical frameworks that help understand the acculturation process for immigrants. Previous research has defined the route to acculturation as linear, with one clear path and outcome (Rumbaut, 1997). In this context, distinctive ethnic origin traits of new immigrant groups (e.g., cultural customs or native language) were seen as shortcomings that needed to be discarded in order to successfully assimilate into mainstream American society (Zhou, 1997). According to Alba and Nee (2003), classical assimilation was broadly defined as the social process of bringing ethnic minorities into the mainstream of American life. Immigrants would in due course, over two or three generations, join the mainstream of a society dominated by a homogenous middle-class, White, European American Protestant ethos (Suarez-Orozco & Baolin Qin-Hilliard, 2004).

This view of acculturation relies on outdated assumptions that immigrants left country A to settle permanently in country B (Moya, 1998; Piore, 1979). The norm, however, was that an immigrant leaving Ireland or Eastern Europe was not supposed to look back. This is hardly surprising, since the very idea of immigration was to look forward to a new state and better opportunities in a new country. Sociologist Alejandro Portes also theorized that there would be a clean break in the acculturation process for immigrants. This conceptualization assumed that in order for immigrants to be accepted

into American culture, they must rid themselves of anything that related to their original culture and accept everything that is American.

Yet, because of a new ease of mass transportation and new communication technologies, immigration is no longer structured around the “sharp break” with the country of origin that once characterized the transoceanic experience. Immigrants today are more likely to be at once “here” and “there,” articulating dual consciousness and dual identities and, in the process, bridging increasingly unbounded national spaces (Basch, Schiller, & Szanton, 1994). This is in part because scholars of immigrant change conceptualized it as a dual process of gain (new culture, participation in new social structures) and loss (old culture, old social structures) (Suarez-Orozco, Suarez-Orozco, & Baolin Qin, 2005).

Transnationalism suggests that immigrants do not completely let go of their original culture, but experience more of a balancing act between holding on to their country of origin while accepting new traditions. In essence, though immigrants may invest themselves in their new host environment, they may also continue to participate in activities and relationships from their country of origin (Schiller, 1999). After the family, school is the single most important institution in their lives. School functioning is a powerful indicator of children’s ongoing and future well being. This is even more the case for immigrant children, as schools are their primary contact with mainstream society (Suarez-Orozco, Suarez-Orozco, & Baolin Qin, 2005). The earlier research on immigrant assimilation is updated by current trends that suggest what it means for immigrants to be acculturated into American society. There are indications that newer and recent

immigrants no longer leave their home country and completely sever ties with their communities and contacts at home (Heisler, 2000).

In this study, I used these theories of acculturation to analyze the approaches taken at High school with regard to immigrant student acculturation. I examined the school policies and practices that are in place to support the acculturation of immigrant students and explored the underlying ideologies along with the structural features associated with the school's acculturation efforts. I interviewed school personnel in order to examine their perspectives and ideologies about acculturation and compared these with existing theories. In addition, I examined the extent to which there is one consistent model and perspective on acculturation or if the school implements multiple perspectives and approaches.

Research Design

This study was designed as qualitative case study. The case study examined a public urban high school's response to a swift demographic shift from being a high school with students who were predominantly African American to predominantly Latino. High school is an urban school that serves students from families who are living at or below the poverty line. In 2008-09 at ABC the majority of students were African American (60%) with a smaller Latino/a population (34%). The current (2018-19) student population is largely Latino/a (73%), with a sizable proportion of those students also classified as English Learners (585 students or 34%). In order to complete this study I used qualitative research methodologies in order to describe what is occurring at ABC high school. A case study design allowed for in-depth understanding of the swift demographic shift in student populations from predominantly African American to Latino and how key actors respond to this shift. This qualitative study collected interview data

from administrators, teachers, and key school-based personnel about their experiences with, understanding of, and response to swift demographic shift in the student population.

The study utilized a sample size of 25 relevant school administrators and school personnel at an urban public high school who are working in a school dealing with this shift in demographics. The interviewees included the assistant superintendent, the director of bilingual and ESL services, the supervisor of bilingual and ESL services, the director of secondary curriculum and instruction, the principal, the vice principal team of four, the director of guidance, two guidance counselors, and eight teachers. In addition, the study included document analysis of the district's existing policies and practices that address the issue.

Significance of This Study

This study will be valuable to school districts that are dealing with a shift in their student demographics to being primarily Latino with a large population of English Learners. This study will also be valuable to researchers by describing the efforts and some of the challenges faced in doing this work, and how study participants have overcome those challenges. The data generated from this study may offer guidance to other researchers, school district personnel, and policymakers faced with serving a new population of EL students.

School districts with similar demographics and population sizes to those described in this study will benefit from the enhanced knowledge and the strategies that schools are putting in place to support their Latino students. The study identified factors, programs, resources, and practices that are in place to assist high school Latino English Learners in order create a more equitable educational environment.

Organization of This Dissertation

Chapter 1 introduces the research study and discusses the necessity and the framework for this study. Chapter 2 is an analysis of the scholarly literature and research that supports this study. Chapter 2 also explains the historical background and factors impacting what administrators and key figures in secondary public school settings can do to support a successful educational experience for Latino students. Chapter 3 discusses the methodological design that was used to approach this study. Qualitative methodology was used to explore what administrators and key figures in secondary public school settings can do to support a successful educational experience for Latino students. In Chapter 3 I also share my position as a researcher.

Chapter 4 includes the findings of the study and describes how the study was analyzed by way of making connections to the research used in this study. Chapter 5 contains information regarding the implications of this research, and concludes with recommendations for educators and stakeholders who are committed to the development of success within the Latino student population in a secondary public school setting. Chapter 5 also creates a connection between the themes presented in direct result of the data analysis and the theoretical framework. Finally, Chapter 5 provides future recommendations and policy implications for administrators, researchers, and policymakers.

Key Terms

Classical assimilation. The social process of bringing ethnic minorities into the mainstream of American life.

First-generation immigrant. A student who lives in the United States, but was born outside of the United States or U.S. territories.

Graduation rate. The number of students who graduate from high school, represented as a percentage.

Hispanic. Referring to an individual of Mexican, Cuban, South or Central American, Puerto Rican, or any other Spanish culture, origin, or heritage regardless of race.

Latino/a. A term to describe individuals from Mexico, Central and South America, and the Caribbean islands, which has a more cultural nuance; it includes language, heritage, and traditions.

Public urban secondary schools. High schools, grades 9-12, that are in an urban setting.

Second-generation immigrant. A student who was born in the United States and has at least one parent who is an immigrant.

Segmented assimilation. Assimilation can occur along three distinct paths: (a) traditional integration that begins with acculturation into the White American middle class, (b) downward or negative integration into the impoverished under class, or (c) rapid economic advancement while still preserving immigrant values and solidarity.

Social capital. The capacity of groups and individuals to secure resources through social networks or broader social structures based on collective social trust.

Spatial assimilation. Newly arrived immigrant groups are more likely to first reside in ethnic enclaves usually located in older urban centers and lower socioeconomic areas.

Structural assimilation. The middle-class, White, Protestant, European American framework of the dominant society.

Success. For the purpose of this study, a successful student is defined as a student who has a 2.5 or higher cumulative GPA, and someone who is motivated to graduate high school, possibly attend college, and/or obtain a job upon graduation.

Successful learning environment. For the purpose of this study, a successful learning environment is defined a secondary school setting (grades 9-12) that is set up for Latino students to have access to an equitable education system.

Transnationalism. Affects the assimilation experience for immigrants in the United States and will no doubt foster the future development of new versions of assimilation theories.

Chapter 2: Review Methods

This literature review covers the strategies, methods, and resources related to how administrators and key personnel in an urban school respond to a significant demographic shift in their student population with a recent expansion in the size of the Latino English Learner (EL) student body. The review focused on studies that analyze Latino ELs in the United States, federal and state education policies that relate to Latino ELs, and studies that focus on the acculturation experiences of Latino EL students. The information was identified via electronic databases including JSTOR, SAGE, ProQuest, ERIC, EBSCOHost, and Google Scholar. The sources include but are not limited to peer-reviewed education journals and periodicals, reports, dissertations, academic journals, theses, books, and government reports.

Search terms used in the literature review included *Latino students, Latino EL high school students in America, English Learners, EL language acquisition, new immigrant destinations, schools in new immigrant destinations, strategies to assist EL students in new immigrant destinations, EL cultural integration, positive social emotional development for EL students, training teachers to work with Latino EL students, qualities of a good EL teacher, administration's role in supporting Latino EL students, and measurements of success for Latino EL students*. Relevant information was identified in the literature on the responses of administrators and key personnel to the rapid demographic shift and theories of acculturation as a theoretical framework for the study. Studies produced more than 10 years ago were not included in this review of the literature unless they provided historical relevance.

Introduction

The “American dream” is based on the premise that one can achieve success and prosperity through hard work and determination. Many Latino immigrant families believe in the American dream and move to the United States for greater opportunities, employment, and education for their children (Pew Research Center, 2018). Latinos represent the fastest-growing segment of the U.S. population. According to the Pew Research Center, the U.S. Hispanic population reached a record 59.9 million in 2018, up 1.2 million over the previous year and up from 47.8 million in 2008 (Flores et al.). The Latino immigrant population in schools in the United States is growing rapidly. Latino first-generation immigrants comprise 13.6% of the U.S. population (6 million), with the U.S.-born children of immigrants (second-generation Americans) making up 11.9% of the nation’s population (3.8 million) (Pew Research Center, 2019). Among U.S. immigrants, Spanish is by far the most spoken non-English language (43% of immigrants say they speak Spanish at home) (Pew Research Center, 2019). With the Latino student population continuing to grow, it is imperative to improve their educational experiences.

Latino Student Characteristics

A large percentage of Latino students attend disadvantaged schools where the overall academic and supporting environments are less conducive to academic achievement and learning. In fall 2016, the percentage of students who attended high-poverty schools was highest for Latino students, at 45% (NCES, 2019). The proportion of minority students who attended public schools with a majority-minority enrollment has increased over time (NCES, 2019). According to the most recent NCES data, in fall 2015 approximately 30% of public school students attended schools in which minority students comprised at least 75% of total enrollment, with over half of Latino and Black students

attending such schools (NCES, 2019). A report completed by the Economic Policy Institute looked at Latino student trends in the United States by analyzing data from the NCES. The report noted that 40.3% of non-EL Latino students and 55.8% of Latino ELs attend a high poverty school (Carnoy & Garcia, 2017). While Latino students disproportionately attend under-resourced schools, some also attend high performing schools. Research on middle-class Latinos show high levels of academic socialization between parents and their children as early as elementary school, even with the same perceived barriers to involvement to those often found among poor and working-class Latino families (Inoa, 2017). Latino students are integrated into varying schools and need support no matter the complexity of their school environment.

English Learner Characteristics

An English language learner as an individual who is in the process of actively acquiring English, and whose primary language is one other than English (US DOE, 2017). The EL population continues to grow in the United States. In the fall of 2015 there were nearly 5 million English language learners enrolled in K-12 U.S. public schools, and their numbers are expected to grow to 40% of the student population by 2030 (Wingate, 2014). This represented 9.5% of U.S. public school enrollees, an increase from 8.1% in 2000 (Pew Research Center, 2018). In the United States, Latino ELs represent the majority of EL students (77.7%, or 3.8 million students) and Spanish is the most common language spoken at home among all ELs (US DOE, 2017). In New Jersey, Latinos represent 70% of ELs, and nationwide, in 45 states Spanish is the most common language spoken among ELs (US DOE, 2017).

Urban areas are more likely to have EL students than rural areas. According to data from the NCES, ELs tend to live in urban districts, consisting of an average of 14%

of total public school enrollment in cities, 9.3% in suburban areas, 6.5% in towns, and 3.8% in rural areas. In addition, districts located in an urban city with a population of 250,000 or more have the highest share of EL students, at 16% (Pew Hispanic Research Center, 2019). Furthermore, ELs represent a disproportionate number of students from lower socioeconomic backgrounds.

According to data from the U.S. Department of Education, while only 10% of all students were identified as ELs, ELs represented 14% of all homeless children enrolled in public school, and 15% of students served by Title 1 or Targeted Assistance School Programs. In addition, 58% of immigrants are concentrated in only 6 states: California, Texas, Florida, New York, New Jersey, and Illinois. In these states, most unauthorized immigrants live in urban areas, with the top 20 metro areas consisting of 65% of the total immigrant population of 28.7 million immigrants. Latino ELs constitute a large portion of students in American schools, and focusing on their experiences in education is imperative to understanding the complexity of the issues that they face.

Lower Outcomes of Latino ELs

Because Latinos comprise a significant proportion of the EL population and represent the fastest growing population of students in the United States, their achievements are closely scrutinized. When examining the Latino-White achievement gap, data from the NAEP is often used. Also known as “the Nation’s Report Card,” the NAEP is the best-known assessment for student learning as a whole in the United States (Hemphill & Vanneman, 2011). The NAEP 2017 Reading and Mathematics Assessments included grade four and grade eight students nationally and looked at all 50 states, as well as the District of Columbia.

In the most recent assessment, the White-Latino reading achievement gap in fourth grade was 23 points, which was unchanged from 1992. For eighth grade reading the achievement gap remains, but narrowed from 26 points in 1992 to 19 points in 2017. For mathematics, the White-Latino achievement gap for fourth grade students in 2017 was 19 points, not measurably different from the gap in 1990. At grade eight, the White-Latino achievement gap in 2017 was 24 points, not measurably different from the gap in 1990. In 2017 reading achievement scores there was no significant difference between Latino and Black students. These achievement gaps leave Latino students and Latino ELs in the forefront of research to close the nationwide student achievement gap and improve academic outcomes among Latino EL students. It has also led to numerous bodies of research focusing on the cause of this achievement gap.

In examining one contributing factor to this achievement gap, researchers have specifically noted that secondary school teachers have lower expectations of students of color and students from disadvantaged backgrounds, also known as deficit-thinking (Lynch & Oakford 2014). Numerous studies have documented how a deficit-thinking paradigm in public education has negatively impacted Latino ELs, especially those from low-income immigrant communities (Valencia, 1997).

In a longitudinal study conducted by researchers from the Center for American Progress, Ulrich Boser, Megan Wilhelm, and Robert Hanna explored deficit-thinking amongst secondary school teachers, examining how their lower expectations for Latino EL students affect student success. The authors analyzed data from the National Center for Education Statistics' Education Longitudinal Study, conducting a logistic regression of students' actual academic outcomes on teachers' expectations. The study noted that

secondary teachers predicted that high-poverty students were 53% less likely to earn a college diploma than their upper-middle-class peers. They also suggested that Latino students were 42% less likely to earn a college diploma than their White peers. The researchers noted that teacher expectations of disadvantaged students might reflect those students' lower levels of academic achievement; however, the consequences of these lower expectations could also have serious consequences for students. They explored the idea that one of the consequences of lower expectations for these students is related to the "Pygmalion effect," or the idea that people do better when more is expected of them (Boser , Wilhelm, & Hanna, 2014). In addition, the study found that 10th grade students who had teachers with higher expectations were more than three times more likely to graduate from college than students who had teachers with lower expectations, revealing a strong predictive relationship to college graduation rates. The authors concluded that high school students whose teachers have higher expectations about their future success are far more likely to graduate from college and be successful than those with teachers who have lower expectations. Similar impacts of bias and low expectations have been found in other studies of "implicit prejudice" and its relationship with ethnic stereotypes of student achievement (Van den Bergh, Denessen, Hornstra, Voeten, & Holland, 2010; Peterson, Rubie-Davies, Osborne, & Sibley, 2016). Notwithstanding lower academic outcomes for Latino EL students, studying new immigrant destinations and how they support Latino EL students can assist in developing best practices for Latino EL students.

Immigrant Destinations: Urban vs. Suburban

In the United States a rapid rise in the immigrant population has created a new demographic shift, currently reaching a record 44.4 million immigrants, comprising 13.6% of the population (Pew Research Center, 2019). Many immigrants have dispersed

from traditional destinations to communities with little or no prior history of immigration (Greenman & Hall, 2013). In the past, immigrants were concentrated in a handful of major cities throughout the country; however, new immigrant destinations are now shifting from traditional receiving states such as California, Texas, and New York to developing communities in the Midwest and Southeast, with a concomitant increase in research focused on these destinations (Hopkins, Lowenhaupt, & Sweet, 2015).

Immigrants in newer suburban destinations are more residentially integrated than their counterparts in more established urban immigrant communities (Hall, 2013). Regarding Latino students in particular, Alba et al. (2014) found that exposure of Latino children to non-Latino Whites was considerably higher in suburban new immigrant destinations versus more established urban environments (Alba et al., 2010; Hall, 2013). In addition, they note that those immigrants who reside outside urban enclaves in more suburban communities are subject to the largest improvement in residential status and increase in income when compared to their urban counterparts, who are living in neighborhoods with increased crime rates, and living at decreased income levels (Alba et al., 2014). This may be in part due to their uncertain legal status, which can impair their residential mobility (Alba et al., 2014). Data from the Pew Research Center shows that undocumented immigrants are concentrated in urban areas, with 61% of undocumented immigrants (6.5 million) living in only 20 metro areas that account for just 37% of the U.S. population. Furthermore, these areas have not changed for more than a decade (Pew Research Center, 2019).

The comparison of immigrants in urban enclaves to those in new immigrant destinations shows that overall, those in urban enclaves are of lower socioeconomic

status than those in more established suburban communities. Living in an urban environment may provide some advantages for Latinos who live there, including affordable housing, familiar culture and signage in their native language, and social networks which provide further opportunities (Li, Wen, & Henry, 2017). Living with co-ethnics or other minorities may have potential benefits such as fostering stronger social ties and providing more cultural resources, and may protect them from discrimination or other migration-related stressors. However, many of these urban enclaves have destructive effects on the residents who live there, including living in areas of increased poverty and crime, with low economic resources and decreased linguistic assimilation. In addition, many of the non-mobile Latinos living in these urban enclaves are Latinos who are of compromised legal status, who are either unauthorized or hold an insecure legal position such as the Temporary Protected Status granted to many Central Americans (Alba et al., 2014).

The conclusion can be drawn that EL students and Latino immigrants living in urban environments continue to be at a significant disadvantage when compared to their Latino immigrant counterparts in suburban new immigrant destinations, because as Latinos gain familiarity with mainstream society and mastery of the English language, they are more likely to live in a suburban new immigrant destination community (Alba et al., 2014). Latinos living in urban communities are described as less familiar with mainstream society and have less mastery of the English language, which provides a challenge for educators of EL students in these areas.

Education for Latino ELs in New Immigrant Destinations

The public education system is usually one of the first points of contact for many new immigrant children (Hopkins, Lowenhaupt, & Sweet, 2015). Many states that have

not traditionally had many EL students are experiencing dramatic increases in their EL student populations (Hopkins, Lowenhaupt, Sweet, 2015). Data from the Pew Research Center shows that unauthorized immigrants are spreading more broadly into southeastern states such as Georgia, and North Carolina than they did in the past. Given the consistent achievement gap between EL and native English speaking students, this leaves many new districts with a need to develop new programs for EL students to support their achievements and language skills (Hopkins, Lowenhaupt, & Sweet, 2015). In a study completed by Debra O'Neal, Marjorie Ringler, and Diane Rodriguez in 2008, 24 teachers at a rural elementary school in eastern North Carolina were interviewed regarding their perceptions of their preparedness to teach English language learners in the mainstream classroom. Findings revealed that teacher training programs have not prepared these individuals for the student populations they face today regardless of the year in which they received their teaching licenses. The study found that all of the teachers interviewed showed a strong desire to learn more at this time in their careers, but emphasized their lack of prior training. The authors then concluded with a discussion about the responsibility of Institutions of Higher Education (IHE) to provide formal education in teaching students from diverse language backgrounds.

In many new immigrant destinations, the school's capacity to support additive acculturation is limited by the educational resources available to support school leaders and teachers in providing high-quality instruction (Hopkins, Lowenhaupt, & Sweet, 2015). Furthermore, with respect to EL education, these resources (which are limited) include language proficiency standards and assessments, language programs (i.e., English as a Second Language [ESL] or bilingual), formal positions (e.g., ESL teachers), and

teacher professional development (Hopkins, Lowenhaupt, & Sweet, 2015). Given limited resources, school districts in new immigrant destinations commonly respond to their new populations by adding ESL programs to existing infrastructures (Kandel & Parrado, 2006). These programs can be organized through pullout, push-in, or co-teaching models (Kandel & Parrado, 2006.) One method used by schools to educate Latino EL students is through ESL pullout programs, which remove ELs from their regular classroom for a designated period of time for explicit instruction in English language. In pullout programs, ELs are removed from English language classes for mainstream students and separated into English learning classes. These programs are more prevalent in urban areas which have less financial resources to provide support for EL programs and teachers, and require less planning than push-in and co-teaching models (Hopkins, Lowenhaupt, & Sweet, 2015).

Research has shown that pullout programs are less effective, causing frequent interruptions for services and social isolation (Dove & Honigsfeld, 2010). In contrast, newer program developments of push-in and co-teaching models require ESL and general education teachers to work alongside each other (Hopkins, Lowenhaupt, & Sweet, 2015). In addition to English language proficiency standards and curricula, the development of new ESL programs at new immigrant destination schools requires the adoption of ESL teaching positions, for which educators typically need ESL certification; however, the vast majority of general education teachers have had very little training related to teaching ELs (Hopkins, Lowenhaupt, & Sweet, 2015). Nationwide teacher shortages affect schools attempting to educate Latino EL students (US ED, 2017).

Though largely focused at the secondary level, research has documented the marginal status that EL programs receive within school curricula, hypothesizing that the isolation of such programs is related to the marginality of immigrant and Latino EL students at the societal level, and also the marginalization of EL teachers, who are often not afforded the same status or authority over curriculum as other teachers (Hamann & Reeves, 2013). Despite the challenges that schools educating Latino EL students face, there are some promising models that exist to assist Latino EL students in new immigrant destinations.

Strategies to Assist EL Students in New Immigrant Destinations

As the school-age population becomes increasingly diverse in schools and districts across the United States, it is particularly important to develop infrastructures that support Latino ELs' needs in all subject areas (Hopkins, Lowenhaupt, & Sweet, 2015). In their book entitled *The Essential Guide for Educating Beginning English Learners*, authors Debbie Zacarian and Julie Haynes (2012) describe the following programming strategies to teach Latino ELs: programs that promote bilingualism and biliteracy, programs whose goal is to transition students from native language to English in a relatively short period of time, programs with structured immersion models in which instruction is in English (including sheltered English as well as ESL push-in and pullout models), and programs for secondary students with significant gaps in their education, or newcomer programming.

Bilingual immersion programs have ELs learning in their home language as they learn in English. The goal is to develop language mastery in two languages by receiving instruction in both (Soltero, 2004). These programs are a growing choice for school districts that want bilingualism for all of their students (Hayes & Zacharian, 2012). In

general these programs are thought to have good cognitive benefits for the students enrolled in them (Soltero, 2004). They are also often favored by parents. In one study completed in 2018 by Edward Olivios and Audrey Lucero, 363 parents from an Oregon state dual language immersion school were surveyed and found to be extremely satisfied with bilingual education. The authors noted that in general these programs are often chosen by parents based on their personal attitudes and beliefs about bilingualism, language learning, and/or the desire to raise bicultural children who remain connected to their heritage and community.

In contrast, programs that are geared towards moving students from their home language to English as quickly as possible are referred to as early exit and transitional bilingual programs. In these programs the goal is not bilingualism (Soltero, 2004). Early exit and transitional bilingual programs are common in Kindergarten up to first grade, with the home language taken out after two to three years in the program (Gersten & Woodward, 1995). In a five-year randomized controlled trial completed by Tong and colleagues (2008), student performance was evaluated after being randomly assigned to a transitional bilingual program or a structured English immersion program. Transitional bilingual programs were found to produce better academic outcomes than those in structured English immersion programs.

In structured immersion models, lessons are designed for students to learn English as they learn content. This model is often called sheltered immersion content, content based ESL, or ESL (Echevarria, Vogt, & Short, 2004). ESL push-in and pullout programs are also prevalent. In ESL pullout programs students will leave the general classroom to attend an ESL class each day. In settings that promote co-teaching or more collaborative

models, an ESL teacher will “push into” the general education classroom to collaborate with the general education teacher (Haynes & Zacarian, 2012). Sheltered immersion programming was explored in a case study performed by Aly Koura and Faten Zahran in 2017. The Sheltered instruction model is often used in classrooms across the United States to assist Latino ELs with acquiring English.

Newcomer programming refers to programming specifically for ELs who are new to the United States and have large educational gaps. The goals of this model are to assist students with acquiring beginning English skills, provide some level of instruction in core content areas, and assist in student acculturation to school in the United States (Short & Boyson, 2012). Most newcomer programming is designed as a separate program within the school. Students can continue to participate in regular activities and after-school programming, and exit the newcomer program into regular classes or specialized classes within the school (Short & Boyson, 2012). Effective strategies that assist Latino EL students paired with effective teacher training can promote academic achievement for Latino EL students.

Training Teachers to Instruct EL Students

The schools in the United States are more diverse than ever, yet there is a disconnect between the student population and their teachers. A national survey shows that “minority teachers were even more underrepresented in 2007 than they had been two decades earlier.” The percentage of minority teachers did not increase with the increase of minority students (Villegas, Strom, & Lucas, 2012). It is widely acknowledged that the linguistic and cultural distance between predominantly White, middle-class, monolingual teachers and their students “presents these teachers with enormous challenges” (Téllez & Waxman, 2006). An important tool for addressing such challenges is professional

development (Molle, 2013). In a 2008 report by Kiera Ballantyne, Alicia Sanderman, and Jack Levy, it was found by analyzing data from the NCES that in most U.S. classes where teachers have at least one EL student, only 29.5% of those teachers have had opportunities for professional development that caters to working with Latino EL students. This disconnect between student populations and teacher preparation present the need for effective training to assist teachers in developing skills to teach Latino EL students.

Developing teachers' skills through professional development is essential to ensuring that teachers are prepared to meet the needs of Latino EL students. Preparing preservice teachers to meet the needs of all of their students is fundamental in providing proper and adequate training, and understanding personal beliefs and attitudes can be a key element of effective training (Harrison & Lakin, 2018). Chang (2012) found that teachers made a significant impact on their students' learning when they received specialized instructional training for teaching English language learners. Professional development is one of the institutionalized practices that provide opportunities for educators to "acquire tools and habits of work and mind that can help them better meet the evolving and varied needs of their students" (Molle, 2013, p. 206). In order to better service Latino EL students it is imperative to provide effective professional development and training that aid teachers in supporting Latino EL students.

Research suggests that good teachers of ELs share many of the traits and characteristics of good teachers in general, including strong dedication/work ethic, good classroom management, providing a role model for students, positive relationships with teacher colleagues and administrators, and developing good relationships with parents

(Goldenberg, 2013). For ELs teachers were relatively more effective if they were fluent in their students' home language and had a bilingual certification (Loeb, Soland, & Fox, 2014). The consistently strong English language arts and math outcomes for students who are educated bilingually indicate that teachers who are able to teach bilingually have special skills to meet Latino ELs' academic needs (Genesee & Lindholm-Leary, 2005; Umansky & Reardon, 2014).

Bilingual teachers have advantages because they use a broader set of pedagogical strategies; they are more likely than monolingual teachers to believe that reaching out to and engaging with parents is part of their job (Hopkins, 2013). They can also better monitor what students are learning and adapt instruction to student needs (Maxwell-Jolly & Gándara, 2012). Teachers who can communicate with Latino ELs in their native language, involving them in classroom discussions and activities, can improve students' attitudes toward school and reduce the likelihood that they will drop out (Callahan, 2013). Teachers who work with Latino EL students are vital to that student population, and the further development of their training is essential to them being able to support Latino EL students.

Administrator Roles in Supporting Latino EL Students

The literature is clear that concerted, school-wide efforts are needed to create settings where Latino ELs can thrive (Goldenberg, 2013). To do this, schools need inspired school leaders who can engage parents and support teachers in meeting the challenges of teaching Latino ELs (Goldenberg, 2013). Building principals are the primary gatekeepers for educational change (Brooks, Adams, & Morita-Mullaney, 2010). School administrators who are trained in effective pedagogy for Latino EL students should be responsible for holding all teachers accountable for implementing research-

based instructional practices for EL students (Brooks, Adams, & Morita-Mullaney, 2010).

In schools, Latino EL students are seen as the primary responsibility of the ESL teacher and ESL program (Brooks, Adams, & Morita-Mullaney, 2010). However, social justice-oriented principals who are knowledgeable about the needs of Latino ELs can be influential in shaping school culture (DeMatthews & Izquierdo, 2019). Their position as principal allows them to serve as an instructional leader who is responsible for student expectations, parent involvement, budgets, and service delivery models (DeMatthews & Izquierdo, 2019). While these principals may still confront deficit thinking and problematic state and district policies, a small body of research suggests that particular leadership orientations, actions, and knowledge can contribute to the creation of schools that meet the academic, social, and emotional needs of Latino ELs (DeMatthews & Izquierdo, 2019). It is also the role of school administrators to further engage stakeholders in considering how the school's budget, resources, service delivery systems, and schedule can be revised to maximize resources. Ultimately it is the role of school administrators to create more equitable schools for Latino ELs and to foster a multi-dimensional social justice perspective that focuses on closing achievement gaps while equally valuing meaningful parent engagement and the rich cultural and linguistic assets of students and their community (DeMatthews & Izquierdo, 2019).

One example of a successful administrative leadership program is a cohort-based principal training program called The Urban School Leaders Collaborative. The Urban School Leaders Collaborative is a program that offers a model for creating leaders in support of social justice (Merchant & Garza, 2015). The pedagogy of this program is

based upon supporting educators as leaders for more equitable learning environments. School leaders who participate in this development program partake in exercises that develop a mindset of practices that are equitable, which helps leaders see the strength in students from diverse backgrounds (DeMatthews & Izquierdo, 2019). Understanding more about the challenges that leaders face in schools experiencing demographic shifts will help us know how to advance these programs in response to the realities that leaders are facing, which will promote growth in leaders developing positive learning environments in schools with large Latino EL student populations.

Teacher and Administrator Perspectives on Supporting Latino ELs

Teachers' abilities to connect with their students may be limited by their ability to understand who their students are (Blanchard & Muller, 2015). This is an important factor in the classroom because teacher perspectives on their students' academic efforts and potential play a major role in shaping student outcomes (Blanchard & Muller, 2015). This process is increasingly difficult in schools where a growing population of newcomers exists (Blanchard & Muller, 2015). Language background and immigrant status are two areas in which students may be distinct from their classmates, which teachers may need to consider when thinking about or advising Latino EL students (Blanchard & Muller, 2015). Most current research on teacher perceptions of Latino EL students shows that teachers find that Latino EL students initially have positive attitudes toward school, and have more self-discipline and respect for their teachers than other students (Blanchard & Muller, 2015). In addition, research has shown that parents of Latino students, both from immigrant and nonimmigrant families, tend to hold higher educational expectations for their children than do parents of White students (Jimerson, Patterson, Stein, & Babcock, 2016). However, these qualities are thought to decline the

longer the student remains in the school system (Blanchard & Muller, 2015).

Furthermore, teachers may view these newcomers as less academically capable because they are often placed into lower-level courses taught by less experienced teachers with lower expectations (Callahan, 2005). Due to issues with English language, teachers and administrators struggle to effectively address the needs of Latino English Learners.

In addition, many mainstream teachers do not feel prepared to teach Latino EL students, or to address the challenges involved in teaching them (Fives & Gill, 2015). The challenges that are involved with teaching Latino EL students include but are not limited to figuring out how to meet the needs of a range of language proficiency levels while simultaneously working under prescribed academic goals, political constraints, lack of training, and lack of resources (Okhremtchouk & González, 2014). There are language barriers that exist between non-ESL administrators, teachers, and Latino EL students. Unlike teachers who work with Latino EL students, many administrators are further removed; they see EL students as the responsibility of the EL program or the EL teacher (Brooks, Adams, & Morita-Mullaney, 2010). In some cases administrators do not speak the same language as Latino EL students, and rely on ESL teachers to communicate with them and their families (Brooks, Adams, & Morita-Mullaney, 2010). This notion can be problematic because ESL staffs are seen as bridges in gaps of communication and not as having the ability to spend their energy serving Latino EL students (Brooks, Adams, & Morita-Mullaney, 2010).

Analyzing how schools organize Latino EL programs is important to defining successful infrastructures for helping EL students. In 2015, Megan Hopkins, Rebecca Lowenhaupt, and Tracey Sweet performed a qualitative data and social network analysis

to examine how one district in the Midwestern United States organized EL programs. After describing the district's infrastructure for elementary EL education, they examined how this infrastructure supported teachers, and found that teachers' opportunities to learn about EL instruction varied significantly by the school subject and that these differences were directly related to the way in which the district built its EL educational infrastructure. The researchers pointed out that the pull-out instruction required by the district limited EL teacher growth and integration with the rest of the teachers in the school.

Pull-in methods for ESL instruction are important for ensuring that EL students receive equal support in schools. Dabach (2015) also completed a qualitative study design examining infrastructure to support ELs in a new immigrant destination and the role it plays in shaping school staff members' interactions and their understandings about language development. The study examined pull-in methods of ESL instruction, whereby students were provided the same instruction in subjects such as mathematics. The study notes that by doing so district and school staff felt that they were offering equal and appropriate services. By taking into account the perspectives of teachers and administrators on adjusting to these kinds of transitions in schools, school personnel may find new ways to address the challenges that come with educating EL students in high schools with transitional student populations.

Federal Mandates

The emergence of federal mandates on accountability for student success is important for Latino EL students because the mandates look to provide equitable education for all students, including Latino ELs. The Every Student Succeeds Act (ESSA) is a bill that was signed into law in 2015. The law mandates that states have to

develop and submit to the U.S. Department of Education a state education accountability plan. Compared to the previous federal education law (No Child Left Behind Act or NCLB), ESSA mandates that states provide greater information to the public regarding English proficiency progress and academic achievement for ELs. The Every Student Succeeds Act also mandates that states create a uniform process for identifying English learners, assign them services, and then later move them out of EL classes and into general education (Pompa & Villegas, 2017).

The ESSA is set up with accountability systems that measure five indicators to gauge progress towards states' educational goals. There is a focus on smaller subgroups that include English Learners. Indicators one through three are specific to academic achievement. The fourth of the five indicators is geared towards improvement for English Language Proficiency (ELP) of English Learners (ELs) (USDOE, 2016). This mandate is placing pressure on districts and schools to figure out how to best serve their EL populations while holding them accountable. Understanding more about what they are doing, what challenges they encounter, and what kind of support they think they need will help identify how to best assist schools with large EL student populations. With the importance of accountability, many states are using ESSA guidelines to improve their existing systems. ESSA is important because the legislation created a framework to ensure that states fully support Latino EL students by tracking how states enroll Latino EL students, track their progress, and fund various programs, as well as how Latino EL students exit the program (US ED, 2016). Federal mandates geared towards Latino EL students ensure that key personnel in districts with this population of students fully support these students.

Theoretical Framework

This qualitative study was guided by theories of acculturation for Latino EL students in American schools. Specifically, it looked at how school districts respond to demographic shifts of large groups of immigrant EL students, and how school teachers and administrators can help these EL students navigate the process of acculturation. Acculturation is the process of cultural change that occurs as a person encounters a different culture (Berry, 1997). For Latino EL students that acculturation process takes place as they attend school. As a key social context for youths, school is the dominant institution outside of family in the early life course (Schneider, Stevenson, & Coleman, 1993). Public education is a method of assimilating immigrants into U.S. culture (Hill & Torres, 2010). Research has shown that children acculturate to U.S. culture through schools (Smokowski, Rose, & Bacallao, 2008) . For most immigrant children and adolescents, school and other education settings are the major arenas for intergroup contact and acculturation (Vedder & Horenczyk, 2006).

The school experiences of Latino ELs are a crucial influence on their acculturation (Lowenhaupt, 2016). In some cases school policies, structures, and practices promote subtractive schooling by marginalizing certain communities who use languages other than English. Lowenhaupt notes that schools should instead build on existing funds of knowledge to support additive acculturation. She notes that schools can implement instructional models to promote additive acculturation by providing opportunities for social integration, building on cultural and linguistic resources, and creating trust among communities to support academic achievement. In her study Lowenhaupt conducted a comparative analysis across schools in a suburban Wisconsin district. Online surveys were administered to school principals and teachers to determine

which school structures promoted acculturation among the students. Lowenhaupt found that the schools could support Latino ELs' acculturation by developing support within general education classrooms which give students access to core academic instruction and English speaking peers. She notes that the integration of these students was key to their acculturation and that the use of pullout practices by the schools has marginalizing effects. Higher levels of education contribute to assimilation because as Latinos become involved in the educational system it helps them become more familiar with U.S. practices as well as learn English, facilitating interactions with others at an individual and systemic level (Williams, Ayón, Marsiglia, Kiehne, & Ayers, 2017).

There have been multiple models and theories to understand acculturation and integration processes, many of which have been critiqued, debated, and updated over time. Originally, assimilation was broadly defined as “the social processes that bring ethnic minorities into the mainstream of American life” (Alba & Nee, 2003). The route to integration was seen as linear, with one path and outcome (Rumbaut, 1997). Clark (2003) stated that “structural assimilation was implicitly or explicitly the prize at immigration’s finish line: the middle-class, white, Protestant, European American framework of the dominant society.”

Classical assimilation suggests that over time immigrants were thought to join the mainstream of American society, which was dominated by homogeneous middle-class, White members (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001). The idea of immigration was to look forward to a new start and better opportunities in a new country (Portes & Rumbaut). A “clean break” was needed before one could become American. The prevalence and mastery of English skills among an immigrant group are often seen as proxies for its cultural

adaptation (Alba & Nee, 2003; Bean & Stevens, 2003; Kasinitz, Mollenkopf, Waters, & Holdaway, 2008; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001). However, the ease of mass transportation and the accessibility of global communication refute the idea that identity and culture are lost when immigrants come to America. The ongoing, uninterrupted flow of immigration is said to constantly “replenish” social practices and cultural models that would otherwise tend to be “lost” to assimilation (Suárez-Orozco, 2012). Assimilation is no longer considered a single universal outcome for all immigrants, but rather an incremental process occurring across generations in different ways for different groups (Alba & Nee, 2003). Segmented assimilation theory suggests that assimilation can occur along three distinct paths: (a) traditional integration that begins with acculturation into the White American middle class, (b) downward or negative integration into the impoverished under-class, or (c) rapid economic advancement while still preserving immigrant values and solidarity (Portes & Zhou, 1993).

As immigrants assimilate into the dominant culture society, spatial assimilation defines where they will reside. Spatial assimilation proposes that newly arrived immigrant groups are more likely to first reside in ethnic enclaves usually located in older urban centers and lower socioeconomic areas (Alba, Logan, & Stults, 2000), then eventually move to more spread-out and affluent suburban areas (Alba et al., 1999). The reasoning behind this premise is that nicer amenities (e.g., better-quality schools and well-kept streets and neighborhoods) are more often located in suburbs and eventually draw immigrant groups as they advance in socioeconomic status (Alba et al., 1999)

Communities that are set up to accept new coming immigrants play an important role in the assimilation process. Existing ethnic communities also play a role in

welcoming newly arrived immigrants by providing extensive social networks and resources (Lee, 2005). Immigrants who are positively received by communities in the host society and immediately connected with networks and resources often fare better in the integration process than those without these supports (Lee, 2005). Social capital involves the capacity of groups and individuals to secure resources through social networks or broader social structures based on collective social trust (Heisler, 2000). Social capital plays a critical role in the assimilation process by identifying how social networks facilitate the development and availability of resources for immigrant groups (Portes & Sensenbrenner, 1993).

Transnationalism affects the assimilation experience for immigrants in the United States and will no doubt foster the future development of new versions of assimilation theories (Lee, 2005). Rather, it is more routine and common practice for immigrant networks and related social capital to reach beyond the borders of their country of residence (Heisler, 2000). These networks that cross geographical borders are referred to as transnational communities, and members of these communities are considered to belong to both the country that they reside in and to the place from which they emigrated (Glick Schiller, 1999) Today, immigrants are more likely to possess dual consciousness and dual identities (Basch, Schiller, & Szanton, 1994).

I was interested in focusing on the ways in which the school supports acculturation for Latino EL students. The research about acculturation and its relationship to academic achievement among minorities has shown that among Latino EL students, those who are more highly integrated and bicultural tend to have better academic achievement (Lopez, 2002). Using theories of acculturation was appropriate for this

qualitative case study because my study looked to focus on describing and understanding how school personnel support Latino EL students in a high school that has a large population of English Learners. This theory allowed me to analyze the factors that shape how key personnel support Latino EL students in the acculturation process. By understanding how Latino EL students acculturate themselves to American culture, especially in schools, administrators may be able to better assist Latino EL students.

In Chapter 3 I explain the methodology used for my data collection. I also explain the chosen methods and justify them, describe the research setting, and give a detailed explanation of how I applied the methods in my study. I begin with an explanation of the approaches used to address my overarching question. Next, I describe all of the components of methodology in detail. I discuss the sample population and how I selected them. After describing the methods in detail I explain how they were used in my study. I speak briefly about my role as a researcher and the validity and reliability that goes along with that.

Chapter 3: Methodology

The goal of this qualitative case study was to investigate how administrators and key personnel in an urban high school respond to a significant demographic shift in their student population from being predominantly African American to being majority Latino, with a large number of the Latino students being English Learners. More specifically this study looked to explore strategies, methods, and resources used by an urban high school to address the academic needs of Latino English Learners in a school district that underwent a recent, rapid transition. School personnel and administrators were asked to describe the resources they frequently use to facilitate language acquisition, cultural integration, and positive social-emotional development among students. Interviews also explored the challenges that administrators and teachers face in responding to these new demands and how effective they believe their efforts are in meeting EL students' needs in their district.

The purpose of this chapter is to present the research design, sample, and methodologies used for this study. This chapter is divided into the following sections: (1) overview, (2) rationale, (3) sample population/data source, (4) selection procedures, (5) research questions, (6) development of interview instrument and interview questions, (7) data collection and analysis, (8) role of the researcher, and (9) validity and reliability.

Overview/Study Context

The purpose of this qualitative case study was to examine school practices and policies of school personnel and administrators who work with the Latino EL student population. Identifying resources, challenges, and measures of success that school personnel use to evaluate their own efforts will be helpful for administrators to develop procedures that better serve this new student population. The study was designed to better

understand the school and district level responsiveness to this demographic shift from predominantly African American students to predominantly Latino students including EL students in an urban high school. The literature shows that support systems must be developed in these school districts for student success (Hopkins, Lowenhaupt, & Sweet, 2015).

Qualitative research was well suited for this area of study because most research on this topic has been derived from theories about other student population shifts, and because the population shift in this school district is still emerging. Gathering responses not only regarding current policies implemented to deal with this population shift but also on school administrators and personnel's perception of student success measurements provided insight on how future programs can be developed to benefit similar school districts.

Research Questions

This study was guided by the following research questions:

1. What resources do school administrators employ to facilitate language acquisition, cultural integration, and positive social-emotional development among Latino EL students in an urban public high school that recently underwent a large demographic shift?
 - a. What training is provided to school personnel to assist with EL students?
 - b. What additional funds do schools receive to provide services to EL students?
 - c. How do administrators use those funds?
2. How do school administrators define and measure success for their students in a school with a rapidly expanding Latino population, a large proportion of whom are English Learners?

3. What challenges do school personnel identify in meeting the needs of Latino EL students?
4. How do they attempt to address the challenges?
 - a. What additional resources or supports do school administrators and teachers need in order to effectively address the challenges they experience in meeting the needs Latino EL students?

Case Study Selection Procedures: Focal School

ABC is an urban town consisting of 49,808 residents. In the 2010 census, 40% of the population identified as Hispanic/Latino, 50.2% African American, and 23.5% White. In North Central, 25.8% of the population is under age 18, and the median household income is \$56,056. This differs from census data collected in 2000, in which 20% of the population identified as White, 62% African American, and 25% Hispanic/Latino. The city consists of two historic commercial districts with reduced taxation rates (compared to the state) to encourage local economic development. The ABC school district serves students from pre-kindergarten through grade 12. There are ten elementary, two middle and three high schools in the district, with a total of 9,397 students.

This study took place at ABC high school, a comprehensive high school serving 1,600 students in grades 9-12. On the 2018 PARCC assessment, 12% of ABC students met or exceeded expectations in English, compared to 58% statewide. In mathematics, 19.8% of students met or exceeded expectations, compared to 46.2% of students statewide. ABC high school is part of the ABC school district, and is in a district identified as being in a poorer community, which receives a large amount of aid from the state government. According to the statewide school performance report, at ABC high

school 72% of students are Latino, with 63% of students identified as economically disadvantaged and 40% identified as English Learners.

ABC high school serves predominantly low-income students of color who are achieving below the state average in English language arts, math, and 4-year graduation rates. The District Factor Groups (DFGs) were first developed in 1975 for the purpose of comparing students' performance on statewide assessments across demographically similar school districts. Scores in this school range from A (lowest socioeconomic districts) to J (highest socioeconomic districts) and are labeled as A, B, CD, DE, FG, GH, I, J. The ABC high school had a DFG score of B since 1990, and it remained unchanged during the demographic shift from predominantly African American to predominantly Latino students. Compared to the state, 65% of the students are eligible to receive free school lunch versus 33% statewide. The ABC school District has lagged behind school districts similar in demographics in the categories of: academic performance, college and career readiness, and graduation and post-secondary performance. There is a high administrative turnover at ABC high school, with four different superintendents and five different principals in the past six years.

ABC school district was a fitting case because it represents a classic demographic shift in an urban neighborhood from African American to Latino/Hispanic constituents. Alba et al. (2014) note that only Latinos with a higher education and income level are able to enter predominantly White neighborhoods, while those with decreased mobility, income, and education (as is true for most Latinos emigrating from Central America) enter African American neighborhoods. They note that Latinos are quite distinct in residing in neighborhoods where immigrants are common, and that the percentage of

residents who are foreign-born is two to three times higher (29.7%) in the neighborhood of the average Latino family than in the neighborhoods typically occupied by Whites and Blacks (Alba et al., 2014)

In the past decade, ABC high school has experienced a significant demographic shift. ABC is located in a state with the seventh largest increase in the Hispanic/Latino population nationwide, and in one of five municipalities where minorities comprise more than 90% of the population. Whereas 10 years ago (2008-09) at ABC high school the majority of students were African American (60%) with a smaller Latino/a population, (34%), the current student population is largely Latino/a (73%), with a sizable proportion of students also classified as English Learners (585 students or 34%). The demographic shift in ABC high school was caused by an increase in Latino people that moved to ABC for better economic opportunities. ABC is located in a state with the fourth largest unauthorized immigrant population and the fourth largest share of unauthorized immigrants in the workforce (Passel & D’Vera, 2011).

In response to the demographic shift, ABC high school has designated the former³ ninth grade academy to be repurposed and renamed the Bilingual Academy.⁴ This building was created to consolidate all resources for the Latino student population in order to better serve them. There has also been an increase in the hiring of ESL teachers, sports coaches, and bilingual staff including secretaries, custodial staff, security guards, and other support staff. In the past three years at ABC high school two ESL teachers for

³ The former ninth grade academy was a separate building that was designated for ninth grade students only. Ninth grade students took all of their classes in the building and had lunch and gym in the building as well.

⁴ The Bilingual Academy (formerly known as the ninth grade academy) is now used for all English Learners. The English Learners take all of their classes in the Bilingual Academy and have lunch there as well. Guidance counselors and other support staff are also stationed in the Bilingual Academy.

each subject were hired (math, science, language arts, and social studies). ABC has also hired five teaching aides who are tasked with working in mainstream classrooms with fewer than 10 EL students in classes that are primarily English speaking. There have also been structural changes to the administration and organization of the ABC school district with the creation of the Office of Bilingual Education, ESL, and World Languages department, which includes a director, supervisor, and coordinator of curriculum.

Sample Population/Data Sources

This case study consisted of a combination of individual, semi-structured interviews with school administrators and staff along with document analysis of materials, policies, and programs developed. Twenty school administrators and school personnel at an urban public high school who are dealing with this shift in demographics were recruited to participate in interviews for this study. At ABC high school there are 127 teachers and six school counselors on staff. I planned to interview the assistant superintendent, the director of bilingual and ESL services, the supervisor of bilingual and ESL services, The director of secondary curriculum and instruction, a board of education member, the principal, the vice principal team of four, the director of guidance, two guidance counselors, and eight teachers. This population sample represented key personnel serving in various capacities that were able to contribute to this study about serving Latino EL students after the demographic shift.

All teachers and school counselors at ABC high school were invited to participate in interviews for this study. From the group of willing participants, I used purposeful sampling to allow for heterogeneity in experiences, perspectives, and behaviors. Specifically, I aimed to include counselors with and without experience working with EL student populations, teachers from distinct disciplinary backgrounds (i.e., ESL and non-

ESL), and both expert and novice teachers. I used a basic screening questionnaire to determine which categories the volunteer teacher participants fit into and then randomly selected teachers for each group I was looking for. I interviewed one school counselor with experience in the school district working with EL students and another without similar experience. I interviewed four ESL-certified teachers and four non-ESL-certified teachers. Two of the teachers in each category were considered “expert” and the other two were considered “novice.”

Farrell (2013) describes expert teachers as having five main characteristics: knowledge of learners and learning, engaging in critical reflection, access to past experiences, informed lesson planning, and active student involvement. In comparison, novice teachers have fewer years of teaching experience with less elaborate understanding of the content they deliver to students, and are less able to represent abstract concepts in their lessons (Farrell, 2013). The category of “novice” teacher comprises those who are still undergoing training, who have just completed their training, or who have just commenced teaching and still have very little experience (i.e., less than two years) behind them (Gatbonton, 2008). I interviewed both novice and expert teachers because research has shown that they respond differently to changes in the EL programming in the school district. Gatbonton (2008) showed that expert teachers considered a wider and more varied range of instructional options in response to student cues. In contrast, novice teachers interpreted learner initiations and deficient responses as obstacles, and they focused mainly on maintaining the flow of instructional activities and worrying about the appropriateness of instructional strategies. In addition, Gatbonton (2008) notes that because the novice teachers had less teaching experience than their

expert counterparts, they were not expected to be as “acculturated.” In addition, the study will include document analysis of the district’s existing policies and practices that address the issue.

Interviews

Using a qualitative research design, I conducted face-to-face interviews with school personnel and teachers in the ABC school district. After obtaining a letter of approval from the superintendent, I met with the principal to introduce myself and explain the goals of my study. In addition, I compiled a list of study participants, which I reviewed with the principal.

During the interviews I asked school personnel and administrators to discuss the resources implemented in the ABC school district to deal with the large EL student population. My questions explored how the school personnel and administrators use instruction to facilitate language acquisition, cultural integration, and positive social-emotional development among Latino EL students. I also asked about the challenges they face in teaching EL students and how they measure success in this student population. I identified how they attempt to address these challenges and what resources or support they feel they need to deal with this EL student population.

In total, I extended an interview invitation to the assistant superintendent, the director of bilingual and ESL services, the supervisor of bilingual and ESL services, the director of secondary curriculum and instruction, a board of education member, the principal, the vice principal team of four, the director of guidance, two guidance counselors, and eight teachers. I conducted 25 interviews before the conclusion of the interviews. My goal for the study in interviewing school personnel was to better understand their role in the experiences of their students, parents, and/or guardians.

Document Analysis

In terms of document analysis I collected board of education meeting minutes, pamphlets, correspondence to families and the community, academic achievement reports, school newsletters, and written records of district-wide district mandates, district policies and practices, course syllabi, lesson plans, professional development for working with recent immigrants, parent outreach meeting agendas and meeting minutes, lists of programs offered for Latino families, and other documents geared towards educational support for Latino EL students. While analyzing these documents I looked for specifics on how Latino EL students are supported in the district. After reviewing these documents, I corroborated the interview statements with the literature.

Data Analysis

Qualitative research procedures were used in the collection and analysis of the data in this study. Data was collected by interviewing school personnel and administrators in the school district. There were 25 interviews. I also conducted follow-up interviews as necessary for further clarification of previous insights gained. All interviews were audio recorded and transcribed using dictation software. In addition, I kept a journal of my reflections after the interviews were completed. The focus of this study was on administrator and school personnel/school district responsiveness to the shift in demographics in the school district. The main research questions this paper sought answer was fourfold: 1. What resources do school administrators employ to facilitate language acquisition, cultural integration, and positive social-emotional development among Latino EL students in an urban public high school that recently underwent a large demographic shift? 2. How do school administrators define and measure success for their students in a school with a rapidly expanding Latino

population, a large proportion of whom are English Learners? 3. What challenges do school personnel identify in meeting the needs of Latino EL students? 4. How do they attempt to address the challenges?

Data analysis occurred continuously during the data collection because of the large volume of data. After completing all interviews and transcriptions, I engaged in a multi-stage qualitative data analytic procedure. The coding process included closely reading the data, open coding or segmenting data into meaningful expressions and describing them in single words or short sequence of words, and creating code categories coding with themes identified from a priori ideas such as pre-existing theories or new codes that emerged from the data set (grounded theory). The number of codes grew, and as more topics became apparent, the generated list of codes helped to reveal major themes contained in the data set (Gibbs & Taylor, 2005). For coding of the data, I used Microsoft Excel to assign categories with terms based on language from the participants. I used these terms to look for similarities and differences in the responses from the participants. I read the text closely and if a theme was identified from the data that did not quite fit the codes already existing then a new code was created. Specifically, each interview was transcribed, coded, and analyzed for references to issues related to EL student learning and programs.

In order to approach my data with an open mind about what can be coded and to notice significant patterns I used the following comparison methods: constant and systematic. Constant comparison includes comparing a coded passage with all other passages given the same code. Systematic comparisons are ways in which some phenomenon I found in the data can vary and be treated and seen differently by people.

Systematic comparisons examine all of the ways in which a phenomenon that you have found can vary and be seen differently by people. The number of times a specific frequent term is used was then tabulated for the number of occurrences, and terms used less frequently were evaluated for consideration. I also identified word repetitions, indigenous categories, and key words in context. I assessed trends, patterns, themes, and concerns which were common to the interviews. I compared the responses of ESL and non-ESL teachers; novice and expert teachers. I also compared responses within categories. In order to establish the trustworthiness of the findings, I used the latest literature on EL students to assess the quality of the data and interviewee responses.

Document Analysis

In terms of document analysis I collected board of education meeting minutes, pamphlets, correspondence to families and the community, academic achievement reports, school newsletters, and written records of district-wide district mandates, district policies and practices, course syllabi, lesson plans, professional development for working with recent immigrants, parent outreach meeting agendas and meeting minutes, lists of programs offered for Latino families, and other documents that are geared towards educational support for Latino EL students. While analyzing these documents I looked for specifics on how Latino EL students are supported in the district. After reviewing these documents, I corroborated the interview statements with the literature.

Role of the Researcher

The data for this study was collected using qualitative research methods, which rely heavily on the researcher as the primary instrument. Therefore, I had to think about my own biases as they relate to subjectivity and interactions with participants. My biography can influence the design and execution of data collection and had to be taken

into consideration during all stages of the process of interviewing and the interpretation process. I am an African American male who attended ABC high school when it consisted of a predominantly African American student population. I came back to teach at ABC high school because as a minority male teacher I wanted to show the students that they can be successful despite the challenges they may face growing up in North Central. As a researcher this might have impacted how I perceived the interviewee's responses and made me more focused on the challenges and successes of minority students at ABC high school. I might have perceived their challenges differently from someone who is not teaching in a public urban high school. For an example, a college professor who works on a college campus and is not directly connected to and working with high school students may have a different perception of the challenges that these students face. My experiences growing up in the town, attending North Central, and now working at ABC have shaped my views on the issues that the school has faced and how the future should look in terms of academic success. For example, I might also have been biased in believing that it is more difficult to teach EL students than African American students because I myself am an African American former student and I am not an EL student, nor Hispanic/Latino. Having been assigned classes with EL students in the past, I myself find it easier to teach students who are native English speakers than EL students. My experiences teaching EL students shaped my probing questions that examined teachers who have had difficulties similar to those I have faced while teaching EL students. I analyzed the challenges, if any, that teachers have faced while teaching EL students.

I also believe that dual language programs will stimulate academic success with the EL population of students at ABC high school. Based on what I've seen among my

own students, I think that my EL students feel that they do better when the programs the district has implemented are used effectively. I also view school culture, student esteem, and student support services as significant factors in academic success for EL students at ABC high school. I do not believe that the administration at ABC have effectively figured out everything to do to support the EL population of students; however, I believe that they have taken some key steps to do so. I believe that the Biliteracy Academy is a big step toward fully supporting EL students. I believe that the Biliteracy Academy is creating a place that is conducive for learning for Latino EL students. One of the reasons I believe that this learning environment is conducive for learning is because the administration has consolidated the resources for Latino EL students in one place. Everyone who works in the Biliteracy Academy is fluent in English and in Spanish. ESL teachers are able to support each other because of their proximity to one another versus being spread throughout the entire high school. I also believe that the guidance department has done a great job of supporting EL students. We observe Latino History month (up until three years ago we had not done so); we have plays, school programs, and activities that are geared specifically towards Latino families. Prior to five years ago, there was no programming geared towards Latino students and their families.

As a teacher of World History at ABC high school, I have worked with many EL students of various ages and from various countries of origin in grades 9-12. I have seen many similarities in the issues that my students face. EL students face the challenge of doing poorly on standardized tests because they are acquiring the English language while attempting to take a test that is written not only for English speaking students but also written at a heightened academic language for English speaking students. Due to

pressures from the state and local government to improve graduation rates, EL students are advanced without meeting the basic academic requirements for their age and year of study, also known colloquially as *social promotion*. There are large portions of students who are not only trying to succeed academically but also have the added burden of parenthood, requiring ABC high school to provide daycare for these student parents. Academic rigor often dissuades students who may opt to work two and three jobs instead of fully committing themselves to school. My exposure to students' challenges might have influenced how I carried out this study because I empathize with students who have these struggles. I was also interested in how the interviewees respond to probing questions about how students' struggles relate to their education at ABC high school. I was also interested in how ABC supports students who face these types of challenges.

As an educator at ABC who attended the high school and has been teaching there for 10 years, I know firsthand about the difficulties in dealing with Latino EL students. The difficulties include illiteracy in their native language, speaking a dialect native to their home country which is very rare and less commonly spoken than Spanish, coming from lower socioeconomic backgrounds which require them to work in addition to attending school, teaching students who are a lot older than their peers (i.e., having a 17-year-old student in freshman classes), students who do not know English at all. And in terms of cultural difficulty, the school is not set up to support Latino EL students because ABC has been predominantly African American for nearly 40 years. This means that school culture, programming, and climate had been geared towards African American culture. In the past, ABC only hosted Black History Month programming. During Black History Month ABC high school hosted programs and events for families that were

geared specifically to African American culture. One example is a talent show in which students had to put on performances, read poetry, and act out skits that represented African American history. Latino students need such things as clubs, school plays, and announcements that are geared towards celebrating Latino culture and history. When the student demographics began to shift, school personnel were forced to maintain the variables of the school (student programming: plays, talent shows, parent programming) that address the needs of African American students while transitioning to adopting new policies and practices that meet the needs of Latino students. Both sets of students need the same thing; school programming and support networks that support the cultural development of who the students are. The school was also forced to accept bilingualism in its forms, announcements, and school website, as well as communicating with many parents who only speak Spanish.

My experiences teaching at ABC high school allowed me to develop probing questions relevant to high school personnel who are experiencing the results of a swift demographic shift, specifically how ABC facilitates language acquisition, cultural integration, and positive social-emotional development among a large population of EL students. My questions also focused on the understanding of school resources that are being used to meet the needs of a large Latino population. I approached the analysis of the data by looking at the unique professional relationship to ABC of each person I interviewed. All of the above factors contributed to the way in which I viewed, collected, and analyzed the data in this study.

Validity and Reliability

Qualitative research requires the researcher to take an active role in the collection and interpretation of the participant's viewpoints. In order for qualitative research to be

credible, it must be valid and reliable. To decrease potential loss in credibility, I used multiple data sources and people at different levels of the school district organization. My data sources were interview transcripts, my reflection journal, transcriptions of follow-up interviews, and documents obtained from the ABC school district including board of education meeting minutes, pamphlets, correspondence to families and the community, academic achievement reports, school newsletters, and written records of district-wide events within the case I studied. I also performed checks of the accuracy of the interviews by sending the participants a copy of their interview transcript and asking them to verify the accuracy of the content, as well as requesting the help of a colleague to review the validity of my findings as they emerged.

Peer debriefing is a strategy that supports my research, as it requires that I work with colleagues who hold views that are impartial to the study. I sought their aid to examine drafts of findings and general methodology to enhance credibility, get feedback, and ensure validity. When I completed the study, I asked peers to identify vague descriptions of data that might require further clarification.

To increase dependability of the future findings of my study, I provided a detailed explanation of the data collection and analysis methods and how decisions were made throughout the study. The interview format was one-on-one, digitally recorded in-person interviews that were transcribed immediately to ensure accuracy. I made detailed notes to maintain consistency with questioning and probing techniques. I also kept reflective journals when I went through the data collection and analysis process.

To protect against my own bias as an African American male teacher with 10 years' teaching experience, I wrote about my experiences and impressions after each

interview with school personnel. At the conclusion of each interview I reflected upon the interactions by keeping a journal and writing a journal entry after each interview to address any concerns related to my interpretation of each response.

The entries reflected a summary of the data prior to when I structured the analysis and documented the data in a formal matter. Avoiding all researcher bias may be impossible, but maintaining journal entries helped me minimize the effects of my personal experiences on what was reported in this study, while also facilitating my ability to identify instances where validity may have been threatened during the stages of data analysis and reporting. I assured participants that their identities were kept private with the use of pseudonyms, and their responses will remain confidential.

Limitations

The participants in this case study were pertinent school personnel at an urban New Jersey public high school. The participants in this study were full-time employees who worked at ABC high school in direct support of the student population. My goal was to reflect the range of types of people at ABC high school, despite the limitations of the sampling pool (25 participants). At ABC high school there are more than 100 staff members who work in direct relation to the student body. Ethnicity differences among the staff members who do not work directly with the Latino EL population of students may have caused variability in the responses.

As an African American male teacher who primarily works with African American students and Latino students who are fully acculturated into American society, my understanding of the responses regarding Latino EL students might have been limited. Based upon my sample of participants, my questions were geared towards Latino EL students, and at ABC there is still a significant African American population of

students at the school. The questions left out views about the experiences and supports for the African American population of students at the school. School personnel who worked at ABC for less than five years might not have understood the complexity of the demographic shift. Participants who only work with the African American population of students may not have understood how the school works to support the Latino EL student population.

In addition, with a single-site case study, the transferability of my findings to other schools and other districts within and outside of New Jersey may be limited. Moreover, the study was unable to produce any evidence about the effectiveness of the programs and policies in terms of quantitative measures of EL student program achievement or EL students' academic success. I was also unable to provide longitudinal data on the success of EL student programs. By not interviewing students or parents, I was unable to identify the factors that the families and students of ABC believe play a role in EL student education.

Delimitations

Research was delimited by my choice to conduct a qualitative study in which I looked at the views of school personnel regarding a demographic shift from being predominantly African American to being Latino. By focusing on administrators and school personnel at ABC I narrowed the scope of my research. My study chose to not explore the roles or perspectives of students and parents. I interviewed school personnel with varying terms of experience working at ABC in order to get participants with varying levels of understanding about the complexity of the demographic shift.

Chapter 4: Results

Introduction

In this chapter, I present the major patterns and themes resulting from my analysis of data collected via one-on-one interviews conducted with 25 school personnel at an urban New Jersey high school. This case study sought to examine how administrators and key personnel in an urban high school respond to a significant demographic shift in their student population. In particular, the research was designed to explore the strategies, methods, and resources that school personnel in an urban high school used to address the academic needs of Latino English Learners in a school district that underwent a recent, rapid demographic transition, and their experiences doing this work.

Challenges

Shifts in student populations are changing the makeup of American schools. These changes are often accompanied by a set of challenges in meeting the needs of those students. ABC faced a swift demographic shift from being a school with predominantly African American students to a school with primarily Latino students, including a large population of English Learners. Some schools are not fully prepared for these changes and are not effectively servicing the new population of students. Latino ELs are increasingly present where there is little infrastructure to support their educational needs (Gándara & Mordechay, 2017). The section below addresses the challenges that school personnel identified during the in-depth interviews.

Student Mobility

Leadership and instructional staff identified student mobility as an issue that the staff at ABC face on a daily basis. The influx of students is so frequent that it changes on a weekly basis. Robert Almafé, ESL guidance counselor of 19 years, said that:

On average ABC has seen between 2-8 students, specifically Latino ELs registering for school on a weekly basis. Every day or week isn't the same, but we are consistently receiving students that are Latino ELs. If the students keep registering for school we have to provide the academic space for those students.

Robert said that there is a constant flow of students who come to North Central. He also explained that most of the bilingual and ESL classes are already at their maximum capacity in terms of class size. Ryan Goodson, vice principal of the Biliteracy Academy, described how student mobility is linked to the staffing issues faced by the administration team at North Central. Ryan said that throughout the prior school year, ABC received 150 new arrivals. He said that 150 new ELs require at least five additional bilingual teachers.

Ryan also said that those five teacher positions were not filled, due to a lack of candidates for the position. Schools across the nation are facing teacher shortages, especially in fast-growing states with many Latino students (Sutcher, Darling-Hammond, & Carver-Thomas, 2016). ABC solicited the vacancies by posting the positions to the district's human resources website, taking out ads in the local newspaper, reaching out to colleges/universities in the state, and asking current staff if they could assist in identifying people who might be interested in filling the positions. Mid-year hires are possible if potential staff members present themselves in the recruitment process. In a follow-up interview Ryan also noted that if the district was forced to, they have the ability to go to portable classrooms. He observed that portable classrooms might be in the foreseeable future due to the growth of the student population.

Instructional staff, school leadership, and support staff all identified some variation of staffing issues as a big challenge that ABC is facing. The variations in their responses are linked to their position and how they see the staffing issue from their professional experiences. The availability of qualified staff members in the job market is

extremely low. Despite the fact that the Latino student population is steadily rising, less than 8% percent of teachers in the United States identify as Latino (NCES, 2012). The increase in the Latino student population means that the gap in teacher diversity, measured by subtracting the percentage of teachers of a certain race or ethnicity from the percentage of students of that same race or ethnicity, is largest for Latino students (NCES, 2014). Interviewees also referenced a lack of potential candidates who are bilingual certified. The principal of the school said that ABC just can't keep up with the influx of students. In an interview with a district administrator, it was stated that the district is trying to change the way they approach recruitment by becoming creative. The district has looked at partnering with colleges in Puerto Rico to attempt to recruit bilingual teachers. The school has not found qualified staff members to match the number of students who are coming into the school. Veteran principal Mr. Brady said that:

Maintaining the right number of personnel who are bilingual certified year to year is difficult—just about impossible. Especially now, I have two vacancies, one math and one science. I was not able to fill those two positions. So the challenge is to keep up with the teaching staff. Math and science positions are traditionally hard to fill, but when you add the fact that we need them to be bilingual—we just can't find the candidates.

Keeping up with the needed number of certified bilingual staff has proven to be nearly impossible. ESL teacher of 21 years Marguree Hardin identified the challenges that come with becoming a certified bilingual teacher, describing the extra steps that it takes to become a certified bilingual teacher and outlining one of a few reasons why there is a lack of teachers:

The problem is climbing hurdles that are in the way of becoming a certified bilingual teacher. In order for you to teach at the high school, you have to obviously have your college degree. You also have to take the praxis teacher's exam. If you want to become a certified bilingual teacher you have to take a written and an oral test in the target language. Those

series of tests cost about \$500. After that you have to get your certification. Your bilingual cert is about 32 college credits.

Interviewees in the leadership roles repeatedly said that there is a need for additional staff who are bilingual in English and Spanish. Diversifying the teacher workforce to include Latino teachers improves student outcomes and supports Latino ELs (Shapiro & Partelow, 2018). However, at ABC this is complicated by the growing number of Latino ELs who do not speak Spanish but instead speak K'iche, an indigenous language among Latino ELs. Hiring more bilingual teachers may not be sufficient to meet the increasingly diverse language needs of the students at North Central. Benjamin Harmon, ESL teacher for six years, explained how complex the situation is, emphasizing the multiple languages besides Spanish spoken by newcomer immigrant students:

So we know that the majority of our students are Spanish speakers, right? Well that's not entirely true. Twenty-five to thirty percent of our Latino students speak K'iche. We're getting more and more students who are speaking the indigenous languages like K'iche and Quechua. That is the way that chain migration works, you know. You bring people, you know, family, friends of your family, friends who bring their family. That is why we are getting so many students that speak K'iche.

Students who speak the indigenous language present another layer of challenges because there aren't certified staff who speak those languages. Current support staff employees explained that they are overburdened and often feel burned out when attempting to meet the needs of Latino ELs in the school. Support staff at ABC stated that the school needs not only additional bilingual instructional staff, but also more bilingual support staff.

Traumatic Experiences

Support staff at ABC reported that the issues faced by Latino ELs are complex and extremely severe. They identified a lack of bilingual employees (social workers,

school counselors, etc.) who work with bilingual students to address their social emotional needs. In light of the harrowing experiences many students have faced before, during, and after migrating to the United States, these school personnel emphasized the significance of providing such resources to their students in languages they can understand. For example, School Based Youth Services counselor Jackie Navarro explained the needs in the following way:

Instructional staff is one layer, but another layer is having support staff that are bilingual but also understand the complexities of our students. It is one thing to speak Spanish, but also to know what challenges these students face and how to address them. The Latino ELs need their own social worker. There are at least 700 Latino ELs in the Biliteracy Academy. Seven hundred students with a multitude of issues that the students in the other building don't have.

According to the school support staff interviewed, there is a barrier between the traumatic experiences faced by newcomer immigrant students and their opportunities to deal with these experiences. The reasons vary; some staff suggested the availability of bilingual staff members, others contended that there is an issue with trust, while others observed that students are not made aware of the services that are available to them. Patrick Walsh often feels guilty because he recommends an abundance of students to Ronald Feldhun, the bilingual School Based Youth Services counselor. Patrick said that:

At ABC high school there is only one bilingual School Based Youth Services counselor. With a population of about 700 ELs, one staff member is not sufficient to address their needs.

Often times support staff are overburdened, tasked with working with large numbers of students because there isn't enough staff. School personnel in leadership roles said that the focus is geared so much towards academics and achievement metrics that school officials rarely provide an avenue for students to express themselves about the

trauma that they have faced. Vice principal Ryan Goodson, who has worked in the school for 17 years, diagnosed the problem in this way:

We're stuck, I think, as educators and administrators; we have to learn how to deal with the children that are coming to us with no education that have gone through traumatic experiences. We don't talk about the trauma that they go through crossing the border, coming here to the United States. You know, that's something that affects them psychologically, but we never addressed that here. We're only looking at test grades and, you know, test results, we don't focus on the student in all aspects—social, emotional, educational-wise.

Neglecting students' social and emotional health is one of the walls that blocks students from progressing academically. Veteran teachers cited students' traumatic experiences as an issue of major concern that they felt was not adequately addressed at their school, in part due to lack of trained staff who are bilingual. Latino ELs are coming to ABC having experienced considerable trauma, which in turn affects their emotional and social well-being and, ultimately, their cognitive ability (Perreira & Ornelas, 2015). Instructional staff said that students often journal about various traumatic experiences they have had and sometimes share those experiences with teachers. The trauma is varied; some students have been sexually assaulted, witnessed murder, were physically abused or kidnapped, or were living in unstable housing situations. Teachers reported that their students sometimes told them about their trauma. Yet, teachers are often under pressure to produce academic results, leaving them unwilling or unable to spend time dealing with students' social and emotional issues. Veteran ESL teacher Benjamin Harmon explained the intensity of students' trauma and the limited resources available to address this:

Well, I'm an English teacher, so when they write in the beginning of the year, they're writing and they're telling me, you know, like I had this one kid that his father got shot, and he shielded his mother. So his father got killed, and he witnessed the whole thing. He's been carrying this around

for four years. His English is still very low, so he was limited in who he could work with to address his traumatic experiences.

Benjamin noted that before he attempts to educate his students he has his students explore their trauma so that they can move past it. He reported a variation in the kinds of relationships that teachers were able to form with students based on their years of experience or time working at ABC high school. Benjamin thought teachers with four or five years of experience were more likely to form positive relationships with their students. In a follow-up interview Benjamin said:

New teachers with less than two years' experience might not understand that forming a positive relationship with students is the first step in having a classroom that helps students learn.

Benjamin said that the student trusted him and only shared their story with him for that reason. He was certain that there are more students at ABC who have faced similar traumatic experiences but haven't shared them because they don't have a trusting relationship with any of their teachers.

Lack of Training

In addition to not being prepared to meet the needs of Latino ELs who are experiencing trauma and difficulty with cultural integration, instructional staff also reported not having any substantial or consistent training that assisted them in meeting the needs of Latino immigrant students. Novice ESL teacher William Daves went in depth to describe how he is overwhelmed with being an ESL teacher. He does not feel that he is prepared to create lesson plans and materials to effectively teach his students. Moreover, he explained that he did not think there was any available training for instructional staff to help novice teachers become better teachers of Latino ELs. He explained:

There isn't enough job training. Sometimes as a newer ESL teacher I feel lost. I learned some strategies in college but I do not always feel fully prepared. I feel like if the school provided more training for all teachers this job would not be so challenging.

William was not the only person who felt that there was not sufficient training for school personnel who work with Latino ELs. Kaz Beverley, an ESL teacher in his second year, expressed frustration because he felt like there was no concrete training provided for new teachers of Latino ELs. The instructional staff at ABC were disappointed because there isn't any training on how to get better when teaching Latino ELs and former ELs. Veteran teacher Ms. Hardin said there's only one official training every year for bilingual and ESL teachers state-wide. She explained that currently the district sends teachers to the training once every three years. The district selects staff to attend in rotation to avoid sending the same people every year. The district also requires the staff to turnkey what they learned to pertinent staff members. Interviewees did not cite any specific in-district training that is provided to staff who work with students classified as Latino English Learners.

Instructional staff also expressed concern that some of their students weren't learning anything in their classes. Novice ESL teacher William Daves said:

Sometimes I wonder if my students are really learning anything. My classroom sizes are large, sometimes up to 27 students. I have not mastered modifying my lesson materials so that all of my students can fully grasp the concepts. The material often feels like it is above the capabilities of my students.

William was unsure about whether his students were actually learning. According to the instructional staff, hiring additional bilingual teacher's assistants is an immediate change that the school district would benefit from. Teacher's assistants do not have the same educational requirements as full-fledged bilingual teachers. Fourteen-year veteran

Cienai Wright, who is not bilingual, has a great working relationship with her teacher's assistant. Cienai said:

I think something that is concrete that we can work on right away is recruiting and hiring bilingual teacher's assistants. My classroom would not run as smooth as it does without my teacher's assistant, Mrs. Garcia. I am not completely bilingual. I know a little bit of Spanish, but I don't know enough Spanish to help my students outside of what I teach. If I did not have Mrs. Garcia, I would not be able to truly service my students.

Bilingual teaching assistants aren't required to get the same level of schooling as fully certified teachers. Hiring bilingual teacher's assistants can help districts mitigate problems with language barriers. Six out of the 11 teachers who were interviewed mentioned how effective it is to have bilingual teacher's assistants. Second-year non-ESL teacher Julianna Visco said:

Hiring Dorianne Taylor was a big deal for us. Dorianne speaks K'iche, Spanish, and English. She is the first person hired here at ABC that speaks K'iche. The only reason why we were able to hire her is because she is a teacher's assistant. I think that she is working on becoming a full-fledged teacher but right now she works with us while she is in school.

Teacher's assistants are not mandated to complete a bachelor's degree, they are only mandated to have an associate's degree. They also do not need to have a teacher's certificate. These qualities make them more readily available and easier to hire, as they require less specific educational training.

The District's Response

ABC school district responded to the shift in student demographic composition in a number of ways. The most extensive structural change was the creation of the Biliteracy Academy in September 2019; it was developed out of discussions with the district EL coordinators. The Biliteracy Academy is a school-within-a-school that was created specifically to serve English Learners. District coordinators also noted that the

goal of the academy is to help ELs transition from their native language to English, to support the students socially and emotionally, and to help them get to grade level in their academic skills. In the 2018-19 school year, prior to the creation of the Biliteracy Academy, bilingual instructional staff and 700 Latino ELs were spread throughout the main campus. In most instances, when parents came to the school for any issue they would have to wait for someone who was bilingual to become available to assist them.

The supervisor of bilingual and ESL education stated:

Prior to the last school year (2018-19) there wasn't any secretary that spoke Spanish in either the main office or the guidance office. Who's the first person people see? Who's the face of the schools, right? The parent comes in and the parent calls up, who are they going to speak to?

The Biliteracy Academy is a separate building from the main campus at ABC high school. ESL veteran teacher Marguree Hardin understood the thinking behind the format and structure of the Biliteracy Academy as a means to condense all of the bilingual resources in one space so that Latino ELs have a safe space, and have the ability to transition into the life and culture of American schools. Other instructional staff described the goal of the Biliteracy Academy as the creation of a centralized location with resources for Latino ELs that fosters a safe environment in which they feel comfortable. Marguree explained how she perceives the benefits of this structure by stating that:

The Biliteracy Academy is a safe, nurturing place for the Latino ELs, where you have all your bilingual teachers in one spot. Seventy-five percent of the teachers in the Biliteracy Academy are bilingual. The guidance counselors, administration team, and the support staff are bilingual. It's overwhelming for a kid who is traumatized, has culture shock, and doesn't know the language to go into a huge building and try to navigate it when in many cases they have never been to school. Students are comfortable in the Biliteracy Academy. They are able to embrace American culture at their own pace.

Teachers stated that in the Bilingual Academy Latino ELs are comfortable because the employees are bilingual and the students are similar in their demographic backgrounds. Students have the comfort of seeing people who look familiar and speak the same language, and who also have similar goals of learning English.

Cultural Integration

In addition to the Biliteracy Academy, the school has taken other steps to assist students in feeling comfortable embracing their culture. According to district administrator Veronica Worthy, determining how and whether ABC does an effective job of culturally integrating Latino EL students is complex. For example, Veronica explained that she did not think that having a Hispanic Heritage assembly is enough to fully celebrate Latino history. She stated that it is a great start and that every year the assembly gets better and better, but had mixed feelings about the district's overall effort:

I think you have to be really immersed in the students' experience to truly understand what type of job we are doing with cultural integration. In my mind cultural integration is when the students maintain their own culture while accepting American school culture. Some people may point to things like Hispanic heritage celebrations. So we do that for four weeks in September and October. A lot of our students will really enjoy their traditional music and dances and things of that nature. I'm not sure how that extends the rest of the year.

Vinchey Griffin, a novice non-ESL teacher, said that the Hispanic Heritage assembly is great and gets better year after year. Vinchey highlighted a recent update in the Hispanic Heritage assembly: in the 2019-20 school year Ms. Taylor (a K'iche-speaking teacher's assistant) was included in the ceremony. Ms. Taylor recited poems in K'iche and, according to Vinchey, when Ms. Taylor went on stage and began speaking in K'iche the students were extremely excited. Everyone was so surprised to hear Ms. Taylor speak because there are few (if any) K'iche-speaking staff members in the school.

In a follow-up interview, Ms. Taylor clarified her participation in the Hispanic Heritage assembly. She said that she was asked by the vice principal of the Biliteracy Academy to participate in the assembly, and shared the following perspective on it:

It was just as important for the monolingual students to hear me speak in K'iche as the bilingual students. The bilingual students were offered a small piece of hope, by having someone who understands their culture and language in front of them that they have access to. The monolingual students might not have known what K'iche is or known that we have students who speak K'iche in the high school.

Many school personnel at ABC cited the Hispanic Heritage assembly as a starting point for culture integration in the school. Staff stated that the school has not done a great job of culturally integrating the Latino ELs because the school feels like two separate entities; one school for the African American students and one school for the Latino ELs.

Teachers and administrators identified cultural sensitivity as a positive factor in addressing this challenge. School personnel defined cultural sensitivity as creating a culture of care for Latino ELs, the formation of a cultural sensitivity task force, and supporting various dialects that are not Spanish. One of the ways that cultural sensitivity is established is by creating a caring environment for students. Director of bilingual and ESL services Heather Dunham stated that the first step in better serving Latino ELs is making them feel comfortable in the high school:

So for me, there's a thing called in research called the culture of care. So when students don't feel welcomed or they feel that they're not wanted, they build a wall in front of them and shut down. Learning doesn't happen as successfully as it could. So we try to build a welcoming, homey environment to show that we care, so the students don't have that wall and resistance to learning.

Heather continued by saying that she believes the culture of care is not fully in place. The next step would be providing professional development for the staff including education on students' culture, such as their countries of origin, the languages that they

speak, and some of the challenges that they have faced. Public schools are forced to focus on academic metrics such as graduation rates, attendance, and test scores—which are all important. But in a school with a shift in student demographics the focal point must be on the entire student and not just his or academic achievements.

District leadership recognizes that there is still work to be done. Ryan Goodson, the vice principal who works specifically at the Biliteracy Academy, mentioned creating a task force that would be responsible for creating opportunities for staff to increase their cultural sensitivity in reference to Latino EL students. Vice principal Goodson said that:

A task force of teachers who understand would be great. The purpose of the task force would be to educate school admin, teachers, and support staff to be able to capitalize on their culture in the instruction of our students. Also why they are coming here, and how we can support them. The task force should consist of at least one teacher, one guidance counselor, one administrator, and one administrator from the district level to bring different perspectives on how to help our students.

He said that the task force could create training for all staff that focuses on the demographics of the students that are coming to North Central, the languages that they speak, the traumas that they face, their educational background, and positive strategies for celebrating their culture on a daily basis. A training of this magnitude will provide staff with a better understanding of the cultures that our students bring to school and could help students with cultural integration in addition to positive social emotional development.

Positive Social Emotional Development

Instructional staff members suggested that a social and emotional learning curriculum be embedded in the school's routine instructional practices.

Social and emotional learning (SEL) is the process in which children manage and understand emotions, feel empathy for others, make responsible decisions, and establish

and maintain positive relationships (Devaney & Moroney, 2018). Veteran teacher Marguree Hardin said that:

Social emotional learning is a tool for school personnel to learn about what students are dealing with emotionally, help them address those issues and hopefully become better students and people.

Social emotional learning is not only needed for students who have experienced trauma or have difficulty with cultural integration. It might also benefit students who are navigating obstacles that any high school student commonly faces. Four out of 11 teachers said that the addition of structured social emotional learning programs would help Latino ELs address the challenges that they face. At North Central, School Based Youth Services is responsible for assisting students with their social emotional development. ESL teacher Patrick Walsh explained the purpose of the program:

The purpose of School Based Youth Services is to provide services to students who might have you know, social and emotional health issues. The goal of School Based is to help them with those issues so that our students can be productive contributors in school and in the world, when they graduate.

School-based counselor Ramona Perry described her responsibilities as assisting all students at ABC with their social emotional issues including but not limited to traumatic experiences, maturity, puberty, sex education, teenage dating, depression, self esteem, etc. Ramona said that:

My approach to assisting students with their social emotional needs is to simply provide them with an avenue to speak with me about their issues so I can attempt to assist them in fixing them. There isn't a formal SEL curriculum at North Central. There isn't a formal way in which anyone but me uses SEL on a daily basis. I wish teachers were trained in SEL so that there would be less of a burden on staff who work solely with students' social emotional issues.

Ramona has been working with School Based Youth Services for the past 12 years at North Central. School Based Youth Services has one person on staff, Ronald,

who is bilingual and assists with the Latino students. Around 50% of the referrals that Ronald receives are from Patrick. Patrick has his students write a lot in class and the students often speak about some of the traumatic experiences that they have had. As a result of those traumas, Patrick has to report the students in hopes that they will receive some type of support. Meeting the social emotional needs of these students through the School Based Youth Services program has been difficult due to these issues. The importance of having a bilingual counselor was highlighted, and an increase in support is emphasized due to the growing number of Latino ELs. Ramona's bilingual counterpart is often overburdened with helping so many students that he can't thoroughly do his job. Ramona has learned some Spanish over the years, but her ability to communicate with Spanish-speaking students is limited, and she is not able to meet the needs of Latino ELs who don't know any English.

Language Acquisition

Language acquisition is critical for Latino ELs so that their social emotional development and cultural integration can occur. Teachers and administrators who work in the Biliteracy Academy highlighted a streamlined approach to how ABC assists Latino ELs with language acquisition. ABC provides a tiered model program for Latino ELs that allows students to receive content area instruction in their native language; Spanish classes are offered in social studies, math, English, and science. While students are taking their core content classes, they also take one period of ESL per day. As students progress with their English language acquisition, they begin to take content area classes in English, while maintaining their support in ESL. The progress of Latino ELs is measured by the ACCESS test (Assessing Comprehension and Communication in English State-to-

State) for English Language Learners. It is given to K-12 students to assess their progress in learning English (Fox & Fairbairn, 2011).

Students with interrupted education are placed in SLIFE classes. Students with Limited or Interrupted Formal Education (SLIFE) are English Learners who are new to the U.S. school system and have had interrupted or limited schooling opportunities in their native country. They have limited backgrounds in reading and writing in their native language and are below grade level in most academic skills (DeCapua & Marshall, 2010). At North Central, English Learners are placed in one of three tiers (A, B, C) based on their ACCESS scores, between 0 and 5. Tier A is beginner students who score between 1.5 and 2.8. Tier B is intermediate students who score between 2.9 and 3.9. Tier C is for advanced students whose score is above 4.0. From the director of bilingual and ESL services to instructional staff, interviewee responses were similar in their description of the language acquisition process at North Central. One of the ESL guidance counselors, Robert Almafe, said that:

A screener test is given to all ESL students regardless of language. So it's not just to Latino students, it's any student who comes here and English is not their first language. Those students are considered English language learners. It is a test that measures their grasp of the English language. The test has three components: a writing, reading, and listening component. Based on their score that coincides, they are placed in one of three tiers.

Benjamin Harmon also said that the teachers tailor their teaching to the level of the students. Students in tiers B and C have a better grasp of English. Teachers can build on previous vocabulary to help students learn English. Benjamin expressed that the goal is to move the students from tier A to tier C and eventually move them out of the ESL program, but that goal does not always happen.

Sometimes students come to ABC with little to no prior education. For example, Benjamin had a student who had only been to school from kindergarten to third grade, and after third grade the student missed out on school until the ninth grade. That student was placed in “interrupted education” classes to assist in bridging the gap between where that student is and where they need to go. Based on a review of Genesis, the student enrollment database, over 25% of the Latino ELs at ABC are in SLIFE classes. These classes aim to bring students back up to grade level using creative approaches to bridge the gap in their learning. Veteran district administrator Veronica Worthy explains:

The first challenge is getting the students literate in Spanish or their native language because oftentimes one of the hurdles is that they come to the district and are illiterate in their native language of Spanish. So try to get them literate. Then once we get them literate in Spanish, which takes some time, we then try to get them literate in English.

Veronica further clarified by saying that depending on their ACCESS score and their placement, students take their content classes in Spanish and also receive a course in ESL.

The premise is that if you know your language then you can use that knowledge to help you learn a new language. Students must be strong in their native language to be able to learn a new language. Students take classes in Spanish and then they will also take English classes in the same schedule now. So one class is English, like ELA, and then their other class is in Spanish for native speakers. That’s what it is called, Spanish for native speakers.

Funding

Providing ABC with the instructional and support staff necessary to continue to fund the Bilingual Academy, School Based Youth Services, and SLIFE classes is challenging for the district. However, Title III is purposed with providing supplemental financial support for Latino ELs. Administration in leadership roles in the district were able to shed light on how the district receives funding specifically for Latino English

Learners and how the funding is supposed to be used. Teachers, guidance counselors, and other school personnel who do not serve in some leadership capacity weren't knowledgeable about the specifics of funding for Latino English Learners. Ernest Caldwell, district supervisor, explained where funds for English Learners come from when he said that:

The funds for English Learners comes out of Title III funding. Title III is federal funding that helps us work with our Latino EL population. There is a general budget that schools receive to support all students. Latino ELs are included in that general budget, but the school district also receives Title III that is specifically used for supplemental funding for Latino English Learners.

The purpose of the funding is to help ELs with English proficiency and move them closer to the academic levels of their peers. Ernest also said that:

Additional Title III funds are not enough to effectively meet the needs of Latino ELs. There are many layers in assisting Latino ELs. Additional funding is not the only solution. There are some structural changes that need to take place.

Title III money cannot be used for the general student population. Title III regulations state specific mandates on how the additional funding can be used by school districts in their support of Latino English Learners. Eric Hoff, the assistant superintendent, thoroughly explained how the funding is supposed to be used. He stated that:

If you are buying new textbooks for your class, you have to include the ELs and that comes out of that main budget, but let's say that you have supplemental text books, a supplemental textbook list; let's say that is needed because the students are close to the target language and they need the supplemental texts to bridge the gap. Title III funding can be used for those supplemental texts. Title III can also be used for professional development, community partnership events, etc.

The director of bilingual and ESL services explained that Title III funds create complications because school officials often think that Title III funding can be used

indiscriminately. The Office of Bilingual and ESL Services is responsible for making decisions about where to allocate Title III funds. The director and the supervisor both explained that one of the benefits of the Title III funds is that they can use the money for sending teachers to training that will assist in providing best practices for Latino English Learners.

The principal works with the school budget and directs how money is spent for the day-to-day operations of the school. He introduced the term *supplanting*. For example, if the district has hired coaches for the general education teachers who would be paid from the regular operating budget; the principal must use the same budget and provide the same resources for teachers of Latino ELs. The principal can not use the regular budget to hire coaches for general education teachers and then use Title III funding to hire coaches for teachers who work with Latino ELs. If the school administration attempted to do this it would be considered supplanting. It is important for administrators and leadership to continue to use the funding received judiciously to ensure the success of all of the students at North Central.

Measuring Success: Outcomes for Latino English Learners

Becoming a functioning adult, graduating high school, becoming bilingual, and successfully acculturating to American society were all identified as successful outcomes for Latino English Learners at North Central. However, some school personnel were direct in stating that each student is a case-by-case story of success, meaning that there isn't one factor that can be used to measure the success of a Latino English Learner. Cienai, an ESL teacher of 14 years at North Central, described her idea of success for her students:

Do we give them the skills to be able to communicate and compete in the United States in English? We know they can do that in Spanish, but in English? Ideally if they can communicate in both languages, they will have better opportunities after they graduate.

For Cienai, success was measured by how well the school prepares Latino EL students to communicate in English. Eleven teachers were interviewed and asked how they see success for their students. Patrick described his passion for providing equitable experiences for his students. He spoke about not wanting the students he teaches to be different from the general education students. The goal for general education students is to graduate high school and seek post-secondary options such as gaining acceptance to college or entering the workforce. Patrick was passionate about providing an even playing field to ensure his students have opportunities similar to what general education students have.

The director of bilingual and ESL services believes success is defined as getting Latino English Learners to graduate. Assistant superintendent Eric was uncomfortable with graduation as a success marker. He stated that learning English and graduation are obvious goals, but he preferred to measure success on a larger scale in terms of how the students can survive once they graduate. He elaborated on how ABC is preparing Latino English Learners to be functioning adults, stating that:

For our Latino English students, adult functionality in our economy is so important. What are we setting them up for after high school? Is it just to learn English and meet some requirements to graduate high school? Is that it? What happens in June when they leave? Are we setting them up to be able to compete in this world?

For Eric the ability to prepare Latino English Learners for the real world is important. In his role as the assistant superintendent, it was important to him that he created goals for the district and for ABC High school that set up Latino English Learners

for success. Not every student is going to go to college after they finish at North Central. The students all will go into the workforce in some way. Our students might also continue to live in our community. Preparing our students to do something positive after high school is important and preparing our students to make positive contributions is important as well.

Conclusion

Through the in-depth interviews which were conducted I identified challenges that ABC faces when trying to meet the needs of the increasing Latino EL population. The interviews highlight staffing issues, lack of training, lack of funding, trouble with cultural sensitivity/integration, and student social emotional development as contributing factors to the growing pains ABC is facing. Increased availability of professional development and training sessions to better prepare teachers and administrators was a common theme among all participants interviewed. Measuring Latino EL success in terms of graduation rates and college attendance or workforce entrance may provide measurable outcomes, but contributing to their social emotional development and helping them deal with trauma seems equally important, allowing Latino ELs to become acculturated contributing members of our community.

Chapter 5: Summary

Introduction

The final chapter provides a summary of this study and includes an interpretation of the findings, explanation of their implications for the literature, recommendations for policy and practice in the field, and recommendations for future research. The following includes a discussion of how the study's findings are similar to and expand upon the existing literature pertaining to schools' responses to major demographic shifts in the student populations. This qualitative case study aimed to understand how key personnel are dealing with a shift in their student demographics to being primarily Latino with a large population of English Learners. I sought to explore strategies, methods, and resources used by an urban high school to address the academic needs of Latino English Learners in a school district that underwent a recent, rapid shift in demographics. The findings from this study are consistent with research regarding schools that are facing demographic shifts. A qualitative approach to this study presented the opportunity to gather rich descriptions from 25 key school personnel interviewed who either worked directly for ABC high school or served in a leadership role in the district.

This research expanded on the limited literature pertaining to schools experiencing a demographic shift from African American to Latino with a large number of Latino ELs. The key findings in this study which highlighted staffing complications, issues with cultural integration of Latino English Learners, and common barriers that school personnel face in meeting the needs of Latino ELs were all in line with current research. Schools in new immigrant destinations face challenges with staff who are qualified to teach Latino ELs. Shortages in bilingual support staff, absence of training for

staff, immigration issues, language differences, and cultural sensitivity were also recurring themes that school personnel identified in the interviews.

Summary

The demographics of students in public schools in the United States are rapidly changing (Bowman, 2014). These demographic shifts are impacting communities across the nation as schools are becoming more linguistically, culturally, and racially diverse (Frey, 2015). According to the National Center for Education Statistics there are about 4.9 million ELs who attend U.S. public schools (NCES, 2016). Latino ELs are increasingly present where there is little infrastructure to support their educational needs. Addressing the educational needs of ELs is a national priority (Rubinstein-Avila & Lee, 2014). With the changing demographics in American public schools and rising numbers of students who are Latino ELs, schools tend to lack support to serve their needs Gándara, P. (1975).

Participants in leadership roles expressed the notion that getting to know students, being aware of background and any social emotional issues that Latino ELs may face is an important factor in improving practices to service that population of students. This study also offers suggestions to school personnel who work with Latino ELs and demonstrated the significance of meaningful student-staff relationships. Students spend at least one-quarter of their waking hours in school, most of it in classrooms, one of the most proximal and potentially powerful settings for influencing children and youth. Students' relationships and interactions with teachers either produce or inhibit developmental change to the extent that teachers engage, meaningfully challenge, and provide social and relational support (Pianta, Hamre, & Allen, 2012).

The research was originally designed to examine how school personnel responded to demographic shift in a school with changing demographics. One of the main findings was that school personnel responded with the creation of a separate school in order to condense the services that are available to Latino English Learners. Participants in various roles all cited the importance of having a temporary solution in the Biliteracy Academy. Interviewees also stated that the Biliteracy Academy was the starting point for addressing the needs of Latino ELs, because it is a place where the students can adapt to American school culture at their own pace.

One important protective factor for Latino immigrant students in high school is social relationships. For example, social support moderated the relationship between acculturative stress and anxious symptoms for immigrant high school students (Sirin et al., 2013) In my study I found that social relationships are pivotal for Latino EL students because they might be navigating areas of unfamiliarity. Similarly, Suárez-Orozco, Suárez-Orozco, and Todorova (2008) found that social support was particularly important for first-generation immigrant high school students who need help navigating new linguistic and cultural environments, achieving financial stability, and receiving emotional and practical support.

The evidence collected in this study suggests that creating positive relationships was frequently identified as a way to assist school personnel in meeting the needs of Latino English Learners. Teachers must be attuned and responsive to the individual cues and needs of students in their classrooms, a dimension of teaching referred to here as teacher sensitivity. Highly sensitive teachers, through their consistent, timely, and responsive interactions, help students see adults as a resource and create environments in

which students feel safe and free to explore and learn (Pianta et al., 2012). Veteran teachers at ABC said that creating positive relationships with students is important because the relationship will allow students to feel comfortable reaching out to teachers with any issues that they might face.

The current literature suggests that both an undersupply of qualified ESL teachers, and limited training available for current teachers presents a challenge for school districts educating an increasing population of ELs (DeMatthews & Izquierdo, 2019). In addition, current literature highlights the importance of providing training for current EL teachers (DeMatthews & Izquierdo, 2019). In agreement with the current literature, participants in this study asserted that the absence of training, bilingual staff, and academic support staff were barriers that prevented them from meeting the needs of Latino ELs. This study demonstrated that although Latino ELs at ABC face these barriers, similar urban high schools experiencing demographic shifts can adjust practices to better meet their needs. This will require effective training for all school personnel, the hiring of bilingual staff members, specialized teacher training programs, effective professional development, a culture of care, and social emotional learning programs.

Implications for Theory

The public education system serves as a critical point of contact for immigrants and is influential in promoting integration into these communities (Hamann, Wortham, & Murillo, 2015). There is limited research on how school personnel are responding to demographic shifts. This study looked to analyze how the decisions made by key school personnel affect the acculturation process for Latino English Learners in a school with shifting demographics. When a high school undergoes a swift shift in student demographics, school personnel are presented with a set of challenging demands.

An important influence on the acculturation process is the social integration of immigrant students among their nonimmigrant peers. Researchers see additive acculturation of immigrant students as a form of acculturation that involves conforming to certain rules of the dominant society and making certain cultural adaptations while preserving the group's cultural identity (Lee, 2005). Latino English Learners benefit from having positive relationships with school personnel. School personnel such as teachers are in positions to assist Latino English Learners. In an interview with teacher's assistant Dorianne Taylor, she noted that had it not been for her mentor teacher and peer mentor she would have not successfully navigated ABC high school to graduation. Dorianne also successfully learned English and Spanish while she was at North Central. She credited her ability to learn the two languages to her peer mentor, who speaks K'iche as well. Research suggests that relationships with knowledgeable and supportive peers can link immigrant students to institutional and academic resources (Stanton-Salazar, 1997).

The lessons learned and shared by the school personnel can serve as a model that could guide the direction of personnel seeking to develop their own set of responses to a shift in demographics. The participants cited the importance of Latino ELs being comfortable in a new school environment that in most cases is unfamiliar from what they are accustomed to. As cultural disconnects emerge in public school, teachers play an integral role in the success of immigrant students. Higher education teacher training programs are tasked with the challenge of better preparing future teachers of immigrant students. There is a lack of proven practices in teacher education programs that prepare pre service teachers to serve immigrant students, especially immigrant students who have experienced trauma. The goal of teacher education programs for Latino ELs should not

be based solely upon language acquisition. Pre service teacher training programs can adjust their practices to better prepare future teachers to meet the needs of Latino ELs. Teacher education programs that are looking to improve their practices to better prepare pre service educators of Latino ELs can structure a class that includes a clinical experience working with ELs, class discussions on their experiences, reflective narrative writing, a case study that was written based on their clinical field experience, and a final narrative essay based on their course experiences (Kolano & King, 2015).

Engaging parents is crucial in meeting the needs of Latino English Learners. Latino children and families often lack understanding of the norms and expectations in U.S. schools, potentially leading to difficulty in enrollment, misconceptions about the cost of public schooling, and disciplinary problems. The research from this study suggested that school personnel can better engage parents by creating a parent academy, creating a monthly newsletter for parents and families of Latino immigrant students, and also creating a mobile phone application to be used for district communication. The mobile application could be used to send out pertinent mass communications in Spanish to the families of students. The purpose of the parent academy would be to help the parents and families of Latino EL students to understand what is expected of them. The academy would also help parents realize how they can be supportive of school personnel in meeting the needs of Latino ELs. The newsletter would be sent to Latino EL students' homes, and would contain announcements about district communications and events on a monthly basis. The mobile phone application would be a subscription application that parents must subscribe to in order to receive announcements. The announcements would range from district events, school closings, and academic requirements to emergency

messages that are translated in English and Spanish. These communication efforts would increase family engagement and assist in effectively servicing Latino EL students.

Recommendations for Policy

The perspectives of school personnel on what is working and what else might be done to better support recent immigrant students can serve as a starting point for thinking about which changes within current school practice can be made, and how those changes relate to paradigm shifts, educational practices, how ELs acquire English, how we instruct and assess them, and how they navigate high school. There are several recommendations for practitioners that the researcher suggests. The recommendations range from practices and structural changes to procedures that will assist schools with an increasing population of Latino English Learners. The recommendations will assist school personnel in improving their support for the acculturation, academic achievement, social emotional development, and language support of Latino ELs.

Effective professional development can improve instruction for Latino ELs. Professional development is considered as an essential element in enhancing the teaching and learning process to ensure student learning. Professional development is too often provided in the form of one-shot or stand-alone seminars or workshops that are short-term, typically after-school or one-day programs that often fail to change teachers' knowledge, beliefs, attitudes, and practices in significant ways (Day & Sachs, 2004). Rather, effective professional development requires school-wide support, a sustained effort, and follow-up (Richardson, 2003). The participants' narratives revealed a lack of professional development in strategies for teaching Latino ELs and former Latino ELs. Teachers overwhelmingly expressed not having any training to work with Latino EL students. The next recommendation is to create professional development opportunities

for school personnel to learn effective strategies in meeting the needs of Latino English Learners.

Online delivery of professional development is a new trend that is emerging due to mitigating cost, and the flexibility with time and physical space for teachers to participate (Reeves & Li, 2012). Research suggests that sustained and intensive professional learning for teachers is related to student achievement gains. An analysis of well-designed experimental studies found that a set of programs which offered substantial contact hours of professional development (ranging from 30 to 100 hours in total) spread over six to 12 months showed a positive and significant effect on student achievement gains (Darling-Hammond, Wei, Andree, Richardson, & Orphanos, 2009). Allocating professional development funds for providing uninterrupted time to teachers is a key to enhance their learning. School-day experiences such as demonstration lessons, observations, co-teaching, peer coaching, and collaborative resource management are effective site-based solutions. The professional development can be scheduled around in service days. Using existing staff who are experienced in working with Latino ELs will be useful (Bunten et al., 2014).

In one program in a Texas district, teachers engaged in on-site, small-group professional development to promote inquiry-based, literacy-integrated instruction in science classrooms to improve English language learners' science and reading achievement. Through the initiative, teachers and paraprofessionals participated in collaborative biweekly workshops in which they jointly reviewed upcoming lessons, discussed science concepts with peers, engaged in reflections on their students' learning, and participated as learners in the types of inquiry-based science activities they would be

implementing for their students. They also received instruction in strategies for teaching English language learners (Guerrero et al., 2012) The key details were that the professional development was content-focused, incorporated active learning utilizing adult learning theory, supported collaboration, used models and modeling of effective practice, provided coaching and expert support, offered opportunities for feedback and reflection, and also took place over a sustained duration of time.

In response to the growing population of English Learner students, districts and states must invest in the development of bilingual educators. A promising strategy known as Grow Your Own (GYO) programs are partnerships between educator preparation programs, school districts, and community organizations that recruit and prepare local community members to enter the teaching profession and teach in their communities. GYO programs are cited in recent policy briefs as viable pathways for increasing the racial/ethnic diversity of teachers. Homegrown pathways to teaching have typically offered access to the profession for people of color from varied class, social, and linguistic backgrounds (Tanner & Tanner, 1968). Recruitment frames for this teacher pipeline typically focus on adult members of the local school and geographic community, such as paraprofessionals, school cafeteria workers, crossing and security guards, and custodial staff as well as parents, community activists, and religious leaders. An example of GYO programs is the original Parent Mentor Program in Chicago spearheaded by the Logan Square Neighborhood Association, which sought to first organize parents, mostly bilingual and Latino, in schools through building relational capital and hearing local concerns about the quality of education available to children in their communities (Warren, 2011). Eventually, community resource centers were created at local schools,

and some parents expressed desire to become teachers, which resulted in a type of parent-teacher pipeline that recruited parents (Warren, 2011). School and community teacher pipelines and middle/high school teacher pipelines are poised to offer important innovations to the teacher education field for recruiting and preparing local community members (Bianco et al., 2019). School districts looking to increase the number of Latino teachers might want to look at creating a policy for a Grow Your Own program.

Recommendations for Practice

Public schools in communities experiencing dramatic increases in immigrant populations are confronted with the enormous challenge of determining how best to respond to the needs of immigrant students. Most schools experiencing demographic shifts have received relatively little guidance in how to handle the task of integrating and educating immigrant children. School personnel in schools with changing demographics play a crucial role in meeting the needs of English Learners (Cherng et al., 2015). Schools with growing immigrant populations must be adequately prepared to work with students who do not speak fluent English, and provide support for students to succeed. The findings from the research suggest barriers to meeting the needs of Latino ELs such as lack of cultural awareness, trauma that Latino ELs face, and an absence of role models. According to participants, the policies and practices that drive the school's support systems for Latino English Learners are limited, but could be due to the nature of the demographic shift.

The first recommendation is the development of a task force team that would be purposed with creating cultural sensitivity training for administration, teachers, support staff, and anyone who might come in contact with the students in a professional manner. The cultural sensitivity training might include the challenges that Latino English Learners

face, basic communication skills, and cultural norms. The goal would be to ensure that all stakeholders fully understand the intricate realities that Latino English Learners face. The goal of the cultural sensitivity training would be to create a culture of care where the school is a safe zone for all students. A positive school climate is one of the most important elements that fosters the development of Latino ELs. This is important because Latino ELs have been found to feel anxious, stigmatized, and unwelcome or ignored in U.S. classrooms (Lucas, Villegas, & Freedson-Gonzalez, 2008). The training should also inform trainees about the different groups of English learners that currently attend the school. An overview of legal barriers faced by students and their families will also be helpful.

District leadership who are concerned with improving school climate for Latino ELs must work to create policies that mandate cultural sensitivity training for all staff. School personnel aid immigrant students when entering new school environments as they undergo a period of substantial ethnic identity discovery (Brown & Chu, 2012). Students in classrooms where teachers understand diverse students to be a benefit rather than a burden reported less perceived discrimination and greater positive ethnic self-identity (Brown & Chu, 2012). Adolescence is a difficult time for many young people, but the need for support is especially urgent among Latino students who might be confronted with the condition of illegality. Schools must train counselors and teachers on the unique challenges facing undocumented immigrant students (Gonzalez, 2016).

Teacher participants agreed that there had been no conversation about training school personnel in understanding details relating to student demographics, challenges that immigrant students face, and meeting the academic needs of Latino English

Learners. The findings of this study display the necessity for school leaders to provide cultural sensitivity training for all school personnel, because most lack the specific knowledge needed to service Latino English Learners. District policymakers might want to consider creating a policy that mandates cultural sensitivity training twice a year for all school personnel. The goal of the cultural sensitivity training is for school personnel to understand the complexities of the emerging population of Latino English Learners in the school.

One dimension that's central to effective, high-quality teaching and learning is teachers' knowledge and understanding of their students' social, emotional, and cognitive development (Schonert-Reichl, 2017). Schools that want to assist students with trauma they may face should incorporate social emotional learning. Policymakers could make it mandatory to offer all students the ability to participate in social emotional learning, which is the process through which children and adults acquire and effectively apply the knowledge, attitudes, and skills necessary to understand and manage emotions, set and achieve positive goals, feel and show empathy for others, establish and maintain positive relationships, and make responsible decisions (Schonert-Reichl, 2017). In a 2017 study of three urban high schools, SEL was successfully implemented and had a positive impact on academic and social outcomes. The three schools in the study sought to educate the whole student by providing a physically and emotionally safe learning environment, developing caring relationships among all members of the school community, and challenging students with relevant, culturally responsive, and quality curriculum and instruction. Doing so requires viewing the academic, social, and emotional aspects of schooling as interdependent with one another (Darling-Hammond & Hamedani, 2015)

In an interview with a former student and one of North Central's current teacher's assistants, Dorianne Taylor attributed her success in navigating high school as an English Learner to having mentors. She discussed having two mentors—one a teacher and the other a friend who spoke K'iche and helped her when she felt alone. One important protective factor for Latino immigrant students in high school is social relationships (Brown & Chu, 2012). Latino youth dropout rates can be mitigated by mentoring and adult supervision (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2009). Similarly, Suárez-Orozco, Suárez-Orozco, and Todorova (2008) found that social support was particularly important for first-generation immigrant high school students who need help navigating new linguistic and cultural environments, achieving financial stability, and receiving emotional and practical support.

For this, policymakers might want to create a policy that supports the development of a mentoring program that can be anchored in peer and adult mentors. Policymakers might want to consider creating a “safe space” inside the school that is open during school hours and after school hours for Latino English Learners who might benefit from having a mentor. Camacho and Fuligni (2015) found that participation in such activities was beneficial with regard to academic achievement and engagement for immigrant high school students and that it was most beneficial for first-generation students. Leaders can promote the development of student-led support groups where students interact with other students facing the same challenges of immigration status. This support group can be supplemented by identifying key staff members to guide, support, and encourage students and their families (Gonzalez, 2016). One concrete action

that can lead to social support for high school students is participation in after-school activities (Sibley & Brabeck, 2017).

Mentors who have successfully navigated the struggles involved with being Latino English Learners themselves proved to be effective in assisting current students. The next recommendation is to create a mentoring program that offers current staff the opportunity to mentor Latino English Learners. By doing so students will get personal counsel on how to navigate any obstacles that they are facing. The mentoring program for Latino ELs will help the students acquire the necessary skills to graduate high school and create post high school opportunities. A former ABC high school student who graduated and came back to work as a teacher's assistant credits her mentor with encouraging her to learn English and Spanish at the same time, navigating high school, graduating, and getting hired to come back and work with Latino English Learners. Immigrant youth who participate in mentoring programs and supervised academic after-school activities fare better academically (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2009). After-school mentorship programs can also assist students in their integration process. Mentoring programs and academic after-school activities promote students' integration into school life more generally, which increases students' willingness to achieve academically (Dubois, Keller, & Wheeler, 2010). The mentoring program can assist students in acquiring the skills to successfully navigate their high school career. Latino immigrant students need attention and support to address their academic needs and performance without ignoring important cultural themes such as respect for homeland, family, friends, and others, and responsibility to family (Farrow et al., 2012). The mentoring program will also provide a

space for Latino ELs to feel safe and welcomed in a new and sometimes unwelcoming environment.

Recommendations for Policy

There are several recommendations for practitioners that I suggest. The recommendations will assist school personnel in improving their support of Latino English Learners. Effective professional development can improve instruction for Latino ELs. Professional development is too often provided in the form of one-day programs that often fail to change teachers' knowledge, beliefs, attitudes, and practices in significant ways (Day & Sachs, 2005). Rather, effective professional development requires school-wide support, a sustained effort, and follow-up (Richardson, 2003). The narrative of the participants revealed a lack of professional development of strategies for teaching Latino ELs and former Latino ELs. Teachers overwhelmingly expressed not having any training to work with Latino EL students. The first recommendation that the researcher recommends is to create professional development opportunities for school personnel to learn effective strategies for meeting the needs of Latino English Learners.

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observations, co-teaching, peer coaching, and collaborative resource management are effective site-based solutions.

Communication barriers present a major issue in meeting the needs of Latino English Learners. The inability to communicate with Latino ELs presents a challenge in educating them. There is a major shortage of bilingual teachers across the United States (U.S. Department of Education, 2016). The next recommendation is that the school district should recruit and hire additional bilingual teacher's assistants. Teacher's assistants are not required to obtain the same levels of schooling as fully certified bilingual teachers. Paraprofessionals are typically identified for career ladder programs after already working in schools for a period of time (Bianco et al., 2019). This notion is a temporary solution to the long-term problem of recruiting fully certified bilingual teachers. In North Carolina, one school district is taking a similar approach to providing a short-term solution to the lack of qualified staff who are bilingual. The school district actively focuses on recruitment to identify individuals who can work as classroom aides and community liaisons, have emerging bilingual skills, and can be a short-term solution that might turn into a long term solution as these individuals gain experience. These individuals can potentially be aided in completing a degree and teacher training program. In one of the schools in North Carolina, the principal recruited a bilingual parent who had an engineering background in his home country. The principal assisted the parent through community college, then a local four-year institution and teacher preparation program (Alvarez, 2012).

School districts looking to increase the number of Latino teachers might want to look at creating a policy for a Grow Your Own program. A promising strategy, Grow

Your Own (GYO) programs are partnerships between educator preparation programs, school districts, and community organizations that recruit and prepare local community members to enter the teaching profession and teach in their communities. GYO programs are cited in recent policy briefs as viable pathways for increasing the racial/ethnic diversity of teachers. Homegrown pathways to teaching have typically offered access to the profession for people of color from varied class, social, and linguistic backgrounds (Tanner & Tanner, 1968). Recruitment frames for this teacher pipeline typically focus on adult members of the local school and geographic community, such as paraprofessionals, school cafeteria workers, crossing and security guards, and custodial staff as well as parents, community activists, and religious leaders.

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Recommendations for Future Research

This study focused on how key personnel at an urban high school responded to a swift demographic shift from being predominantly African American to predominantly Latino with a large population of Latino ELs. A mixed method approach that combined

qualitative research with quantitative research was used to assess a selected metric related to success factors. Some success factors could be graduation rates, GPAs, and college acceptance rates when the school was predominantly African American vs. Latino acceptance rates. Building upon success factors, future studies could include the use of Latino ELs' ACCESS scores, exit rates for ELs, or other growth measures on standardized tests to gauge success or improvement over time. Because this research only focused on school personnel, further research is needed to determine the perspectives of students at other high schools experiencing a demographic shift. Interviewing students will provide a different dynamic, as they represent the population that is being served. Such studies might include only Latino ELs, or might opt to include Latino ELs with non-Latino EL students' voices.

This research was based on how key personnel responded to a demographic shift in a school that was predominantly African American and underwent a shift to predominantly Latino with a large portion of Latino English Learners. Among other things, the findings reported creation of a separate school for the Latino English Learners. Future research might consider a school that is predominantly composed of White students, and how its administration responds to a demographic shift in student population. This research focused on personnel at the high school level, including staff at the district level. The research did not include any personnel at the middle and elementary school level. One might be interested in combining personnel from grades K-8, to see how the demographic shift has affected schools at that level and how they are responding to the shift. Future research might include specifics on teacher practices and their effectiveness. One of the recurring themes in the interviews was staffing issues.

Future research on district practices to market, recruit, and hire qualified staff will provide insight on what the district is currently doing and how the district might better those practices.

This research did not consider gender in the experiences of recently arrived Latinx students; it examined how school personnel responded to the shift in demographics without any gender-specific frameworks. Future research might consider how the district responded to meeting the needs of recently arrived female Latinx students vs. recently arrived male Latinx students.

Instructional staff and support staff cited a lack of available training to meet the needs of Latino ELs. Further research might want to explore research on training that is available at the local, county, state, and national level to serve Latino EL students. The research might provide information on what is available, and recommendations for the specific types of training needed. Such research might be conducted at the Department of State Center for Hispanic Policy, Research and Development. An example would be training that detailed working with parents of Latino ELs in order to promote student academic success. Future research might also consider how students can be involved in developing solutions to improve how school personnel meet the needs of Latino ELs.

Future research should consider how families have responded in a school with a swift demographic shift. Specifically, the voices of parents will provide a much deeper understanding of how they see the education that is being provided to their children. Future research from the perspective of the students would also be valuable. The experiences of students might offer data that is richer than the data from high school personnel. Participants mentioned the significance of having a mentor to work with to

assist in navigating difficult academic obstacles. As a result, it would be beneficial to look into the school personnel who mentor Latino ELs and the role they play in a school experiencing a demographic shift. Future research might also consider exploring the experiences of unaccompanied immigrant youth and school districts that have seen an increase in that population of students. Unaccompanied immigrant youth present challenges to districts that have never serviced this population of students before.

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