Addressing the Language Barrier: English Language Learners, Bilingual Education, and Learning Supports*

Where inability to speak and understand the English language excludes national origin minority group children from effective participation in the educational program offered by a school district, the district must take affirmative steps to rectify the language deficiency in order to open its instructional program to these students.

from the federal Bilingual Education Act

Awareness and appreciation of biculturalism and bilingualism is an integral part of cultural pluralism in our society.

New York State Association for Bilingual Education

English proficiency is a necessary, if insufficent, condition for eliminating achievement gaps.... Tienda & Haskins

iscussion of bilingual instruction in the U.S. focuses on teaching those who are just learning English and teaching a second language to those who speak English. Our focus here is on English language learners, the debate about bilingual education for that subgroup of students, and what else must be done to enhance their success at school.

At the outset, it is critical to appreciate the variety of languages schools encounter (e.g., large districts report over 80 languages across their schools). The greater the number of languages, the greater the challenges in teaching English and in addressing the many other factors that can interfere with learning and teaching English language learners.

About English Language Learners

English language learners are the fastest growing segment of the public school population – nearly doubling in the last 15 years. The U.S. Department of Education's data for 2012-2013 indicate that there were 4.85 million English Language Learners enrolled in public schools across the country. Estimates indicate that the total may have reached 10 million by 2016. Numbers vary considerably for states. Updated prevalence data are presented in the Exhibit 1.

Many issues and problems have arisen related to how school meet the needs of this population. Concerns include: teaching English as a second language, transitioning immigrants into a school, assimilating them into a new culture without undercutting students' primary languages and demeaning their cultural background, ensuring equity of opportunity, and more.

Available research suggests these matters are not being handled well. English learners "are assigned to less qualified teachers, are provided with inferior curriculum and less time to cover it, are housed in inferior facilities where they are often segregated from English speaking peers, and are assessed by invalid instruments that provide little, if any, information about their actual achievement." And "as a group... continue to perform more poorly than English-speaking students throughout their entire school career" (Gándara, Rumberger, Maxwell-Jolly, & Callahan, 2003).

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Exhibit 1. Prevalence of English Language Learners in Public Schools

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics – https://nces.ed.gov/programs/coe/indicator_cgf.asp

In 2013-14: "In the District of Columbia and six states – Alaska, California, Colorado, Nevada, New Mexico, and Texas – 10.0 percent or more of public school students were English language learners, with California having the highest percentage, at 22.7 percent. Seventeen states had percentages of ELL public school enrollment between 6.0 and 9.9 percent. These states were Arizona, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Hawaii, Illinois, Kansas, Maryland, Massachusetts, Minnesota, New York, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Oregon, Rhode Island, Virginia, and Washington. In 13 states, the percentage of ELL students in public schools was between 3.0 and 5.9 percent; this percentage was less than 3.0 percent in 14 states, with West Virginia having the lowest percentage, at 0.7 percent.

The percentage of ELL students in public schools increased between 2003-04 and 2013-14 in all but 14 states, with the largest percentage-point increase occurring in Kansas (4.6 percentage points) and the largest percentage-point decrease occurring in Arizona (9.8 percentage points). Between 2012-13 and 2013-14, the percentage of ELL students in public schools decreased in 20 states, with the largest decrease occurring in Idaho (1.4 percentage points). In contrast, 30 states and the District of Columbia experienced an increase....

In 2013-14, the percentage of students in ELL programs was generally higher for school districts in more urbanized areas than for those in less urbanized areas. For example, ELL students in cities made up an average of 14.1 percent of total public school enrollment, ranging from 9.6 percent in small cities to 16.6 percent in large cities. In suburban areas, ELL students constituted an average of 8.7 percent of public school enrollment, ranging from 6.0 percent in midsize suburban areas to 9.0 percent in large suburban areas. ...

Spanish was the home language of nearly 3.8 million ELL students in 2013-14, representing 76.5 percent of all ELL students and 7.7 percent of all public K-12 students. Arabic and Chinese were the next most common home languages, reported for approximately 109,000 and 108,000 students, respectively. English (91,700 students) was the fourth most commonly reported home language, which may reflect students who live in multilingual households or students adopted from other countries who had been raised speaking another language but currently live in households where English is spoken. Vietnamese (89,700), Hmong (39,900), Haitian (37,400), Somali (34,500), Russian (33,800), and Korean (32,400) round out the top ten most commonly reported home languages for ELL students in 2013-14.

In 2013-14, a greater percentage of public school students in lower grades than in upper grades were identified as ELL students. For example, 17.4 percent of kindergarteners were identified as ELL students, compared to 8.0 percent of 6th-graders and 6.4 percent of 8th-graders. Among 12th-graders, only 4.6 percent of students were identified as ELL students.

About Bilingual Education

Dictionaries define bilingual as the ability to speak and understand two languages. Bilingual education is intended to foster this ability. In the United States, one language is usually English while the other is dependent on whether the focus is on (a) teaching English as a second language or (b) teaching another language to English speakers. In the latter case, the choice of the second language is a local decision. Teaching English as a second language reflects both federal and local policy.

Among the methods used to teach English as a second language are immersion, transitional bilingual education, and developmental, or maintenance, bilingual education. As the terms suggest *immersion* uses only English in the classroom, starting with rudimentary language, while teaching academic subjects. *Transitional bilingual* education also stresses English-language instruction but provides some instruction in a student's native language as a bridging scaffold. *Developmental bilingual* education is meant to build on students' native language as they simultaneously learn English.

Schools differ in how they structure a dual-language program. For example, some alternate the language used daily or weekly. Some use a more fluid approach, switching from one language to the other at any point in a class. Additionally, some schools have one teacher teaching in both languages while other schools have different teachers for each language. Also, by middle school, some schools offer courses that are only taught in the second language.

With good instruction, student proficiency is expected to progress in five levels – from beginning to advanced; the focus is on four domains: listening, speaking, reading, and writing. Research suggests that mastery and fluency require four to seven years.

Links to resources related to working with English language learners are provided in the list of references and resources at the end of this document.

Bilingual Education for English Language Learners: A Long-Standing Controversy

Bilingual education remains controversial. There are pedagogical and political debates. Politically, the controversy ties into concerns about immigration, and it has fueled calls for mandating English as the official U.S. language.

Prominent arguments against bilingual education are that learning two languages at once confuses children and lowers proficiency in both languages. And specifically with reference to teaching English as a second language, it is suggested that a dual language approach interferes with the acquisition of English by accommodating an attitude by students that they can get by with their native language. It also is suggested that bilingual education works against assimilation of immigrants and increases segregation by producing resistance to integration by students and staff. Also stressed are the high financial costs of such an approach.

Prominent among the pro-arguments are that being bilingual improves cognitive processing and communication skills and thus enhances learning and future job opportunities. Bilingual programs also are seen as fostering respect for the culture of non-native English-speaking students. Those advocating specifically for bilingual education for English language learners stress research suggesting that the approach promotes learning English while enhancing success and speeding up academic learning by ensuring students receive instruction when appropriate in their native language instead of struggling to understand what is being said. Furthermore, it is emphasized that these students are more likely to learn to speak English fluently when their teacher can communicate effectively with them. Finally, benefits for all students are seen as enhancing facets of cognitive functioning and learning (e.g., processing information, task shifting, inhibitory control). Finally, it is suggested that by learning a second language fluently, students can learn additional languages much faster.

The U.S. Department of Education's view is that "developing and maintaining the student's native language in no way interferes with English language acquisition. ... On the contrary, research over the last decade in bilingual classrooms with established models of instructional excellence indicates that utilization of and facility in the primary language enhances the acquisition of a second language." And in their analysis, Gándara & Contreras (2009) comment that, "while critics in the United States claim that bilingual education is a 'failed experiment,' most other modern nations consider it the norm and cannot imagine why Americans would prefer an education in only one language."

Exhibit 2. Bilingualism and Immigrants: A Bit of U.S. History, Litigation, and Politics

When new immigrants come to the U.S., the government works vigorously to assimilate them culturally and politically. Going even further, there is the movement that wants to mandate English as the official U.S. language. A long-standing concern about the socialization agenda is that such government policies often undermines immigrant students' primary language and culture.

Carter (2014), a sociolinguist of language and culture in immigrant and ethnolinguistic minority communities, offers dramatic examples of the historical and current examples of the problem:

- "In the mid-19th century, the ... federal ... Bureau of Indian Affairs, established a series of English-only boarding schools, whose purpose was to 'acculturate' or 'save' Native Americans, by stamping out the use of languages such as Cherokee, Ojibwe, and Navajo. They were remarkably successful in doing so"
- "Anti-German hysteria in ...World War I resulted in the systematic closing of long standing German language schools and today, there is no longer German speaking communities"
- More recently, "the principal of a public middle school in Hempstead, Texas, made an
 announcement over the school's intercom system that the use of Spanish would be banned at
 school, effective immediately. Latino students, approximately half of the student body, also reported
 being told by teachers they would be punished for speaking Spanish on school grounds."

Viewing bilingual education as a civil right, advocates have argued for decades that students being taught in a language they didn't understand was a barrier to their education. In 1968, Congress passed the Bilingual Education Act; revisions in 1974 created the National Advisory Council on Bilingual Education to formulate a plan for national policy in bilingual education.

To counter such policy, California voters passed Proposition 227 in 1998 requiring "all public school instruction to be conducted in English." (This requirement could be waived if parents or guardian showed that their child already knew English, or has special needs, or would learn English faster through alternative instructional technique.) Carter notes: *Millions of Spanish-speaking immigrant students lost the opportunity to learn or retain valuable literacy skills in Spanish while they acquired English. And, millions of California-born Latinos who enrolled in school with the gift of native bilingualism would later leave school unable to read and write in Spanish.* Underscoring this are findings reported by Gándara and her colleagues that the greatest achievement growth for the grade 2 cohorts occurred in schools that offered bilingual instruction before Proposition 227 or continued to offer bilingual instruction after Proposition 227. California legislators currently are debating the elimination of Prop 227.

In the 1974 Supreme Court case of Lau v. Nichols, Justice William Douglass stressed that there is no equality of treatment merely by providing students with the same facilities, textbooks, teachers, and curriculum; for students who do not understand English are effectively foreclosed from any meaningful education. We know that those who do not understand English are certain to find their classroom experiences wholly incomprehensible and in no way meaningful. The court's decision had far reaching impact (see discussion in Wright, 2010).

The Equal Educational Opportunities Act of 1974 (EEOA) enacted, soon after the case was decided declared: "No state shall deny educational opportunities to an individual on account of his or her race, color, sex, or national origin by the failure of an educational agency to take appropriate action to overcome language barriers that impede equal participation by its students in its instructional programs." Since 1974, interpretations of the Lau decision and the EEOA with respect to bilingual education have been regularly challenged in the courts (see Wright, 2010 for details).

What Does the Research Indicate?

Considerable controversy about bilingual education was stimulated by a 1996 meta-analysis by Rossell and Baker in which they concluded that bilingual education was ineffective. However, when Greene (1997) analyzed their work, he reported that only 11 of the studies reviewed met the criteria for being "methodologically acceptable." His analysis of those 11 studies found "that the use of at least some native language in the instruction of limited English proficient children has moderate beneficial effects on those children relative to their being taught only in English". Moreover, "students in a bilingual program outperformed their English-only counterparts by .79 standard deviations on average for all tests taken in English." He concluded that "native language can be part of beneficial approaches to teaching LEP" [limited English proficiency] and "the effects of exposure to at least some native language instruction has positive effects...."

In 1998, Hakuta summarized his analysis of research in the area, stressing that:

- When strict comparisons are made that control for the background factors, children learn English at the same rate regardless of the kinds of programs they are in, i.e., instruction through the native language does not slow down student acquisition of English. It takes most students 2 to 5 years to attain a level of proficiency in English that does not put them at a disadvantage in regular instruction. Their rate of acquisition of English depends on the level of development of the native language-children with strong native language skills learn English rapidly. Motivation to learn English is uniformly high both among parents and the students.
- With respect to academic achievement, the best and most careful comparisons of program types show modest-sized benefits in favor of bilingual education programs. Two separate committees of the National Research Council have looked at the evidence. In characteristic National Academy of Sciences terseness, they conclude: "the panel still sees the elements of positive relationships that are consistent with empirical results from other studies and that support the theory underlying native language instruction". The effectiveness of the intervention, however, does not fully address what it would take to close the gap in student achievement between poor and middle class populations. The typical program for L.E.P. students, regardless of program type, does not promote high levels of academic learning
- Attributes of effective schools and classrooms have been identified that refer to school factors
 extending beyond the program types with respect to language. Typically found in descriptions of
 good schools for language minority students are the following attributes: a supportive school-wide
 climate, school leadership, a customized learning environment, articulation and coordination within
 and between schools, some use of native language and culture in the instruction of languageminority students, a balanced curriculum that incorporates both basic and higher-order skills, explicit
 skills instruction, opportunities for studentdirected activities, use of instructional strategies that
 enhance understanding, opportunities for practice, systematic student assessment, staff
 development, and home and parent involvement.

Studies reported in recent years generally indicate that immersion in a dual language program can enhance English language development (e.g., Cloud, Genesee, & Hamayan, 2000; Conger, 2010). Conger (2010) does recognize that this is not always the case, but stresses that when bilingual education does interfere with English language acquisition, there are other factors at play. He reports that "students who are older, poor, native born, disabled, and who transfer schools are less likely to reach proficiency than other students" and "bilingual education students disproportionately attend schools with services or characteristics that lower their likelihood of obtaining proficiency." In addition, factors such as parental education and involvement in learning English play a role.

Haubrich (2010) looked at the benefits of bilingual versus monolingual classrooms for ESL students. He compared the bilingual self-contained group and the ESL group. The former focused on the developing literacy and academic skills in the native language (i.e., Spanish) with a transition to

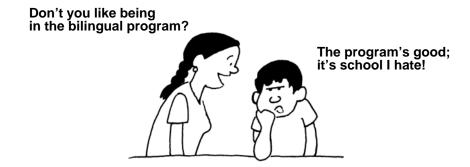
English; the ESL group was instructed in English only. He reported that the bilingual program was more successful in the areas of mathematics and reading.

Others have stressed that dual language programs can contribute to cognitive advantages. Marian and Shook (2012 note that, in a bilingual program, students have more opportunities to switch from one language to the other which could help give them cognitive advantages such as task-switching. The degree of such benefits may be related to the languages involved. For example, in their study, Prior and Gollan (2011) found that Spanish-English speaking students were more efficient when switching tasks than Mandarin-English speakers and monolingual speakers. Additionally, the Spanish-English speakers reported more language switching than the Mandarin-English speakers (controlled for parent-education level).

A large-scale survey of California elementary schools serving low-income and English Language learners looked at why some schools do better. They concluded that all students do better when schools focus "first and foremost on establishing a strong foundation of excellent, coherent school-wide practices related to the core standards-based curriculum, on assessing and monitoring student academic achievement, and on providing the adequate resources schools need to do this work" (Williams, Hakuta, Haertel, et al. (2007).

In response to the bilingual controversy, Gándara and Contreras (2009) stress that the major research syntheses commissioned by the federal government "have increasingly concluded that use of the primary language in instruction probably holds certain benefits, and at a minimum does not impede English learners' achievement in English."

With respect to instruction, leaders involved with guiding program development view bilingual education as an asset to English Language Learners while also benefitting the academic and cognitive development of all students (August & Shanahan, 2006).



Language is Basic; So are Student and Learning Supports

Given that language concerns are basic, it is essential not to fall into the trap of ignoring all the other barriers to learning and teaching experienced by many immigrant students. For example, many additional intervention concerns arise when students' families are migrant workers, undocumented, are refugees from war zones, are living in poverty, and so forth. Experiences that generate negative attitudes in students about school also require considerable attention (see Exhibit 3).

Exhibit 3. Immigrant Students and Barriers to Learning

Source: *Immigrant Children and Youth: Enabling Their Success at School* http://smhp.psych.ucla.edu/pdfdocs/immigrant.pdf .

The stress of coping with a new language and a new culture, a less than welcoming reception, racism, discrimination, school and community violence all are recipes for learning, behavior, and emotional problems (Qin, 2009; Suarez-Orozco, Rhodes, & Milburn, 2009). In addition, many immigrant students report feeling that their teachers view them in unfavorable ways (Peguero & Bondy, 2010); also analyses of informal social patterns at schools indicate an isolation from their English speaking peers (Daoud, 2003; Peguero, 2009).

Other factors causing stress include intergenerational conflict and psychological reactance to parental guidance appear as a youngster identifies with the peer culture at school and with what is learned from the school curriculum. As Qin (2009) stresses, immigrant children and youth must traverse multiple cultural worlds "and the often conflicted expectations they face in daily life. Many are torn between the attachment to their parents' culture, the lure of the adolescent peer culture, and aspirations to join the American mainstream culture."

Relatedly, immigrant parents and other family members bring varying understanding and attitudes about schooling and about how to interact with school staff (Carreon, Drake, & Barton, 2005). Some of this reflects their own experiences with schools, cultural and religious values, and the reasons they left their country of origin. As a result, home involvement and engagement with the new culture and with the school varies markedly. And if the youngsters learn to cope in the new environment faster than their parents, they may find themselves having to assume adult functions in their families (e.g., as language translators, as agents in economic transactions). All this can add to stress and role friction.

Undocumented immigrant families experience additional stressors (Capps, Castaneda, Chaudry, & Santos, 2007). As the Immigration Policy Center states: "Raids and other Immigration and Customs Enforcement actions that separate parents and children pose serious risks to children's immediate safety, economic security, well-being and long-term development." According to the center, there are roughly 5.5 million children living in the U.S. with unauthorized immigrant parents. Three-quarters of these are U.S. born citizens. In a recent 10 year period, over 100,000 immigrant parents of U.S. citizen children were deported (http://www.imigrationpolicy.org/just-facts).

McBrien (2005) views refugee students as among the most vulnerable for school failure and its consequences. In addition to the stress of migration and adaptation to the new, they may have been victimized in their country of origin and often seem to feel personal and cultural bereavement to a greater extent than non-refugee immigrants.

See original document for references in this Exhibit.

All schools have an influx of newcomers. In some schools, many newcomers are from another country. As noted, the numbers of immigrant children and youth in U.S. schools are increasing faster than any other group. This includes those born in other countries, and those born in the U.S. of immigrant parents. With rates increasing, schools are confronted with growing pressures to address a variety of concerns.

Newcomers vary in the type and amount of supports they need to enable a successful transition and adjustment to school and neighborhood. Beyond initial supports, schools receiving students from other countries need to develop a full continuum of interventions to address immigrant concerns and a multicultural student body.

A sense of need is reflected in concerns heard at schools across the country, such as:

- "A large part of our dropout problem is that so many immigrant students leave early to go to work." "Immigrant girls are leaving school because their families have arranged marriages for them as early as 14 years of age."
- "The refugee organization in our community is bringing in many families whose children have never been in school."
- "Our schools have families who speak many different languages, and we don't have enough translators to facilitate communication."
- "On campus, student groups establish their territory and newcomers not only aren't invited in, they are stigmatized (e.g., labeled FOB -- Fresh Off the Boat)."
- "Our ELL students aren't doing well learning English and aren't showing progress on the state achievement tests; this is having a serious negative impact on our average yearly progress."
- "Many parent are unhappy because we are not helping their children maintain their home language."
 "Unannounced immigration raids at the packing plants during the school day led to countless
 numbers of children coming home to find no adult there."

It is well to remember that

- students who are not doing well at school tend to have multiple problems (e.g., there is a strong interrelationship among learning, behavior, and emotional problems) and
- multiple problems require multifaceted interventions that can address both external and internal factors and enhance not only knowledge and skills, but also attitudes.

For schools with many limited English proficient students, the press to teach English often works against providing a broader set of student and learning supports for these students. The irony is that, when schools attend too narrowly to the broad range of student concerns highlighted above, a significant number of immigrant students continue to do poorly in learning English at school, and many misbehave, disengage, and eventually dropout.

Given this, we suggest embedding efforts for English language learning into a unified, comprehensive, and equitable system of supports so that each school can address a broad range barriers to student learning effectively. See Exhibit 4 for guides to frameworks and prototypes.

All this requires systemic changes are imperative in order to significantly enhance equity of opportunity for students to succeed at school and beyond. Our analyses (e.g., Adelman & Taylor, 2006; in press) indicate the following changes are needed:

(1) Expanding the policy framework for school improvement from a two- to a three-component framework. The third component coalesces all efforts to address barriers to learning and teaching (e.g., unifies them as a Learning Support Component); is prioritized and developed as primary and essential; is fully entwined with the Instructional and Management/governance Components.

- (2) Operationalizing the third component. Replacing fragmented practices that focus mainly on discrete problems requires reframing student and learning support interventions to create a unified, comprehensive, and equitable system of learning supports in classrooms and school-wide. A prototype intervention framework has been developed that encompasses
 - a continuum of school-community interventions consisting of subsystems (not just "tiers) for
 - >promoting effective schooling and whole child development
 - >preventing problems experienced by teachers and students
 - >addressing such problems as soon as feasible after they arise
 - >providing for students who have severe and chronic problems

and

- a cohesively organized and delimited set of "content" arenas for addressing barriers to learning and teaching and re-engaging disconnected students in the classroom and school-wide. These arenas encompass the range of concerns a school copes with each day. They also stress enhancing intrinsic motivation and resilience as protective factors. Mentoring embeds nicely into all of these arenas.
- (3) Implementing the third component. This involves
 - reworking the operational infrastructure to ensure effective daily implementation and ongoing development of a unified, comprehensive, and equitable systemic approach that enhances equity of opportunity;
 - enhancing mechanisms and strategic approaches for systemic change in ways that account for context and ensure effective implementation, replication to scale, and sustainability;
 - developing standards and expanding the accountability framework to account for the third component and to do so in ways that encompass both formative and summative evaluation

Exhibit 4. Resources for Details about a Unified, Comprehensive, and Equitable System of Learning Supports

- >ESSA, Equity of Opportunity, and Addressing Barriers to Learning http://smhp.psych.ucla.edu/pdfdocs/essaanal.pdf
- >Piecemeal Policy Advocacy for Improving Schools Amounts to Tinkering and Works
 Against Fundamental System Transformation http://smhp.psych.ucla.edu/pdfdocs/tinkering.pdf
- >All this is discussed in detail in a new book that is in press entitled: *Transforming Student and Learning Supports: Developing a Unified, Comprehensive, and Equitable System.* For a preview look, send an email to Ltaylor@ucla.edu

Concluding Comments

It would be nice if the process of addressing factors interfering with school success could be handled solely by a good approach to teaching English as a second language. However, just as good instruction always is essential, it never is sufficient when there are a range of significant factors interfering with learning and teaching.

Given that students often are confronted with multifaceted and interrelated problems, teachers alone cannot and should not be expected to address all interfering factors. Complex problems require implementing a comprehensive and broadly collaborative approach. Teachers must establish regular in-classroom collaborative working relationships with other teachers, student support staff, and volunteers to enhance equity of opportunity for students to succeed. And schools must transform how they connect with homes and communities so they can work together in pursuing shared goals.

With all this in mind, policy and practice analyses make it clear that tweaking current practices will not be sufficient to significantly counter the problems experienced by some students. In planning for implementation of the *Every Student Succeeds Act*, the emphasis needs to be on systemic transformation of student/learning supports to ensure that barriers to learning and teaching are addressed comprehensively, cohesively, and equitably.

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For more references and resources, see

- Teaching Academic Content and Literacy to English Learners in Elementary and Middle School from the What Works Clearinghouse practice guide provides four recommendations with extensive examples of activities that can be used to support students as they build the language and literacy skills needed to be successful in school. http://ies.ed.gov/ncee/wwc/PracticeGuide.aspx?sid=19
- Bilingual Education Resources on the Internet provides links to bilingual education resources, including government services, journals, schools, and projects online. http://courses.education.illinois.edu/EDPSY313/projects/2001_fall/bilingual.html
- *Colorin Colorado* A bilingual site for educators and families of English Language Learners http://www.colorincolorado.org/
- *ELL Success* "WeAreTeachers" homepage for English Language Learners http://www.weareteachers.com/lessons-resources/ell-success
- *Larry Ferlazzo Website* gateway to websites that will help teach ELL, ESL and EFL http://larryferlazzo.edublogs.org/
- Effective Teaching Strategies for English Language Learners http://www.supportrealteachers.org/strategies-for-english-language-learners.html
- Teaching Channel https://www.teachingchannel.org/teaching-channels-mission
- *Edutopia* lists websites and resources to Support English-language Learners http://www.edutopia.org/blog/strategies-and-resources-supporting-ell-todd-finley
- Free Apps to Support Vocabulary Acquisition by Monica Burns http://www.edutopia.org/blog/apps-support-ELL-vocabulary-acquisition-monica-burns
- 50 Incredibly Useful Links for Learning & Teaching the English Language by TeachThought http://www.teachthought.com/learning/50-incredibly-useful-links-for-ell-educators/
- *Immigrant students* -- Quick Find from UCLA Center http://smhp.psych.ucla.edu/qf/immigrantkids.htm