Educational Outcomes and Opportunities for English Language Learners

Presentation to the Joint Committee to Develop the Master Plan for Education
Kindergarten through University

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An increasing number of students entering California’s schools come from non-English speaking backgrounds. Although some of these language minority students enter school already proficient in English, the majority does not. These students are now referred to as English learners.²

There are several reasons why California needs to pay careful attention to the schooling of language minority students in their public schools. First, language minority students now constitute more than one-third of all students in California’s schools—a proportion that will grow even higher in the future. Second, English learners require a specialized curriculum and properly trained teachers to support their development of English literacy and to learn the rest of the required academic curriculum if they are to keep pace with their English-speaking peers. Third, the schooling of English learners is highly politicized—particularly concerning the use of native language instruction (or bilingual education) in developing native language literacy and initial academic content while learning English. Although the research evidence on developing English literacy in non-English speaking students is very sparse, prompting the federal government to initiate a number of long-term research studies on the topic, there is a growing political movement in many states to promote English-only instruction, such as Proposition 227 that was passed by California voters in June 1998.

Today, I will briefly discuss three topics:

1. The size and nature of the language minority population
2. Educational outcomes of English learners
3. Educational opportunities for English learners
The Growing Language Minority Population

Many California students come from non-English speaking backgrounds. This is due, in large part, to the large number of immigrants in California. In 1997, 25 percent of California’s residents were born outside the United States, more than any other state. It is also due to differences in the rates that immigrant families become proficient in English, which depends upon the opportunities for learning and using English in their daily lives.

Both federal and state laws require that public schools identify students who are not yet proficient in English in order to provide them with supplemental services. This is done as a two-step process. First, schools identify students who come from non-English speaking backgrounds through a home language survey that asks parents a number of questions about the language background of their child. If the answers to any of these questions indicate that the child comes from a non-English speaking background, the child is identified as a language minority student.

The second step of the process is to assess the English language proficiency of the student. This is typically done with one of several language proficiency tests available from commercial test publishers. In kindergarten, when most students enter school, the tests only assess a student’s oral English proficiency. Beginning in second grade, the language proficiency tests evaluate both oral and written English proficiency. The tests usually rate students’ English proficiency at five or six levels, ranging from non-English speaking to fluent English speaking. If students can understand English as it is used in school for instruction, they are classified as Fluent English Proficient (FEP) and not provided any special services. If students are not sufficiently proficient in English to understand classroom instruction, they are identified as English learners (ELs).
The California Department of Education conducts an annual language census each spring to count the number of language minority students and to identify the instructional programs and the teaching force that serves them. The 2000 Language Census identified 2.3 million language minority students in California, which represented 38 percent of the total student population in 1998-99. About two-thirds of language minority students were identified as English learners and one-third as Fluent English Proficient (FEP), but these proportions vary widely by grade level. Among younger students, the vast majority of language minority students are English learners, while in the upper grades the proportions of ELs to FEPs are more nearly equal. This pattern reflects the fact that, over time, an increasing number of English learners become proficient in English and are reclassified as Fluent English Proficient. But as we point out below, the process of reclassification is far from straightforward.

More than 80 percent of California’s English learners are Spanish-speaking, with Asian languages (Cantonese, Vietnamese, and Hmong) being the next most common groups. Over the last 15 years, the number of English learners increased almost five times faster than the overall student population (196 percent versus 43 percent). In 1983-84, one out of eight California students was an English learner—today it is one out of four. This proportion will likely increase in the future. According to projections from the California Department of Finance, Latino enrollment in California’s public schools will increase more than three times as fast as overall enrollment (see Figure 1). And since the majority of Latino students come from non-English speaking backgrounds, this increase will likely result in a growing number of English learners in California’s schools.
Educational Outcomes

The most central educational outcome for English learners is to become proficient in English. Without proficiency in English, language minority students will not be competitive with their English-speaking peers for access to higher education and well-paying jobs in the economy.

What does it mean to be proficient in English and long does it take?
The answer to this question depends on how English proficiency is defined and measured. Until recently, district procedures for reclassifying English learners had to follow quite prescriptive state guidelines. But the California State Board of Education recently abolished many of those guidelines.11 In the past, reclassification was based on multiple measures of both English proficiency and student achievement. These assessments were based on either commercial English proficiency tests or district-developed assessments. In addition, students had to perform above a certain percentile level (usually 35 to 36) on a norm-referenced test in reading in order to be reclassified as Fluent English Proficient. The achievement-level requirement was not only to ensure that English learners were proficient in English, but to ensure that they were minimally successful in school before losing all supplemental language support. Critics have argued, however, that using even a relatively low cut-off on a norm-referenced achievement test sets too high a standard since the use of percentile measurement virtually ensures that a significant percentage of English learners can never meet the criterion. In effect, they would have to outperform about one-third of native-English speakers in order to do so.12 Even with the previous standard of using the 36 percentile as a cut-off, however, six to eight percent of all English learners are reclassified as Fluent English Proficient each year. And over the last ten years, the number of English learners reclassified as English proficient has increased at almost the same rate as the overall population of English learners—100 percent (also see Figure 1).

Even based on the more common approaches described above, the length of time is considerable. A good illustration comes from a recent study of a school district in the San Francisco Bay area with a mix of Spanish and Vietnamese background students.13 The study examined the English proficiency and reclassification of a sample of 1,872 students in grades 1-6.
who had entered the district as English learners in kindergarten. As Figure 2 shows, it takes longer for students to become proficient in written English than in oral English. By the end of fourth grade, after being in the district for five years, 90 percent of the students were classified as proficient in oral English. But it took seven years in the district for 90 percent of the students to be classified as proficient in English reading and writing. These findings probably understate the amount of time it takes to become proficient in English because the sample only included students who had been in the same district since kindergarten. Research has shown that student mobility increases the amount of time it takes to become proficient in English.\textsuperscript{14} Other studies have found that the amount of time it takes to become proficient in English reading and writing varies from six to ten years.\textsuperscript{15}

Figure 2

English Oral Proficiency, Reading and Writing Development and Redesignation Probability as a Function of Grade Level: One California School District

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\textsuperscript{14} Kenji Hakuta, Yuko Goto Butler, and Daria Witt, \textit{How Long Does It Take English Language Learners to Attain Proficiency} (Santa Barbara: UC Linguistic Minority Research Institute, 1999), Figure 8.
Some scholars believe that existing indicators of English proficiency are insufficient to ensure the continued school success of English learners. They argue that to succeed in school, especially in secondary and postsecondary school, English learners need to acquire academic English, “the specific type of English entailed in reading and writing academic papers and in discussing academic issues.” Academic English requires a much greater mastery of a more extensive range of linguistic features—such as persuading, arguing, and hypothesizing—than ordinary English. Moreover, English learners who may be classified as English proficient based on standardized English proficiency tests may not have acquired proficiency in academic English.

When the California high school exit exam is required for graduation in 2004, all public high school students will need to be proficient in academic English. Yet, today, few students in California are proficient in academic English. Even the most successful high school graduates in California—the top 12 percent who enter the University of California—often have not mastered academic English: one-third fail to meet the freshman writing requirement and must take remedial writing. And half of all California State University freshmen—those from the upper third of California’s high school graduates—require remediation in English, along with 65 percent of all Mexican American and Asian American freshman students.

The problem of English learners becoming proficient in academic English is particularly problematic, as illustrated by examining SAT9 English reading scores across grade levels (see Figure 3). As expected, English learners who, by definition, are not yet proficient in English, have low reading scores across all grade levels. Students who enter school already proficient in English (Fluent English Proficient or FEP) start out comparable to English only students (or native English speakers), but by third grade fall behind and never catch up. Students who enter
the schools as English learners and who are subsequently reclassified as proficient (R-FEP), also start out comparable, but by 5th grade fall below English only students and by 7th grade fall substantially below English only students. Clearly, achieving proficiency in English at higher grade levels is difficult for even the more successful language minority students.

![Figure 3](image_url)

**Figure 3**
2000 California SAT-9 Reading Test Scores by Grade Level and Language Background

These results challenge the belief that if all English learners could become proficient in English in elementary school, then their achievement would be at least comparable to that of other students in secondary school.
Research also questions the belief that the reason English learners have lower levels of educational achievement is primarily because of their lack of English skills. To illustrate, a recent study examined the influence of language background and other factors on the 1998 Stanford 9 test performance for 26,126 second, third, and fourth grade students in eight Southern California school districts. First, the study examined the independent effects of two factors—language background and poverty—on student achievement (see Figure 4, left panel). These results show that poverty affects the achievement of all students regardless of their language background. Because the majority of English learners are poor, it means that they are at a particular disadvantage in school. Next, the study examined the impact of language background and ethnicity on student achievement (see Figure 4, right panel). These results show that even Hispanic students from English-speaking backgrounds had significantly lower test scores than Whites from English-speaking backgrounds. This suggests that something other than English proficiency must be accounting for those differences. It further suggests that while improving the English proficiency of English learners will improve their academic achievement, English proficiency alone is unlikely to raise their achievement to the levels of White, native-English speakers.

These data suggest that even the most successful English learners may not master the levels of English required in advanced academic settings. However, most English learners never advance that far. The reason is simply that learning English is difficult and learning academic English is even more so. While ordinary or everyday English is learned both inside and outside of school, academic English is generally learned in school from teachers and textbooks, and only with proper instructional support. Unfortunately, as we point out below, many English learners
are not given the instructional support they need because of a lack of properly trained teachers who can provide support over a sufficient period of time.

**Figure 4**

1998 SAT-9 Reading Scores by Language Background and Poverty, Hispanics and Whites: Eight Southern California School Districts

![Bar chart showing SAT-9 Reading Scores by Language Background and Poverty, Hispanics and Whites: Eight Southern California School Districts.](http://cerc.ucr.edu/publications)


**Educational Opportunities**

Two issues dominate current concerns about educational opportunities for English learners. One is the issue of instructional programs and the other is the issue of quality of teachers. I will briefly comment on both.
Instructional Programs

The rate at which English learners are reclassified as English proficient and no longer in need of special services has become an important political issue in the larger debate about the schooling of English learners. Ever since the *Lau v. Nichols* (1974) decision, states and local school districts have been required to provide appropriate services to English learners. But the nature of those services has generated considerable controversy in many states, including California. The debate has focused on whether English learners should be instructed in their native language while learning English, or simply instructed in English.

In 1998, California became a battleground for a national movement to abolish all native language instruction by mandating English-only instruction. In California, this movement took the form of a voter initiative—Proposition 227—that severely restricted the use of primary language for instructional purposes, and instead provided for a transitional program of “structured English immersion” that was not normally to last more than one year. The initiative was approved by the voters in June 1998 and schools were required to implement it in the opening days of the 1998-99 school year. For many districts, this meant that only about sixty days were available to prepare for this policy implementation. The state board of education rushed to provide guidelines for schools, although most decisions about how to implement the mandate were left to the local education agencies. At the same time, districts were dealing with a plethora of other state initiatives that were having an impact on the schooling of English learners, which we discuss below.

What has been the impact of Proposition 227? Proponents of 227 have argued that the shift toward more English instruction is already improving the test scores of English learners.
Yet at this early stage there is little research evidence to scientifically assess the impact of 227 on student achievement.\textsuperscript{26}

However, preliminary research does indicate that Proposition 227 has had a considerable impact on the instruction of English learners in California. A team of University of California researchers\textsuperscript{27} looked at the effects of Proposition 227 sixteen districts and twenty-five schools during its first year implementation who differed widely in their approach to teaching English learners. Some of the districts had a history of strong support for primary language instruction and had extensive primary language programs before 227; others had relied heavily on English-only programs. Beginning in the fall of 1998, the teams interviewed administrators charged with the policy implementation at each district, and then followed up with interviews of principals, teachers, and bilingual coordinators in key schools within these districts. Classroom observations were also conducted in most of these schools.

This study has yielded several important insights into the implementation and impact of Proposition 227.\textsuperscript{28} Only some will be mentioned here. Across the sixteen districts and twenty-five schools, there was wide diversity of responses to the mandate. All but four of the sixteen districts studied reduced the percentages of students receiving primary language instruction (reductions ranged from 12 to 100 percentage points); three districts maintained a similar percentage; and one contended that it increased the percent of students who were assigned to primary language programs. Across the state, 29 percent of English learners were in a primary language program prior to 227, and only 11 percent were assigned to one after the implementation of 227 (See Figure 5). Yet if you consider the number of students who also received primary language support, the impact was less dramatic.
While there was a tendency for schools and districts with extensive primary language programs to continue to provide these programs at some level, some schools with well-developed primary language programs completely abandoned them in the wake of Proposition 227. Moreover, considerable change was found in the actual classroom practices of teachers, with much more emphasis on the use of English, even in schools that purported not to have changed or reduced their primary language instructional programs. Concerns about the requirement that
students be tested in English drove these new practices as much as teachers’ concerns about avoiding reprimand or worse.

The extent to which schools and districts were changing their perceptions about the need to recruit bilingual teachers was investigated in seven of the sixteen districts. Five of the seven districts continued to seek bilingual teachers; two decided to curtail these hires. This was in spite of the fact that both the department of education and the California Commission on Teacher Credentialing have continued to underscore the importance of BCLAD teachers for a number of instructional purposes.29

Thus, while it was tempting to conclude on the basis of principal interviews that not a great deal had changed in some of the schools, a look inside the classrooms yielded a different perspective. Even in bilingual classrooms, teachers were changing their practice to accommodate both practical concerns—such as the impact required English testing would have on their students— as well as concerns for their own professional well-being. Moreover, there was a pervasive sense that policies were still unfolding in many districts; consequently, teachers were unsure of what the future held.

**Quality of the Teachers**

Perhaps the greatest challenge for the education of English learners is the recruitment and preparation of sufficient numbers of teachers who are qualified and skilled in meeting their specific learning needs. Two primary credentials are offered in California today that are supposed to address the needs of English learners. One is the Cross-cultural, Language and Academic Development (CLAD) credential, which can be earned by examination or through coursework on cultural and linguistic diversity, which includes techniques for Specially Designed Academic Instruction in English (SDAIE) and English Language Development
instruction. The other is the Bilingual Cross-cultural, Language and Academic Development (BCLAD) credential, which requires, in addition to the basic CLAD requirements, proficiency in a second language.\textsuperscript{30} If obtained through coursework requirements, the BCLAD usually includes more extensive preparation related to second language acquisition.

Currently 28,500—or a little more than one in ten—of the state’s approximately 280,000 teachers are uncredentialed.\textsuperscript{31} This situation is not likely to improve any time soon. Furthermore, uncredentialed teachers are not evenly distributed across the state, nor are they evenly distributed among schools and classrooms containing different types of students. English language learners, for instance, are more likely to have a less than fully qualified teacher than other students. In 1998, prior to the passage of Proposition 227, California had a shortfall of 11,000 certified bilingual teachers and 34,000 teachers certified to provide appropriate English language training.\textsuperscript{32} This meant that only about one-third of all English learners had a fully certified teacher.

Today, because of the growth of English immersion programs and the reduction of bilingual education programs brought about by Proposition 227, the number of teachers who hold credentials to work with English learners has grown dramatically. For example, the number of teachers with English Language Development (ELD) and SDAIE training has increased to 50,122.\textsuperscript{33} Another 11,995 teachers have been “grandfathered” into the category of CLAD teachers through provisions of SB1969, which allows experienced teachers to receive certification through staff development training or college course work. Added to this number are 10,690 teachers with BCLAD and other bilingual credentials. On paper, it appears that among those teachers in California who instruct English learners, a significant number (52 percent) have received some kind of preparation in instructing English learners. Unfortunately,
this preparation is often cursory and only sufficient to make a teacher aware of what he or she does not know. Under SB1969, CLAD certification can often be acquired with only forty-five hours of relevant training. Moreover, students often are not assigned in their student teaching to the teachers who have been prepared to teach them. This is due, in large part, to the unequal distribution of qualified teachers across schools and districts. Given the teacher shortage in the state, the best prepared teachers can choose to take positions in the suburbs and in districts with less challenging populations, forcing the less well-prepared teachers into the inner cities and the schools with high proportions of poor students and English learners.

The present crisis in providing English learners with fully qualified teachers has been exacerbated by recent reforms, particularly class-size reduction. A recent early evaluation of class-size reduction in California found that it increased the disparities in the numbers of qualified teachers between schools with large concentrations of English learners and schools with small concentrations of English learners. For example, the percentage of teachers not fully credentialed in schools with the least number of English learners (less than 8 percent) only increased from .3 percent in 1995-96 to 4.1 percent in 1998-99 (see Figure 6). However, the percentage in schools with the greatest proportion of English learners (40 percent or more) increased from 3.7 percent to 24.4 percent over the same two-year period. As a result, schools with the most English learners benefited the least from class-size reduction, at least in terms of access to fully credentialed teachers.

The importance of having qualified teachers was highlighted in a recent study of student achievement in California schools, where the authors found that “a 10 percent increase in the percentage of noncertified teachers employed at a school is predicted to decrease the percentage of students scoring at or above the national median by one to two percentage points.”
Prospects for the Future

California has passed a number of major reforms in recent years that are only now beginning to be implemented. Many of these reforms are likely to have an impact on the future schooling of English learners. Furthermore, these reforms raise many issues that will need to be resolved.

For example, the full impact of Proposition 227 on California’s English learners is still not known. However, early indications are that most children will not transition successfully from structured English immersion to mainstream English classes within one year. With the repeal of the reclassification guidelines, what constitutes readiness for transition to English-only
is an uncertain and highly controversial issue. The state department of education is currently drafting guidelines under the authority of Title 5 of the California Education Code to help districts and schools make these decisions.

New legislation on pupil promotion and retention (AB1626, Chapter 742, 1998) requires that students who are at risk of being retained because of failure to meet grade-level standards be provided additional educational services, including supplemental instruction and mandatory summer school. It is also noted in the legislation that students who are not proficient in English should not be retained solely on the basis of language handicap. It appears, however, that since English learners are likely to be at high risk of failing to meet educational standards, additional services will need to be provided for them. The costs and logistics involved in providing these services for large numbers of English learners have not been fully considered either by the state or by school districts. Yet research has found that retention alone is an ineffective and costly means by which to improve student performance, so provision of supplementary services will ultimately be a less expensive response to the dilemma.

High school exit examinations represent another area of educational reform with potentially large consequences for English learners. The numbers and proportions of EL students are greatest in the early grades, and for these younger students there may be sufficient time to intervene so that the possibility of failing to attain a high school diploma in spite of having completed all other high school requirements can be averted. However, approximately one-third of EL students are found in the secondary schools (see Table 1), where there is little time to gain the full English fluency and sufficient command of the secondary curriculum that are needed to pass the high school exit exam in English. This examination is only now being developed for students who plan to graduate in 2004, but the repercussions could be severe for
English learners if an appropriate solution is not found to accommodate the testing needs of these students.  

Legislative efforts to extend the school year by reducing teachers’ out-of-class time for professional development has “face validity,” but may in fact be shortsighted during this time when teachers, many of them under-qualified, are grappling with so many increased performance demands. In a recent survey conducted by the department of education on the impact of Proposition 227, schools cited professional development to help teachers teach English learners as one of the most highly unmet needs. The University of California study cited earlier found no instance in which teachers had been provided with professional development geared specifically to the instruction of reading for English learners. 

Assessment of English learners will also remain a difficult and controversial issue for some time to come. Currently, all English learners who have been in school for at least twelve months must be tested in English on the STAR test annually. Many districts and parents have expressed strong concerns about the ways in which this testing may affect the students and their records. However, we have seen that the most immediate impact of this testing appears to be on instruction. Teachers, whether in bilingual or SEI classrooms, expressed concern about their students being tested prematurely in English and therefore were anxious to focus on oral fluency in English rather than broader literacy skills. As one researcher put it, “language and literacy are rarely tools for learning but rather English language learning (oral fluency) is becoming the target of instruction.” The impact of this shift in instructional emphasis and student outcomes should be monitored to assess its short-term and long-term effects on the development of literacy skills for English learners.
A related issue is the assessment of English Language Development (ELD) for English learners. While ELD standards have recently been adopted by the state board of education, and legislation passed in 1997 (AB748) required that a test be developed that allowed for the assessment of ELD standards, the development of an appropriate and relevant test has just begun. Many scholars believe that it is critical to monitor this early acquisition of English skills in order to prevent failure later when children are expected to meet mainstream English curricular demands; however, there is by no means widespread agreement on this issue.42

Finally, we find no issue more compelling or more urgent than the need to recruit, retain, and strengthen the skills of teachers who serve English learners. Particular attention also needs to be paid to the competencies of middle and high school teachers who are often overlooked in the discussions on teacher preparation. However, given the current teacher shortages, the increasing numbers of English learners, and the numerous reform initiatives with which schools and districts are dealing, it is not clear where the will or the resources will come from to seriously address this problem. Certainly, it appears that both the state, through various incentive funding schemes like sign-up bonuses and scholarships, and its postsecondary institutions, through expanded teacher education and professional development programs, will need to rise to the challenge. K-12 schools alone cannot meet these enormous challenges.43

In summary, California faces a number of challenges in trying to improve the schooling conditions and learning outcomes of English learners. As their numbers increase, the future success of all California’s current reform efforts will be impacted by the state’s ability to successfully meet these challenges.
FOOTNOTES

1 The majority of this testimony is taken from Russell W. Rumberger and Patricia Gándara, “The schooling of English Learners,” in Elizabeth Burr, Gerald Hayward, and Michael Kirst, eds., Crucial Issues in California Education (Berkeley: Policy Analysis for California Education, 2000), pp. 23-44.


4 Most immigrants want to learn English and do become proficient in English over time. But their opportunities for learning and using English vary widely due to such factors as social class and place of residence. See Ruben G. Rumbaut, "The new Californians: Comparative research findings on the educational progress of immigrant children." in Ruben G. Rumbaut and Wayne A. Cornelius, eds, California's Immigrant Children: Theory, Research, and Implications for Educational Policy (San Diego, CA: Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, University of California, 1995), pp. 17-69.

5 These questions include the child’s native language and the language used by the parents and child at home.

6 The most common tests are the Language Assessment Scales (LAS), the Idea Proficiency Test (IPT), and the Bilingual Syntax Measure (BSM).

7 The levels of proficiency that must be demonstrated vary by age or grade level—the older the student, the more demanding the proficiency tasks that must be demonstrated to be classified as fluent English proficient. Proficiency levels are not directed related to the proficiency of native-English speakers, but rather to levels of proficiency that would be comparable to an average native-English speaker of a similar grade.


9 Ibid.


11 In response to the Proposition 227 Task Force report, the State Superintendent has convened an advisory committee to re-examine this issue and make recommendations on altering them.

Kenji Hakuta, Yuko Goto Butler, and Daria Witt, *How Long Does It Take English Language Learners to Attain Proficiency?* (Santa Barbara: UC Linguistic Minority Research Institute, 1999).


In 1999, 31.7 percent of all public high school students who enrolled in the University of California did not meet the subject A writing requirement. Data retrieved August 31, 2000 from the World Wide Web: [http://pathinfo.ucop.edu/cgi-bin/subjecta/results.pl](http://pathinfo.ucop.edu/cgi-bin/subjecta/results.pl).


The language of the proposition states that structured English immersion (SEI) programs are to be conducted “nearly all” in English for a period of time “not normally intended to exceed one year” except where parents explicitly request bilingual services. Once children are transitioned out of SEI, their instruction is to be provided “overwhelmingly in English,” a phrase that is open to considerable variation in interpretation.

See, for example, Kevin Clark, *From Primary Language Instruction to English Immersion: How Five California Districts Made the Switch* (Washington, D.C.: Institute for Research in English Acquisition and Development, June 1999).


Included in this team were Eugene Garcia, Tom Stritikus, Julia Curry-Rodriguez (UC Berkeley); Kris. Gutierrez (UCLA); Julie Maxwell-Jolly and Patricia Gándara (UC Davis).


For a summary of the CTC requirement for teaching English learners, see the CTC Publication CL-622 available from their website at: http://www.ctc.ca.gov/credentialinfo/leaflets/cl622/cl622.html.


Rumberger and Gándara, Figure 4.

Ibid.

Patricia Gándara and Julie Maxwell-Jolly, *Preparation for Teaching California’s Culturally and Linguistically Diverse Students: The Crisis of Teacher Quality and Quantity* (Santa Cruz, CA: The Center for the Future of Teaching and Learning, forthcoming).

This change was largely due to high-concentration schools not being able to effectively compete for better-qualified teachers. See Stecher, B.M. & Bohrnstedt, G.W., Eds., *Class size reduction in California: The 1998-99 evaluation findings* (Sacramento, CA: California Department of Education, 2000), pp. 131-137.

The report notes that similar disparities occurred in schools with high concentrations of low-income students.

Julian R. Betts, Kim S. Rueben, and Anne Danenberg, *Equal Resources, Equal Outcomes? The Distribution of School Resources and Student Achievement in California* (San Francisco, Public Policy Institute of California, 2000), p. 183. Available on the World Wide Web at: http://www.ppic.org/publications/reports.html#education. Existing studies have not examined whether teaching credentials have a positive impact on the educational achievement of English learners specifically. This is a critical topic for future research.

Heubert and Hauser, *High Stakes*. 
The National Research Council committee on high stakes testing cautions against an over-reliance on test scores for graduation especially in the case where students may not have been given an adequate opportunity to learn the requisite material. See Heubert and Hauser, *High Stakes*.


Gándara and Maxwell-Jolly, *First year effects*.


The implementation of recent State legislation regarding improvements in the assessment of teachers and in the certification of teacher education programs will contribute to these challenges.