Immersion Not Submersion

Volume II:

Lessons from Three California School Districts' Switch from Bilingual Education to Structured Immersion

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Executive Summary

In February 2006, the California Department of Education released the latest test scores for the state's English learners. The results were positive – immigrant children are continuing to perform well under structured English immersion.

Opponents of Proposition 227 had predicted the measure, which California voters passed in 1998, would spell disaster. But the mandate that schools teach children "overwhelmingly" in English, rather than in their native languages, has resulted in a large, demonstrable improvement in English proficiency across California.

In 2001, only 25 percent of the state's English learners scored in the top two categories of proficiency on the California English Language Development Test. By 2005, 47 percent scored "early advanced" or "advanced," – an improvement of 22 percentage points.

This striking improvement is big news, because the population of English language learners continues to increase. "Today, our student population is 'majority-minority,'" said Superintendent of Public Instruction Jack O'Connell in his 2006 state of education address. "Forty-one percent of our students speak a language other than English at home, and a quarter of all California public school students are struggling to learn the English language in school."

The transition has been an uneven one, however, as some districts continue to resist immersion. But the positive results are becoming increasingly apparent, and many officials have reconsidered their reluctance to change.

This paper is the second in a series about California school districts that have made the switch from bilingual to immersion. It examines what successful school districts are doing – those that have implemented structured immersion programs and seen their English learner test scores improve significantly.

It explores the work of three California school districts that fully embraced immersion either before or after Proposition 227 passed – Los Angeles Unified School District, Long Beach Unified School District, and Grant Joint Union High School District. Their successes and lessons should help other teachers, principals, and trustees fulfill their mission of providing some of California's neediest students – English learners – with the language skills they need to become successful members of their communities.

The Districts

School districts across California revamped their programs for English learners after Proposition 227 passed in 1998. Large districts and small districts, areas with a high percentage of English learners and areas with few, schools whose learners were mostly Hispanic and schools whose learners came from dozens of countries – they were all charged with the goal of instructing their students "overwhelmingly" in English, even if they hadn't been doing so before.

Los Angeles Unified School District is California's largest school system, encompassing 710 square miles. Besides the city of Los Angeles, the district includes a number of other cities and parts of Los Angeles County. The total K-12 enrollment of the district's 858 schools is 727,117. English learners make up more than 40 percent of that number: There were 315,439 of them last year. Spanish speakers make up the largest part of that population, followed by Armenian and Korean speakers. All in all, 35 different languages are spoken in the district.

Prior to Proposition 227, Los Angeles Unified's English learner test scores were below the state average. The state's largest group of immigrant students was also one of the most poorly served. In 2001, shortly after the law's implementation, only 16 percent of the district's English learners scored in the top two proficiency categories on the California English Language Development Test. But 227 instigated a change. The district's sterling improvement in educating English learners has driven the turnaround in test scores that California has seen since Proposition 227's implementation.

Long Beach Unified School District is situated near Los Angeles, and is also a sizeable system – it's the state's third largest, with over 95,000 students in 95 schools. Long Beach is the most diverse large city in the country; its students speak 46 different languages, with Spanish and Khmer the most common. There are over 34,000 English learners in the district.

Long Beach is known as a national leader in education reform. It was the first public school district in the country to require its students to wear uniforms in kindergarten through eighth grade. It was also the first to end social promotion. Its work hasn't gone unnoticed. The school district was the 2003-04 winner of the Broad Prize for Urban Education. The $500,000 award is given to the urban school district that makes the greatest improvement in student achievement while reducing the achievement gap among ethnic groups and between high- and low-income students. Long Beach has had enormous success in educating immigrant students.

Grant Joint Union High School District is the smallest of this study. The district is headquartered in Sacramento, the state capital, and has an annual operating budget of $100

million. Grant Joint Union educates 12,617 students in grades 7 through 12 at 19 junior high and high schools. About 30 percent of those students are English learners. Of those, almost 40 percent speak Spanish, nearly a quarter speaks Hmong, and 14 percent speak Russian.

The district is one of the best performing in the state in educating its immigrant students. But it wasn't always so exemplary. In 1994, the California Department of Education found Grant Joint Union's English learner program to be "noncompliant" in several areas. The district has worked hard to improve its programs, and has met with great success.

The Districts

Los Angeles Unified School District

- California's largest district
- Grades K through 12
- 858 schools
- 727,117 students
- About 43 percent are English learners

Long Beach Unified School District

- California's third-largest district
- Grades K through 12
- 95 schools
- Over 95,000 students
- About 36 percent are English learners

Grant Joint Union High School District

- Small district
- Grades 7 through 12
- 19 schools
- 12,617 students
- About 30 percent are English learners

Test Scores Soared Under Immersion

California made headlines across the country when test scores were released after the passage of Proposition 227. Opponents of the law had predicted it would spell disaster for English learners. But quite the opposite occurred. Only a quarter of English learners scored in the top two proficiency categories on the California English Language Development Test (CELDT) in 2001, shortly after Proposition 227 was implemented, and the first year the exam was given. By 2005, almost half did – 47 percent.

Grant Joint Union High School District is performing even better. In 2001, the district was already above the state average, with 38 percent of its English learners scoring in the top two levels of the CELDT. But the district hasn't sat on its laurels. Last year, over two thirds – 68 percent – of its English learners scored "advanced" or "early advanced" on the CELDT. That's over 20 percentage points higher than the state average.

Long Beach Unified is a little below the state average. But it started out there, too, and so its gains have been similar to those of the rest of California. In 2001, only 19 percent of its English learners reached the top two levels of the CELDT. By 2005, 39 percent did, an increase of 20 percentage points.

But perhaps it is Los Angeles Unified's performance that is the most extraordinary. In 2001, only 16 percent of English learners in the state's largest district scored "advanced" or "early advanced" on the CELDT. The school district was sitting at 9 points below the state average. In 2005, just four years later, its English learners were performing better than those in the state as a whole – 49 percent scored in the CELDT's top two categories.

Teachers Matter

Why are districts like Grant Joint Union performing so much above the state average? There is no single answer. But we can point to a number of positive factors. The district has a smaller number of English learners to educate than many other districts. Also, the reprimand from the State Board of Education a decade ago served as something of an eye-opener to the school district's teachers and administrators, who worked hard to implement a compliant and successful immersion program.

> *"If you're going to learn English, you have to hear English and focus on English."*

But Grant Joint Union's success ultimately is a result of successful teachers – teachers like Cherry Bethea. Bethea teaches English learners at Don Julio Junior High School in North Highlands. She's been there three years; she previously spent four years at Grant High School in the same district. Listening to Bethea, who has a slight Southern accent, it's easy to tell that she really cares about the kids under her care.

It didn't take Proposition 227 to get her using English in the classroom, however. "I was always teaching in English," she reports. It wasn't because of a directive from above.

"That was my own decision," she says. "My philosophy is English, English, English." While California's test scores back up the wisdom of her decision, she didn't come to it by reading a study. "To me, it was common sense," she explains. "If you're going to learn English, you have to hear English and focus on English."

How Much English?

Cherry Bethea is something of an anomaly in California. Before Proposition 227, most California English learners were taught for the majority of the time in their native language. They might only hear English for 30 minutes a day. Proposition 227 changed that – but the law doesn't quantify the change.

Instead, the mandate simply states that California's immigrant students must be taught "overwhelmingly" in English. But what does that mean? Over 50 percent? Or 75 percent? Maybe 90 percent?

The most successful schools in California have strictly limited the use of any language other than English in the classroom. Instruction, feedback, and help are all in English, so far as possible.

Bethea has witnessed first-hand the difference between students in bilingual programs and those in immersion. And she is convinced that immersion students learn English better. "If they know they're going to hear it in their own language, they don't listen as carefully," she remarks.

Long Beach has learned a similar lesson, says Elizabeth Hartung-Cole, the district's English Language Development Curriculum Leader for Grades 6-12.

> *"For some of these kids, the only time they speak English is when they're in school."*

"We don't have a stopwatch," she says. Teachers may preview a concept in the primary language. They may use the primary language again in a review period to make sure students have understood that section's lessons. But, Hartung-Cole continues, "We discourage concurrent translation. The research is very clear that that's not effective. If a student gives an answer in Spanish, the teacher might rephrase the question in English and get the student to answer it in English."

Structured English immersion has also been a boon to a large number of immigrant students – those who speak languages that are *really* in the minority. Los Angeles Unified also uses languages other than English only for clarification and support, usually at the beginning or end of a lesson. "The majority of the day is done in English," reports Jesús Limón, Director of the Language Acquisition Branch of Los Angeles Unified. He reminds us that not all immigrants are from Latin America. The district's English learners speak 35 different languages. "If we were dealing with primary language instruction, it would be difficult," he notes.

The change to immersion education means some students may be hearing hours of English for the first time in their lives. “There are parts of our city where you can walk out and only hear that primary language,” Limón says.

That’s why Los Angeles Unified also makes a point of eventually mixing English learners together with native speakers. “It’s important for these kids to have a model,” Limón explains. “For some of these kids, the only time they speak English is when they’re in school.” Immersion programs have been life-changing for these students.

Paraeducators: The Missing Link

Schools have found they can best teach their students English by surrounding them with English. But sometimes, being able to use the students’ own language helps. A student may simply not understand a crucial word. Or it might be hard for a teacher to see if a student has really understood a new concept. In that case, using a minimal amount of the native language might prove useful. But English teachers might not know that language – especially if they’re teaching in an area heavily represented by minority languages like Khmer or Hmong.

This is where paraeducators can help. All three districts report using them to shore up their structured immersion programs.

A paraeducator – sometimes called a paraprofessional or teacher/classroom aide – is a school employee working under the supervision of a certified teacher. The paraeducator provides support and assistance to the teacher. They have always been around, but their numbers and responsibilities have been increasing over the last decade. One of the areas in which they’re gaining an increasing role is in the education of English learners. A paraeducator fluent in another language can be a big help to an immersion teacher.

Finding Help in Unexpected Places

Paraeducators can really improve an immersion program, but it can be difficult to find good ones. And small schools sometimes don’t have the budget. More importantly, immigrant students don’t all speak the same language themselves.

“Let’s say I spoke English and Spanish,” says Grant Joint Union’s Bethea. “Well, I have people from India, Ukraine, Mexico, Russia, Moldova. Would it be fair to be bilingual in front of them? They’d have to listen to both English and Spanish.” It’s one of the reasons that structured English immersion makes sense – California’s immigrants come from all over the world.

So teachers sometimes have to be creative in giving assistance to students of minority languages. “If they’re in a bind and really need help, a student who’s more advanced can

help," Bethea notes. Parents are often eager to assist, too. "I use parents to fill in when completely stuck," she says. "But you don't want it to be a crutch."

To Do List

Key lessons learned by districts with successful structured immersion programs

- Teachers are the most important factor affecting student success. Their beliefs and attitudes about educating students make a big impact.
- Make English the language of instruction in the classroom. Use the students' native language only when absolutely necessary to explain assignments or check for comprehension.
- Paraeducators can assist teachers in giving some primary language support. Look to the community to find bilingual volunteers to help.
- Sticking to a structured lesson plan is the best route to success. Curricula like High Point and Open Court are proven, research-based programs.
- Never assume *anything* with English learners. Basic words and concepts native speakers take for granted may be new to immigrants.
- Think about creative ways to test students for comprehension. If their literacy skills are basic, try performance-based assessment.
- Get everyone involved with the education of English learners – parents, teachers, principals. Use a change in program to bring the school together to help these needy students.

Los Angeles Unified and Long Beach Unified both have a very good source of educated bilinguals – the university system. "We use university and community resources to try to identify people," Limón of Los Angeles Unified says. Advanced students there can help fill in the gaps when paraprofessionals are not available. "We work with Cal State Long Beach," says Hartung-Cole. "We recently had a graduate student in Russian help with students in middle and high school."

Long Beach Unified puts the resources of its diverse population to work in another way. It has an inventive "Community Based English Tutoring" program that helps both immigrant parents and students learn English and give back to the community. Spanish-speaking parents are given the chance to learn English at Long Beach schools. Once they do, they then become volunteer tutors of elementary students, as well as being better able to assist their own children. The district also looks to the community for people who can provide some support in students' primary languages. Hartung-Cole gives the example of a medical doctor from Mexico who was hired while he waited to attain American medical qualifications. He did so well and enjoyed it so much that he's considering a career change.

High Point and Open Court

Teachers are the most important factor affecting student achievement. What they teach is also near the top, however. The three districts profiled here used one of two programs to teach their immigrant students English – High Point and Open Court. Long Beach Unified and Grant Joint Union use High Point. Los Angeles Unified uses Open Court.

Both programs are highly structured, research-based series aimed at beginning learners. They both utilize phonics, which has been shown to be more effective in teaching reading skills than the whole language approach. Both programs have students complete personal writing projects, which get them intimately involved in learning the language.

Open Court is published by SRA/McGraw-Hill. The program aims to get children interested in the English language from the beginning: "Reading fine literature is one of the founding principles of *Open Court Reading*, and the program literature selections exemplify how different forms of literature can all express a particular theme." The program includes extensive teacher development, and encourages educators to check constantly that students understand their lessons.

High Point is published by Hampton-Brown. The program includes extras like a "Basics Bookshelf" of 18 easy-to-read books with accompanying CDs. The program is heavily geared towards English learners, with real-world, multicultural examples and family newsletters in seven languages that students can take home to report their progress.

Structure for Students and Teachers

A good curriculum can only do so much, however. Its success all depends on how it's used.

"How well kids do has a lot to do with rigorous materials in the hands of teachers," says Ronni Ephraim. She is Los Angeles Unified's Chief Instructional Officer. "But putting them in the hands of teachers and making sure they're using them as they were designed to be used are two very different things."

Her colleague Jesús Limón agrees. “When you have full implementation of the program, kids are successful,” he notes. “A key component of being successful is following the program.”

Hartung-Cole puts it this way: “Results have been very good for those people who are truly implementing the program.” She examined the data after using High Point for a few years, and says it’s helped the district make big gains. But she is quick to point out that its success is largely due to the fact that the program is highly structured. “The program is so well integrated that when you try to disaggregate the program, you lose some of the efficaciousness,” she explains. “You should not just do a little of this, a little of that.”

A lot of research went into developing programs like High Point and Open Court. The structure is there to help both teachers and students stay on track. But at the same time, teachers shouldn’t be overly afraid to supplement their programs. “High Point seems to be good,” reports Bethea. “It has some holes, and we fill the holes with extra grammar and writing. And I do take them to the computer lab and inject a little variety.”

Be Creative

Educating English learners takes some creativity. Teaching regular students how to read and write can be hard enough these days, with television and video games so much a part of their daily life.

Bethea offers some tips. “The big issue we all have is assuming that they know this or that. You can’t assume that they know this word or that word,” she says. “Pay attention to detail. Make sure you’re not going too fast. Speak more slowly. Review more. Explain it more than one way.” And never shy away from relating new words and concepts to what they might already know. “Draw from what they might have experienced in their home country or home language,” she advises.

There is a wealth of advice in Bethea’s words. Teachers new to immersion education would be wise to seek out experienced educators like her.

Hartung-Cole echoes some of her suggestions. “You need multiple checks to test for comprehension in various ways,” she advises. “Otherwise, you can be talking at them and not having comprehension.” Don’t just call on the kids with their hands up, she says; have all students put up their answers on white boards. Make sure they’re actively participating in the lesson. Give students time to think, then have them share their thoughts orally, with the group.

> *“Where our kids need additional support is in vocabulary development. They also need a lot of opportunity to speak and practice language structure.”*

Before teaching a new concept, an educator might quickly summarize it in the primary language. All further instruction should be in English. At the very end, the teacher might check in the student's primary language to verify that the concept has been understood.

Immersion teachers can assess for knowledge in various ways. The traditional essay or multiple-choice test can become another reading test. For beginning English learners, these types of tests aren't always sufficient, as they might not give students credit for knowledge they've acquired. Hartung-Cole recommends that teachers add some performance-based assessment to their repertoire. "For example, a science teacher might use labs for students to demonstrate that they understand a concept."

Los Angeles Unified's Ephraim agrees that pre-teaching is key: summarizing a concept, sometimes in the primary language, and explaining the vocabulary needed to understand it. It's something the district plans to add more of when it has its next adoption of materials in 2008. "Instead of always looking at how to remediate and looking at the deficit side of students, we want to spend time pre-teaching and front-loading. And not only for English learners."

Teachers might need to spend time working with their students to see where they need extra help. "Where our kids need additional support is in vocabulary development," Ephraim says. "They also need a lot of opportunity to speak and practice language structure."

Los Angeles has developed a picture library for classrooms so students can relate words and concepts. Many words that to native English speakers are common, immigrants have never heard of. "I was in a classroom a couple days ago," says Ephraim. "The teacher was saying 'equator.' Two girls in the classroom were hearing 'Ecuador.' They'd never had a concept of the equator." She adds, "You really need to make time for students to understand vocabulary and certain concepts."

"Don't just call on the kids with their hands up; have all students put up their answers on white boards."

Long Beach Unified's English Language Development Office has an excellent one-page sheet detailing what an immersion classroom should and shouldn't look like (see page 13).

"Do's" include teachers "checking for comprehension in a variety of verbal and nonverbal ways" and "breaking down the writing process into smaller pieces." Students should be "making oral presentations" and "often interacting in pairs or small groups."

"Don'ts" include teachers "excessively lecturing," "doing most of the talking," "often at their desk while students work quietly at desks, answering questions from text" and "using the primary language, especially in concurrent translation." Students should not be "doing mostly worksheets," "doing art projects," or "passively watching media."

English Learners Are Everyone's Business

For decades, strategies for educating English language learners were left up to individual schools or districts. They were often excluded from standardized tests, making it easier to ignore their lack of progress. Some officials even believed it was simply too difficult to teach these students English and get them into mainstream classes.

No longer. No Child Left Behind, a landmark education reform bill signed into law in 2002, requires schools to test all of these students and track and report their progress. Many states adopted standards for educating this crucial sector of the population for the first time in response to the federal law. And Proposition 227 brought the question of how best to teach English to the forefront of California's – and ultimately the entire nation's – political debate.

After studying some of the districts with the most successful immersion programs, it's clear that everyone should be involved in the education of English learners – principals, parents, every single teacher in the school. Transitioning away from a bilingual program that may have been in place for decades needs to be a group effort.

"The majority of parents in primary language programs chose to change to structured immersion ... The choice was made by the parents. I supported the decision they made."

"It was very disheartening to dismantle a program that I'd built," Hartung-Cole remembers. "But we had to do it, so I focused on how we could help." It turned out to be a difficult, but fulfilling, experience for the district. "We all grew in terms of learning," she says. "The good news is that I think it brought all the core departments together. It wasn't just the ELD teachers and the bilingual teachers."

Los Angeles Unified's Limón also had mixed feelings: "I used to be a bilingual teacher and I worked under a specific program that had great success." But he also admits, "I cannot say that was true for all bilingual programs in the city." So he left it up to those who had the biggest stake – the parents. Proposition 227 did allow parents to seek waivers to keep their children in bilingual programs. "The majority of parents in primary language programs chose to change to structured immersion. I tried to stay out of the politics of it. The choice was made by the parents. I supported the decision they made."

Limón urges districts to keep parents in the loop. "I think it's very important to explain the options to parents, because if you don't do that from the beginning and people change their minds, it creates a lot of havoc. Justify that change, if you truly need it. If there is a switch, it's important to explain the program to parents."

His colleague Ephraim agrees. "You need to challenge old beliefs," she says. "You have to ask yourself as an educator if you really do believe that the goal of an immersion program is to make sure kids are fluent in English."

Many teachers worry that their students will sit in the classroom, confused. That's natural. "I'd be a little confused if I moved to Bulgaria tomorrow," Ephraim says. "But I'd be listening and making sense of it. It's the teacher's job to make sure of that. And it's the administrator's job to make sure that the culture of school is ready for this kind of work."

Ephraim urges school and district leadership to encourage that culture among every department. "You can't expect your schools to do it if you don't lead on this issue."

Can We Afford It?

The teachers and administrators from Los Angeles Unified, Long Beach Unified, and Grant Joint Union all have good advice to give other districts, based on their direct experience educating English learners. That's not to say that revamping a huge program is easy. After many academics have preached the gospel of bilingual education for so long, it's no wonder that educators have been confused about what is best for immigrant children. But more and more have seen how decades of bilingual programs left a huge achievement gap between English learners and native speakers, while a few years of immersion have lessened that gap considerably.

Some districts may worry that change costs money. Can they afford to overhaul programs that up to half of their students utilize? It can be difficult to find hard numbers on how much these programs cost. But most officials say that immersion programs don't necessarily cost more.

Clearly, there will likely be some significant initial outlay for teacher training. *The Los Angeles Times* reported that Los Angeles Unified was expected to spend close to $1 million after Proposition 227; the money mostly went toward re-training teachers.

Los Angeles Unified's Jesús Limón says the numbers are hard to find. But in the second allocation of funds this year, schools received an additional $30 per English learner and an additional $24 for each reclassified student.

"The cost is basically the same in terms of hiring teachers and getting classroom space," he says. There is some difference in buying new materials and hiring paraeducators. But there are often federal funds available for such programs. And after Proposition 227 passed, the state of California gave some help to districts for the purchase of new materials.

But many districts could see cost savings in the long run. "We pay teachers $5,000 more per year in bilingual programs if they're using the primary language," Limón notes. And many jurisdictions have found that it is difficult to find qualified teachers who are fluent in another language.

Considering that teacher salaries are among the largest expenses for any school district, it stands to reason that switching to a successful structured immersion program would, in the long run, save money.

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QUALITY INDICATORS for ELD CLASSROOMS Grade 6 - 12

ELD I, II, III (and IV in high school)

Prepared by Middle/K-8 and High School ELD teachers at the June 2005 ELD Institute

Observers SHOULD SEE in ELD classrooms, during several visits …

TEACHERS:

- ❑ Modeling assignments
- ❑ Circulating throughout the room
- ❑ Checking for comprehension in a variety of verbal and nonverbal ways
- ❑ Using graphic organizers
- ❑ Actively working with students during writing assignments
- ❑ Keeping student writing folders with key process writing assignments
- ❑ Using aides to *supplement* instruction by previewing/reviewing in the primary language and providing extended practice of skills
- ❑ Whole group and differentiating instruction based on student performance
- ❑ Breaking down the writing process into smaller pieces
- ❑ Asking questions representing differing levels of cognition
- ❑ Using the primary language to explain safety/school procedures or to make linguistic connections to English
- ❑ Teaching parts of speech through the reading passages
- ❑ Using district-developed linguistic opening overheads

STUDENTS:

- ❑ Often interacting in pairs or small groups
- ❑ Interacting orally with the teacher and students
- ❑ Taking notes
- ❑ Learning in context
- ❑ Listening to passages on CDs
- ❑ In ELD I, utilizing the primary language to clarify, preview or review the concepts
- ❑ Making oral presentations
- ❑ Actively watching media and using technology
- ❑ Knowing their current grade in the class

MATERIALS that include:

- ❑ Lessons & activities are based on the standards-aligned *High Point* materials adopted for the course (ELD I:*The Basics;* ELD II: *Book A & Book B;* ELD III: *Level C & McDougal Littell - Interactive Reader;* ELD IV: Holt: Third Course)
- ❑ Visuals, realia, manipulatives, language games
- ❑ Thesaurus, English Dictionary, dual-language Dictionary
- ❑ White boards and/or other active participation materials

WALLS that include:

- ❑ Living word walls & grammar walls
- ❑ Current student work with assignment/rubric and labeled by ELD course level

Observers SHOULD *NOT* SEE in ELD classrooms, during several visits …

TEACHERS:

- ❑ Excessively lecturing
- ❑ Doing most of the talking
- ❑ Regularly using sets of old ELD text books
- ❑ Often at their desk while students work quietly at desks, answering questions from text.
- ❑ Using the primary language, especially in concurrent translation *(first in English, then in primary language or vice versa)*
- ❑ Using bilingual aides to correct papers or to provide instruction

STUDENTS:

- ❑ Doing mostly worksheets
- ❑ Doing art projects
- ❑ Reading passages silently and answering the questions
- ❑ Using class sets of novels
- ❑ Sitting quietly for extended periods of time
- ❑ Passively watching media

Select Publications Discussing Structured English Immersion

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Kevin Clark, "From Primary Language Instruction to English Immersion: How Five California Districts Made the Switch," *Read Abstracts*, June 1999.

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Jesness, Jerry, *Teaching English Language Learners K-12*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Corwin Press, 2004.

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Christine H. Rossell, Ph.D. "Dismantling Bilingual Education, Implementing English Immersion: The California Initiative," Revised February 20, 2002, Public Policy Institute of California.

Christine H. Rossell, Ph.D and Julia Kuder. "Meta-Murky: A Rebuttal to Recent Meta-Analyses of Bilingual Education," Revised April 27, 2005, originally presented at the Programme on Intercultural Conflicts and Societal Integration (AKI), Berlin, November , 2004.

Kelly Torrance. *Immersion Not Submersion: Converting English Learner Programs from Bilingual Education to Structured English Immersion in California and Elsewhere.* Arlington, Virginia: Lexington Institute, October 2005.