2011

Appreciating Bilingualism: The First Step to Reducing Racism in the United States

Jenna Suttmeier
Claremont McKenna College

CLAREMONT McKENNA COLLEGE

APPRECIATING BILINGUALISM:

THE FIRST STEP TO REDUCING RACISM IN THE UNITED STATES

SUBMITTED TO

PROFESSOR WEI-CHIN HWANG

AND

DEAN GREGORY HESS

BY

JENNA SUTTMEIER

FOR

SENIOR THESIS

SPRING/2011

APRIL 25, 2011

Table of Contents

Abstract

The goal of this paper is to explore the origins of modern-day racism and to discuss ways to reduce discrimination in the United States. Research on bilingualism and bilingual education indicates that bilingualism can be one method that helps reduce racism and increase cultural acceptance. For example, bilingual education can help establish multicultural identities in school children by providing better educational opportunities for English learners, teaching a new language and culture to native-English speakers, and integrating diverse cultures in classroom settings. Therefore, bilingual education can be a powerful tool in facilitating cultural awareness and reducing racial tensions in the U.S.

Appreciating Bilingualism:

The First Step to Reducing Racism in the United States

The United States has been home to a variety of different types of prejudices throughout its history, regarding race, religion, and sexual orientation. In the United States, the first European immigrants aspired to be the "typical American" by assimilating into one American identity (Schikdkraut, 2005; Rodriguez, Schwartz, & Whitbourne, 2010). While cultures and traditions have often lived on through families, many of these cultures have diffused into one American culture over the years (Rodriguez et al., 2010). Moreover, even though there are many other races in the U.S., the American identity has often been associated with being White (Bush, 2005; DeVos & Banaji, 2005; Tsai, Mortensen, Wong, & Hess, 2002; Rodriguez et al., 2010). This became the predominant American identity. Other groups such as American Indians, Asian Americans, African Americans, and Mexican Americans became marginalized within American society (Rodriguez et al., 2010). Instead of recognizing and accepting the differences amongst cultures, racism and prejudice increased.

Americans once thought their country could be a "melting pot," which is the metaphor for the ideal of blending cultures into the mainstream and integrating society in a homogenous way (Hanson, 2011). However, due to segregation and discrimination, this is not what happened. Instead, different cultures formed separate groups—ingredients that do not work together—creating a "tossed salad" that does not taste right. A "tossed salad" is the metaphor for the separation of cultures living in the same country. What if, instead of a "melting pot" or a "tossed salad," a compromise could be reached between the two? Each culture could respect the other, while embracing and appreciating its own

uniqueness. Given the widespread diversity in the U.S., how can Americans be more open-minded to different cultures and prevent the formation of one predominant American identity? If each person could recognize the value in the country's diversity, could the United States be racism-free?

There is a misperception that America is an egalitarian society. This is fueled by the democratic ideals of equal opportunity. It is a value held by middle-class and upper-class Americans. However, ethnic minority and low-income individuals have long felt the realities of a nonegalitarian society. This is in part due to their disproportionate amount of political, social, and economic power in the U.S. (Dovidio, Gaertner, Kawakami, & Hodson, 2002). At the same time, they believe themselves to be non-prejudiced (Dovidio et al., 2002). However, as indicated by Dovidio's research, Whites still hold subconscious feelings of racial superiority, which reinforces the status quo. Originally, racism stemmed from monocultural identities having a need for power, which resulted in imperialism (Detsi-Diamanti, 2005; Moore, 1982). Ethnocentrism caused dominant cultures to assimilate what they deem to be "inferior" cultures in order to maintain power (Lwin, Stanaland, & Williams, 2010; Santoro & Segura, 2011; Vermuelen, 2010).

The goal of this paper is to show that racism can be diminished through helping people gain multicultural and linguistic awareness. This realization can be achieved by implementing bilingual education. Integrating bilingual education in public schools can help reduce racism in three different ways: (a) providing better educational opportunities for non-native English speakers can help reduce socioeconomic and educational gaps between minority and majority students, (b) exposing native English speakers to a new language and culture can instill a heightened appreciation for diversity, and (c) teaching

students each other's languages can integrate two cultures and enhance tolerance for respective cultures. Because there is no majority group, teaching both native and non-native English speaking children each group's respective language in the classroom can help reduce prejudices. Each student would be taught in his or her native language, while also learning a foreign one. Because each student would be in an equal situation, presumably bullying and discrimination would decrease. As students learn alongside others from various backgrounds, they will be exposed to cultural differences at a younger age. Instead of using racism and discrimination to avoid the other cultures, they will learn the others' uniqueness and the others' languages. Bilingual education can diminish racism early in life in classrooms and later in life in the outside world. Gradually, the bilingual education process can ultimately create a more unified nation and world.

Racism Still Exists

Throughout history, racism has had an impact on different cultures all over the world. According to Miller and Fredrickson (1990), "racism possesses a generative force more powerful than mere class or caste self-interest alone and is suspicious of arguments that discount matters of ideology, thought and culture and overvalue those of instinct and habit." Racism is a complex concept that stems from more than just intuition and practice; it often becomes a way of thought and is incredibly difficult to change. The nature and expression of racism are found in different forms, shaped by historical, political, economic, and contextual factors (Dovidio, 2001; Dovidio et al., 2002; Duckitt, 1992).

The United States in particular has experienced centuries of discrimination as a result of many Americans' ethnocentric views. However, overt racism has dramatically decreased in the United States due to the success of the Civil Rights movement and other legislative interventions (Amodio, 2009; Dovidio & Gaertner, 1986, 1998). The Jim Crow Laws, which stated "Separate, but equal" was constitutional, are no longer socially acceptable nor are they legal. Over the past 35 years, this openly expressed version of racism has greatly been diminished (Amodio, 2009; Dovidio & Gaertner, 1986, 1998). Instead, a new form of racism has emerged: covert racism. Covert racism is a less obvious form of racism, but can be equally oppressive (Amodio, 2009). According to Dovidio et al. (2002), covert racists "consciously endorse egalitarian values and deny their negative feelings" about other races. Instead, of expressing one's feelings openly, he would subconsciously express these feelings in other ways, such as unintentionally treating someone unfairly (Dovidio et al., 2002).

Whites in particular, due to their dominance in politics, the economy, and society, tend to discriminate inadvertently (Dovidio et al., 2002). In fact, Whites, Blacks, and Hispanics have significantly different perceptions of racism in everyday life (Davis & Smith, 1994; Hochschild, 1995). Repeatedly, Blacks and Hispanics report that they believe that discrimination hinders their career advancement. Contrastingly, Whites rarely report such beliefs (U.S. Merit Systems Protection Board, 1997; Dovidio et al., 2002). In the military, Blacks describe race relations as "good" much less frequently than Whites do (Armed Forces Equal Opportunity Survey, 1999). According to Davis and Smith (1994), "Blacks perceive racial discrimination to be more pervasive and damaging to Blacks than do Whites." Overall, covert racism continues to harm and hinder minority

races throughout their lives. A greater emphasis should be placed on fighting modern-day racism by expanding individual's minds to tolerate and appreciate other races.

Racism and the Struggle for Power

According to the social identity theory, people perceive themselves and others as belonging to distinct social groups (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). These groups are often distinguished by an individual's surrounding communities and cultures. Each individual's values, ideas and actions result from the formation of their identity, creating their ingroup. One's ingroup is the group of people to whom he relates (Merritt, Ryan, Mack, Leeds, & Schmitt, 2010). As a result, outgroups are formed, which are the groups of people to whom one does not relate (Merritt et al., 2010). People tend to identify with others with similar characteristics, such as ethnicity, demographics, and interests, and avoid those who do not fit these qualities (Merritt et al., 2010; Tajfel & Turner, 1986).

Since the development of societies, people formed their identities from an imperialistic culture (Criollo, 2010). Racism was fueled through the need to gain power. Each culture in ancient history was a monoculture that was isolated with no knowledge of others. The Merriam-Webster Dictionary defines monoculture as "a culture dominated by a single element or a prevailing culture marked by homogeneity" (Monoculture, 2011). Monocultures do not appreciate the value of other cultures—creating the notion that one's own culture was superior. Ultimately, the dominant cultures believed that all other countries and communities should conform to the dominant culture. Cultural supremacy created a need for power. It was fueled by ethnocentrism, which is the "view of things in which one's own group is the center of everything, and all others are scaled and rated with reference to it" (Sumner, 1906). Ethnocentrism is one of the roots of racism. People

believe their own way of life is superior to others, causing them to marginalize other groups of people. Moreover, ethnocentrism "produces emotional reactions to cultural differences that reduce people's willingness to understand disparate cultural messages" (Lustig & Koester, 2006). Through ethnocentrism, people strive to maintain the superiority of their own ingroup, which results in discrimination of the outgroup (Brewer, 1999; Klopf & McCroskey, 2007; Lwin et al., 2010).

Ethnocentrism has been evident throughout the history of the U.S. in three ways: (a) the manner in which the country was founded, (b) the global power the country has gained, and (c) the dominance of the English language. First, the nature of the founding of our country fosters the ethnocentric attitude. The United States of America was founded on rebellion from the British ideas and values, in search for "democracy, freedom, and equality" (Criollo, 2010). Inherently, White Americans began to believe that their ideas, values, and ways of life were best. In particular, White Americans have dominated the country and their culture has remained the most influential (Criollo, 2010). This results from their ethnocentrism. White supremacist ideologies and social arrangements enabled the original White settlers to maintain dominance, and oppress inferior cultures that entered the country (Criollo, 2010). Racism in the U.S. was developed and sustained through "stolen lands, slavery, conquest, and the exploitation of working class oppressed nationalities" (Criollo, 2010). Originally, it was overt racism that tainted the lives of many minority groups. For example, explicit discrimination against African Americans before the Civil Rights movement occurred because White Americans believed they were superior; integration would have diminished the power of Whites. Therefore, Blacks were kept separate from Whites to maintain White supremacy.

Second, the United States has always been one of the most powerful countries in the world since its formation. The U.S. was founded on the notion of secured liberty and freedom from colonization, but it was built on the need to expand (Criollo, 2010, Dovidio et al., 2002). Now, as the country has grown to be such a powerful nation, it attempts to prevent other nations from doing just what its forefathers did（Detsi-Diamanti, 2005). The founding fathers fought for freedom from the British. The United States frequently attempts to extend its power and do something quite similar to that which it fought against to create the country（Detsi-Diamanti, 2005). Americans believe their culture is the best, so they instigate wars with other countries that have cultures that Americans do not understand. The U.S. often takes over and creates a new government, established in the American image. Furthermore, the power of English-speaking countries has played a part in the English language domination. The United States has been involved in trade with many countries around the world due to its large size, hence its variety of resources available for export (Abramovitz, 1995). However, there are also many resources the U.S. does not have, so there is a strong need for imports (Abramovitz, 1995). With the help of trade, the U.S. has networked its way to the top, economically speaking. It has built relationships with many different countries. As American culture gains recognition, it spreads its breadth throughout the world. In turn, the U.S. becomes more ethnocentric as Americans see cultures like their own across the world.

Third, there is a perception that the White American culture is superior. As a result, English language dominance is evident throughout the world. English has been sustained through its previous prevalence and the power of English-speaking nations, creating an Anglosphere. According to Nalapat (2011), an Anglosphere encompasses

regions in which English has infiltrated and influenced the existing cultures. For example, an Anglosphere found in India leads to the abundance of many products of the entertainment output of English speaking countries, such as literature, cinema, art, and other forms of creative expression (Nalapat, 2011). The prevalence of English in other countries such as India has enabled the dominance of the language throughout the world. The English language is so commonly used across cultures that Americans find no need to learn another language, which only further strengthens their ethnocentrism.

Imperialism has also been a major cause of the dominance of English. The United States of America was founded to overthrow the confines of imperialism, but interestingly, it has grown to adopt the system itself. Imperialism is a policy for extending a nation's power over foreign countries, or acquiring colonies, territories, or dependencies, and originates from early colonialism (Criollo, 2010; Detsi-Diamanti, 2005; Imperialism, 2011). Beginning in the late 1500s, the British Empire spread its reign over to the Americas (Burke, 2008). The colonization of North America was soon followed by the colonization of Asia in the 1600s and 1700s, including India, where English is widely spoken today (Canny, 1998; Nalapat, 2011). Although people migrated from many different countries, English was already spoken in many of them because of colonization, so English continued to flourish in North America despite the arrival of immigrants. Because the English language is so prevalent, the United States is seemingly more important worldwide. Therefore, many Americans believe that English is the only language and culture worth having. In turn, Americans in their ingroup have avoided, segregated, and pushed away anyone from the outgroup who does not fit within this culture. Ethnocentric identities are formed as ingroup identity strengthens.

According to Dovidio et al. (2002), "addressing and improving Whites' attitudes can potentially have a significant effect on social change." Bilingual education can lead to this "social change." By learning another language, students are automatically exposed to other cultures and gain curiosity about travel, food, history, and culture. In turn, ethnocentric attitudes can decline, which then can decrease racism.

Racism Persists Through Assimilation

Americans used assimilation as a method of maintaining a dominant identity over immigrants. Instead of distinguishing the ingroup from the outgroup, Americans tried to bring members of the outgroup into the ingroup (Rodriguez et al., 2011; Dovidio et al., 2002). Assimilation became the method of maintaining a dominant position and continues to occur today. Through assimilation, the ethnocentric attitude is still present, but instead of killing foreigners or overthrowing governments, members of dominant cultures simply change others to be more like them. The majority wants the minority to speak the former's language, celebrate their holidays, and adopt their practices. If they do not assimilate, they are judged and discriminated against, which further fuels racism.

The White Americans of the U.S. have been successful in assimilating other cultures for centuries. For example, the assimilation of American Indians into a White European American culture was the focus of the U.S. government for a large portion of history. In 1864, the government passed a law mandating that no school in the U.S. could teach in a American Indian's native language (Cerda & Hernandez, 2006a). Soon after, another federal law was passed which began separating American Indian children from their families—they were sent to boarding schools and punished if they were caught speaking the native language (Cerda & Hernandez, 2006). The government went to great

lengths to rid the nation of each separate culture of American Indian tribes, essentially forcing the American Indian cultures to disintegrate.

The United States continues to assert assimilation by mandating that all education must be taught in English. In the U.S., almost 96% of the population speaks English, yet almost 15% of those people speak it as a second language. Furthermore, about 5%, or 13.5 million people, in the U.S. speak English either 'not well' or 'not at all,' ("Who," 2011). With California's Proposition 227 in 1998, the government allows few options to receive public education in one's native language. The law mandates that "all students must be taught in English as quickly as possible," (Cerda & Hernandez, 2006). Moreover, it has greatly restricted the amount of native language instruction (Cerda & Hernandez, 2006). Marketed as the "English for the Children" movement, the proposition puts non-English speakers on a short-term English immersion track, usually lasting less than a year (Cerda & Hernandez, 2006). By requiring non-English speakers to almost exclusively learn in English, the U.S. is pushing immigrants to be like English speaking Americans. In doing so, the English-speaking majority of the United States spreads its influence across minority cultures.

Assimilation and English domination are vehicles for both overt and covert racism. American Indians have been openly discriminated against through laws that prohibited children to speak their native language and separated children from parents (Cerda & Hernandez, 2006). On the contrary, forcing children to learn English instead of their native language may not be intentionally racist, but it is covert racism. The government may be mandating English education for convenience—the vast majority of

the U.S. speaks English, so it is only natural ("Who," 2011). However, this unintentional racism occurs through oppression of the native languages of immigrants.

There is a great deal of evidence in the United States of languages dying out due to the dominance of English; the U.S. is often referred to as a "graveyard" for foreign language (Rumbaut, Massey, & Bean, 2006). In general, language diversity does decline over time in most countries. However it has been found that the switch to English is even faster in the United States than in other countries, and native languages die as English lives on (Lieberson, Dalto, & Johnston, 1975). By having English imposed upon them, the immigrants become forced to assimilate and become discriminated against; they must drop their own culture and adopt the White American culture instead. Loss of diverse language is a phenomenon that is hard to avoid, as the United States' predominant language is English. However, it may be preventable if native English speakers also learn a new language by means of bilingual schooling.

While assimilation is a form of racism, helping immigrants speak English in the United States is beneficial. Due to the prevalence of English spoken in the U.S., it is hard to survive in this country without knowing English. The ability to speak the majority language is valuable as it can present many more opportunities. However, English must be taught to immigrants in a manner that does not belittle or marginalize them. This can be achieved through a more effective structure of bilingual education.

The Educational System is Key in Reducing Prejudice

Assimilation leads to segregation in classrooms between ingroups and outgroups. In settings such as a classroom with school children, discrimination is bound to be present. Groups of English speakers and English learners are unintentionally formed

(Gluszek, Newheiser, & Dovidio, 2010). The division results from differences in values, customs, lifestyle, but most significantly, languages. Many times English learners are not comfortable speaking in English to the majority students, so they resort back to their native language with fellow speakers of that language (Gluszek et al., 2010). This creates a division that is inevitable with the structure of schooling currently present in the United States. Non-native English speakers receive a different form of education than native English speakers. When students are separated into English as a Second Language (ESL) classes, they are taken away from the typical classroom (Richard, 1999; Thomas & Collier, 1998). Majority students might see this as a sign of lower intelligence because English learners need extra schooling to learn basic English. Additionally, the separation of students into distinct groups based on ethnicity creates a division. Each group will bond and form ingroups and outgroups. Once students are reunited in regular classes, tension is present, judgments are made, and racism is begins. Instead of continuing the current educational structure, a more accepting, integrated, and diverse structure of bilingual education could alleviate some of the segregation and resulting discrimination from U.S. schools.

In the present structure of schooling, there are two main mechanisms that English learners use to mitigate segregation and discrimination against them: (a) once they are fluent, they develop a preference for English, (b) they alter the strength of their accent. Both of these methods help the student self-assimilate with native English speakers so as to reduce potential discrimination.

The Benitez household, in Ontario, California, is a relevant example of bilingualism today, which shows the incorporation of the mechanisms previously stated. College

students eager to enhance their Spanish speaking ability visit the Benitez household to converse with the family and experience the Mexican American culture. The hostess, Magdalena, an immigrant from Mexico, speaks Spanish. She understands, but does not speak English. Her daughter, Mimi, is 18 years old. Mimi's first language was Spanish, but after going to school her entire life at English-speaking schools, she has become fluent in English. The goal of the visits is to allow English-speaking students to practice speaking Spanish, which Mimi knows. However, she always reverts back to English. Each time, Magdalena reminds Mimi to speak in Spanish. Mimi often begins speaking in Spanish, then subconsciously switches to English mid-sentence. Many people who are bilingual speak the language of the world with which they identify at that particular moment, which is called code-switching (Wei, 2009). Code-switching is the term used to describe "either bilingual speakers' or language learners' cognitive linguistic abilities, or to describe classroom or learner practices involving the use of more than one language," (Nilep, 2006). Mimi uses code-switching as a means to relate to Americans who speak English, making them a part of her ingroup. Even though she was in her home where she would speak Spanish to her mother, she continued to speak English. That was the world with which she was identifying in that moment.

Furthermore, because English is Mimi's primary language, she may have developed a preference for it. In fact, in a study of Asian Americans and Hispanic Americans as second-generation English speakers, it was found that "knowledge for English was universal, but preference for the language was overwhelming as well," (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001). The researchers found that 98% of subjects were fluent in English, and 88% reported that they preferred speaking English over their native language. Again, this

is because these subjects identify with the world in which they currently reside. Therefore, they prefer speaking in their second language, English. It is also a method to avoid being discriminated against. By speaking English, they can be seen as educated, intelligent Americans. As a result, non-English speakers can avoid being the victims of discrimination.

Another method non-native English speakers use to reduce the chance of discrimination is to alter the strength of their accents. According to Gluszek et al. (2010), strength of accent varies among immigrants, depending on their level of the foreign language, the year of arrival to the host country, and whether or not the native language is spoken at home. The researchers found that accent strength can also depend on the immigrant's desire to be associated with their ingroup or outgroup. Non-native English speakers who want to be associated with the native English speaker group will work harder to acquire the native English accent, and drop their native language accent. However, those who identify more with their own native culture are more likely to keep their native accent when they speak English (Gluszek et al., 2010). By either consciously or subconsciously altering his accent, the student is controlling one of the most apparent characteristics that separates a person from the majority of his classmates. In many cases, students want to fit in with majority students to avoid being the victims of prejudice. In the case of Magdalena's family, Mimi, who is 18, has very little Mexican accent when she speaks English; however, her 16-year-old brother, Luis, has a strong Mexican accent, despite his English fluency. It is possible that Mimi has more of a desire to identify with the English American world, while Luis prefers to maintain his culture and his Mexican roots. Perhaps Mimi felt more pressure to fit in and reduce her chances of being the

victim of racism, so she worked harder to lose her native accent. In turn, she became more similar to other students in the majority group and less of a target for racism.

While these defense mechanisms do exist, they simply mask—not solve—the problem of racism. Racism in the classroom is a result of ethnocentric attitudes and poor educational structuring. What if Americans changed the source of the problem and mitigated the ethnocentric attitudes of dominant cultures by providing a better option for schooling? One way to do this is to build a bridge between the different cultures using bilingualism.

Bilingualism Promotes Cognitive and Social Development

In order to reduce racism, a greater emphasis must be placed on promoting a multicultural identity. This can be done through accepting minority cultures instead of assimilating them. Bilingualism is the way in which this acceptance of diverse cultures can be achieved. According to Gallo, Garcia, Pinuelas, and Youngs (2008), bilingualism is the "ability to communicate effectively in two languages with a similar degree of proficiency." Bilingualism can be taught through models of bilingual education. Bilingual education is a "compilation of multicultural views through which diversity is enriched and bilingualism [is achieved]" (Gallo et al., 2008). According to Necochea and Cline (2000):

> "Primary language support is a validation of the child's language and culture which facilitates self esteem to be maintained, stress to be reduced and education to be a positive experience as access to the core curriculum is provided."

The study by Necochea and Cline suggests quality education in both native and foreign languages can impact academic success, which demonstrates how bilingualism can

positively impact an educational experience. Therefore, an effective bilingual education program is important to the academic success of non-native English speakers; interestingly, the same bilingual education program can also benefit native English speakers.

Bilingual education would also benefit native English speakers because it is beneficial to cognitive development (Hakuta & Garcia, 1989). In the past, it has been thought that learning a second language hinders cognitive growth and development in other areas of one's education (Hakuta & Garcia, 1989). Scientists and educators alike thought that language would atrophy or crowd the limited amount of space in the brain, so the second language would hinder the first (Hakuta & Garcia, 1989). Furthermore, the acquisition of a new language was thought to be a "one-way" street, where as the second language strengthens, the first language weakens, and eventually, only the new language remains (Tran, 2010).

On the contrary, research shows that bilingual education enhances academic performance for all students. For example, it has been found that Spanish proficiency has a positive effect on academics for both Hispanic and non-Hispanic students, provided that the first language can be maintained (Nielsen & Lerner, 1986). While controlling for English proficiency, aptitude, and other background variables, Nielsen and Lerner (1986) looked at standardized tests in reading, math, and vocabulary, measures of educational expectations, and Grade Point Average (GPA). In each of these measurements, the researchers found that non-native Spanish speaking students who were proficient in Spanish had higher academic success than those only proficient in English. Furthermore, Rumbaut and Cornelius (1995) found that fluent bilingual students performed better all

around—based on exams and GPAs—compared to monolinguals. Finally, many studies have found that bilingualism is correlated with higher educational aspiration, performance, and attainment (Tran, 2010; Golash-Boza, 2004; Portes & Hao, 2002; Feliciano, 2001). By instilling bilingual education in all schools in the United States, students can experience greater academic success. The U.S. must find an effective method of bilingual education and impose it in all schools of both English learners and native English speakers. This could not only increase cognitive development and academic success in all students, but it could also decrease ethnic conflict.

Historically it was the immigrants who were forced to assimilate into American culture by being taught English as a second language (Santoro & Segura, 2011). A new approach to this historical trend could indicate individuals who learn a second language would experience less racist attitudes in three ways. First, bilingual education could reduce racism by providing better education opportunities to English learners, thereby raising academic success and confidence. This can create less distinction between minorities and majorities and in turn, reduce discrimination. Second, by immersing native English speakers in bilingual education they can be exposed to new cultures. This can help them be more aware of differences in cultures and discriminate less against different experiences. Third, as English learners and native English speakers learn each other's languages side by side, each may empathize with the other and create friendships with people from cultures they otherwise would not. In doing this, children can begin to accept different cultures as they become part of their peers, so racism could be greatly reduced.

The classroom is where children can be first exposed to racism and discrimination. Students are separated into groups based on ethnicity, so racism occurs.

Children learn about racism, prejudice, and discrimination, and know it is wrong, but often times cannot recognize that some of their actions can be classified as such. Particularly with covert racism, the actions may not be intentional, but are guided by underlying feelings, sometimes times of discomfort. Children end up segregating themselves away from the outgroup and closer to the ingroup (Gluszek et al., 2010; Merritt et al., 2010; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). This experience happens far too frequently to English learners in classrooms.

For over a century, a primary issue surrounding bilingualism has been whether U.S. schools should provide bilingual education to non-native English speaking students (Cerda & Hernandez, 2006). The government has not always supported bilingual education despite its benefits and the necessity for it. It is evident that some form of bilingual education is necessary for non-native English speakers to perform well in school; otherwise they would struggle when first immersed in English education without knowing the language. Additionally, the ability to speak English leads to more opportunities in the United States, so non-native English speakers would benefit greatly from it. Unfortunately, throughout U.S. history, the government has found other unsuccessful ways to quickly teach children English, such as the No Child Left Behind Act. These methods hinder academic success, decrease the number of opportunities, and allow racism to persist.

An analysis of the early years of American history shows the recognition of the importance of bilingual education. Beginning in the 1840s, bilingual education laws were passed in states such as Ohio, Louisiana, and New Mexico, recognizing the need for bilingual education for non-English speaking immigrants, and providing it if requested

(Cerda & Hernandez, 2006). The first official English-mandating acts occurred in 1889, called the Bennett Act in Wisconsin, and the Edwards Act in Illinois, were the "three R's," reading, writing, and arithmetic, plus American history, had to be instructed in English to students ages eight to fourteen (Cerda & Hernandez, 2006).

Soon after, in 1906, Congress enacted its first federal language law, the Nationality Act. The act stated that immigrants seeking naturalization were required to speak English (Cerda & Hernandez, 2006). This law would have diminished the need for bilingualism all together, had it been more comprehensive (Cerda & Hernandez, 2006). However, the government was not very thorough in investigating the English fluency of the immigrant. The naturalization test is given in only English. However, one does not need to be able to speak fluently or have a deep understanding of the language past the answers to test questions. Furthermore, the law could not cover those already naturalized (Cerda & Hernandez, 2006), meaning immigrants who came to the U.S. before the law was enacted would not necessarily speak English. Because these immigrants are not required to speak English, they might subsequently speak Spanish to their children and raise them as Spanish-speakers. The tradition of speaking the native language would continue for generations. Thus, the debate over bilingual education carried on.

In the 1960s, in the wake of the Civil Rights Movement, bilingual education was highly supported by the government. In 1965, The Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) was signed into law by President Lyndon B. Johnson, which provided funding for programs that were "essential for children and public education," (Cerda & Hernandez, 2006). Bilingual education fell under that classification, so its popularity grew. Three years later, in 1968, the Bilingual Education Act provided a basis for which

bilingualism could thrive. The act mandated that schools provide bilingual education programs. The act also encouraged local school districts to participate in the programs and incorporate instruction in the native-language as well as in English (Cerda & Hernandez, 2006). In just its first year, the act provided funding for 76 programs and served 14 different languages (Cerda & Hernandez, 2006). This act created programs that allowed students to speak their own language while learning English, enabling them to further succeed academically. Additionally, it created opportunities for native English speakers to learn other languages. In turn, native English speakers were able to experience something that so many American immigrants experience.

Recently, there has been a shift to education styles that devote little time preparing non-native English speaking children for mainstream English classes. No longer is there a major focus on bilingual education. Instead, there is only assimilation into the English-speaking world. In 1982, the Amendment to the Bilingual Education Act was adopted because the original act was seen as too inflexible (Cerda & Hernandez, 2006). The amendment provided an option to use English-only instruction, which many schools opted for. It took away the opportunity for many native English speaking students to learn a foreign language that many of their peers already spoke. The prevalence of the English language increased, students were segregated, and racism persisted.

Since the amendment of the Bilingual Education Act in 1982, the prevalence of bilingual education has been rapidly decreasing (Cerda & Hernandez, 2006). In California specifically, where illegal immigration is a major issue, propositions were passed hindering the education of immigrants. In 1994, Proposition 187 was passed, denying illegal immigrants, or those suspected of being so, the rights to health care,

social services, and public education. Four years later in 1998, California Proposition 227 was passed, requiring all public education to be taught in English. Unfortunately, a year after the proposition was passed and the program was implemented, only 7% of participating students were considered fluent in English (Cerda & Hernandez, 2006). In 2004, California public school test results showed a widening achievement gap between English learners and native English speakers (Nielson & Lerner, 1986). It was found that test scores declined in the majority of the grade levels, indicating the proposition was not effective in improving English proficiency rates, nor academic success rates whatsoever (Nielson & Lerner, 1986). Moreover, the proposition did not help integrate non-English speaking minorities with native-English speakers, which could have reduced discrimination between ingroups and outgroups.

After many failures of bilingual state laws, federal efforts were made to assure the successes of English learners. The most recent legislation mandated in 2001 was the federal "No Child Left Behind Act," signed by President George W. Bush (U.S. Department of Education, 2010). This act was built off of the Bilingual Education Act and the Elementary and Secondary Education Acts of 1964 and 1965 (Cerda & Hernandez, 2006). The act prompted more detailed measurement of each student's progress in public schools, specifically in reading and math from third through eighth grade, with a follow up measurement in high school. It also provides more options for students who attend low-performing or violent schools to transfer or to receive supplemental services such as summer school and tutoring (U.S. Census Bureau, 2011). More options for these student groups should result in higher academic success. However, instead of helping English learners, it failed to improve the quality of their

education. The act "treat[ed] school districts with a high percentage of minority students as a suspect class," resulting in the inability for students to receive equal access to education (Hilner & Vance, 2006). By creating this new "suspect class," English learners are segregated, labeled, and put in a program that has not been proven effective. While its intentions were good, No Child Left Behind has been an enabler for further discrimination of immigrants of English learners.

As a result of the lack of quality bilingual education, English learners are not as academically successful as their native English speaking counterparts. Historically, Hispanic students have had higher dropout rates than other ethnic groups in the U.S. It is true that Hispanic students are more likely to drop out of high school than Whites or Asians—in 1980, the dropout rate for Hispanic 16-20 year olds was 35.2% while there were only 11.4% of White students of the same age who dropped out (U.S. Department of Education, 2010). Dropout rates in general have gone down over the years, with only 18.6% of Hispanics dropping out in 2008, compared to 4.8% of Whites (U.S. Department of Education, 2010). Despite this decrease, Hispanics still have significantly higher dropout rates than Whites.

Various factors could account for such a difference, including income levels, socioeconomic status, and opportunities presented to Hispanic individuals. Generally, Hispanics have significantly lower income levels than Whites Americans, Asian Americans, and African Americans (U.S. Census Bureau, 2008). Income levels of Hispanics versus White Americans are correlated with dropout rates, meaning that the amount of money earned by a family could be a contributing factor to whether a child stays in school. In 1970, the U.S. Department of Education (2010), the average dropout

rate was 15.0 % in the United States. Income level is divided into four sections: lower, middle low, middle high, and highest quartiles. Only 5.2% of students in the highest quartile dropped out in 1970. In the middle high and middle low quartiles, 11.7% and 21.2% dropped out, respectively. The lowest quartile dramatically rises to 28% of students dropping out, indicating that income could make a strong difference. The same pattern remains constant over the years, although overall dropout rates are on a steady decline. In 2008, the average dropout rate was down to 8.0%, where 2.2% of high income quartile students drop out, 5.4% middle high, 9.4% middle low, and 16.4% of lower income quartile students drop out (U.S. Department of Education, 2010). Hispanics have fewer opportunities than their Caucasian counterparts, often as a result of racism. However, with the knowledge that Hispanics tend to have lower income levels in the U.S., we can infer that Hispanics have higher dropout rates than Whites. While other factors may also be at play, these statistics imply that a lack of effective bilingual education could be the reason for academic failure amongst these Hispanic students.

In a study by Curiel, Rosenthal, and Richek in 1986, the researchers looked at impacts of bilingual education on dropout rates, grades, and attendance. It was found that bilingual students were less likely to drop out. These bilingual individuals were both English learners and native English speakers, demonstrating bilingual education can benefit both groups. Therefore, implementing bilingual education could have a positive impact on all students.

In addition to the positive academic impacts, a study by Wright and Bougie (2007) found important implications of with respect to social attitudes towards difference cultures. In the study, the researchers examined students in three types of classes: (a)

equally ethnically mixed bilingual classes with a large portion of the class taught in Spanish, (b) ethnically mixed, English only classes with little or no instruction of Spanish, and (c) English only classes with few Hispanic children and little Spanish instruction. It was found that integrated classes were associated with better attitudes. Additionally, bilingual instruction itself was associated with better attitudes among ethnically mixed students. These results demonstrate the positive impact that integrated bilingual education can have on children's mind-sets towards other ethnicities and cultures. Consequently, as children's attitudes improve, ethnic conflict and animosity will decrease.

Bilingual Education is the Key to Bridging the Gap

Despite efforts to make each and every American equal, discrimination still exists in the U.S. Integrated bilingual education would create a mix of multiple cultures in the same school, exposing young people to diverse cultures earlier in life. In doing so, individuals can appreciate other cultures and reduce the ethnocentrism that is so prevalent amongst Americans today. Europe is an example of non-ethnocentric attitudes. It has developed unique relationships between its countries. Contrary North America, Europe's countries are small and close together. Due to the close proximity, Europeans are more exposed to different cultures. Because they are more knowledgeable about differences between cultures, Europeans are able to be more accepting and less prejudiced. Furthermore, they must learn other languages in order to communicate among each other. The knowledge of other languages increases the openness and acceptance of foreign cultures. In general, Europeans are more appreciative of cultural differences, more open to other nations, and have less of a desire to change the other countries to be like

themselves. If the United States follows in Europe's footsteps by exposing Americans to other cultures, appreciation could eventually lead to acceptance, tolerance, and more successful coexisting. One way to expose Americans to different cultures is through bilingual education. The United States cannot control its size and proximity to other countries, so a different solution must be found—bilingual education could be that solution.

An attempt can be made to weaken racist attitudes by targeting the attitudes of school children. By integrating bilingual education, students will be put on an even playing field, shrinking the disparity between majority and minority children. While effective bilingual education can be found in charter or private schools, public schools remain monolingual (Richard, 1999). The current form of education for non-native English speakers is regular schooling with additional English as a Second Language (ESL), or English Learner (EL) classes (Richard, 1999; Thomas & Collier, 1998; Tran, 2010). With this method, children are taken out of their mainstream classes, and put into the ESL or EL classes. This is one of the most segregating education methods, as it takes students away from their fellow classmates for a portion of the day. In addition, some U.S. schools use a "transitional" method, which involves education in the child's native language for no more than three years while learning English (Foreign, 2010). This helps the student transition into mainstream English classes, but solely focuses on English acquisition (Foreign, 2010). The teaching methods currently used are ineffective in raising academic success, promoting efficient English acquisition, and reducing conflict among races.

Instead, a new method of education must be employed in as many American schools as possible. Singapore has been successful in educating students using a second language. According to Dixon (2005), “educating students through a second language challenges the assumption of the supremacy of instruction through the home language but may lend support to the interdependence hypothesis.” According to Cummins (2000), “the interdependence hypothesis recommends development of academic concepts and skills in both languages for optimal bilingual development.” The United States must adopt this same positive perspective on bilingual education, and implement bilingual instruction in American schools.

The most effective method of bilingual education is called, “Two-way” bilingual education (Foreign, 2010; Thomas & Collier, 1998). Also called, “Dual Language” bilingual education, this method is a form of immersion education. In this method, half of the students are native English speakers and half are non-native English speakers. Non-native speakers are speakers of one common language, for example Spanish (Foreign, 2010, Thomas & Collier, 1998). Teaching is divided into two concentrations. First, a variety of academic subjects are taught in a second language with specially trained bilingual teachers. Students are able to ask questions in their own native language for clarification, but teachers will always reply in the second language. These classes are content based, not grammar based. Second, native language literacy classes are provided to improve student’s writing and higher-order language skills in their first language (Thomas & Collier, 1998). However, these are the only classes that are taught by teachers speaking in the native language.

The principal goal of this method is English acquisition while also improving the native language content areas. One advantage of this method that has been found is that skills learned in the native language can later be transferred into the second language easily. Immersion—which has been shown to be one of the most effective and efficient methods of learning a second language—emphasizes education of content rather than grammar. Therefore, the student is forced to learn and listen to the second language. Simultaneously, he is able to clarify questions in his native language so as not to hinder the enhancement of the content areas. Ideally, English and Spanish speaking students are split into two equal parts (Thomas & Collier, 1998). Students are integrated and taught in both English and Spanish equally, so both groups together are learning a new language alongside each other. This style is extremely effective in learning a second language and aiding long-term performance of English learners in school (Foreign, 2010; Thomas & Collier, 1998; Wright & Bougie, 2007). It helps both native and non-native English speakers become bilingual and biliterate without segregating a minority group.

It is important that bilingual education be provided in early elementary school. However, it would be even more beneficial if continued through secondary education. It has been found that any student who is enrolled in the bilingual program for a longer period of time can achieve higher grades and is less likely to dropout (Curiel et al., 1986).

This model would be successful because it provides benefits for both English learners and native English speakers. English learners benefit greatly from this type of bilingual education. They receive a more complete education in their own language, as well as experiencing full immersion of English for part of the day as well. Content learning is not compromised because of language learning. Furthermore, they are not

rushed through 1 to 2 years of ESL schooling, but instead, slowly and carefully taught English alongside native English speakers. Finally, English learners feel less discrimination in the classroom. This not only allows them to thrive academically through their school years, but also will allow them to be more successful throughout their lives because they will not be discriminated against.

Native English speakers can also benefit in three ways: (a) by becoming fluent in a second language, students gain valuable skill and an edge over other monolingual children, (b) bilingualism is beneficial to cognitive development and students experience higher academic success in GPAs, standardized tests, and academic aspirations, (c) bilingual education leads to cross-cultural education, which allows students to be aware and accepting of other cultures (Nielsen & Lerner, 1986). As shown in the study by Wright and Bougie (2007), native English speakers' attitudes towards other cultures were greatly improved with the implementation of integrated bilingual education. This reduces racism in the classroom, and fosters non-racist attitudes that will stay with them throughout their lives.

One complication of this model is the inability to provide equal bilingual education to all immigrants or English learners. Realistically, each immigrant child will not be able to experience the ideal two-way bilingual education that others experience. There are so many different languages spoken by immigrants that it would be impossible to accommodate all of them, providing an individual school for each individual language. The most practical method of allocating bilingual schools is to start with common languages.

Spanish is the second most commonly spoken language in the United States. Given the large number of Spanish speakers, the United States would benefit from focusing on Spanish-English bilingual education. In the U.S. overtime, the shift from Spanish to English takes much more time than other languages to English (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001). Spanish, almost exclusively, has been the one language in the United States to not be completely overtaken by English. Thirteen percent of the U.S. population identifies as Hispanic descent (Tran, 2010). Mexican is the largest ethnic group, followed by Puerto Rican, Cuban, and Dominican. The percentage has doubled since 1980 and has quadrupled since 1960 (Tran, 2010). The recent increase in the Hispanic population has led to a higher Hispanic concentration along the southern border states, such as southern California, Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas. Because the areas are highly concentrated, Hispanic communities are formed where Spanish speakers are able to speak their native language with neighbors, co-workers, and strangers (Tran, 2010). These highly concentrated areas of Hispanics would be the perfect starting point to implement this model.

Still, it is imperative that other languages and cultures not be overlooked. Otherwise, ignorance would only promote racism against those ethnicities. Despite this complication, this model can still be effective. A method to spread the breadth of bilingual schools is to look at demographics of large cities. For example, if Los Angeles is made up of 30% Hispanic families, at least 30% of primary schools in the Los Angeles area should be English-Spanish bilingual. If the city of Seattle has 15% Chinese population, 15% of primary schools should be English-Chinese bilingual. The key is that students learn a language other than their own while learning about a new culture through

both their curriculum and their peers. If American education can improve step by step, targeting one language at a time, racism will slowly diminish throughout the country.

Conclusion

Originally, the global population consisted of many different monocultural identities, with each individual culture believing it was the best. Ethnocentric attitudes created racism as dominant cultures overtook inferior cultures. As this authoritative behavior became unacceptable, ethnocentric cultures turned to assimilation. Individuals then formed their identities based on the idea that their own culture was the best, so everyone else would conform to their way of life. By opening young students' minds to different cultures through new languages, prejudice can be diminished in classrooms. There will be less segregation because each student will receive a diverse education. Former victims of prejudice will have increased academic success because they are comfortable in the classroom, and develop a love for school. Ethnocentrism can be reduced and the young individuals will grow to become more tolerant. A global community can be developed as the knowledge of various cultures leads to an appreciation of differences.

Later in life, adult racism can be reduced because of the diverse education each person will have received early in school. Adults can work side by side with less prejudice. The root of discrimination could be eliminated because everyone would have learned about other cultures as a child. If the United States becomes more racially accepting, a more global community could be formed. By accepting the differences in

cultures, the U.S. could feel less of a need to change other cultures that are unlike its own. Most importantly, Americans can develop a new appreciation for the diversity of the world, which would only enrich the American culture. Ultimately, this appreciation would lead to a more unified country and, eventually, a more unified world.

"Separate, but equal," was abolished many years ago, but it is naïve to think that equality means that we are all the same. Instead, the idea of "different, but equal," must be adopted. It is time for the "melting pot" and the "tossed salad" to compromise. Instead of insisting on melting away any culture that may challenge the traditional White American culture or each individual culture living separately, we must take each ingredient that enters into the bowl, accept if for its significance and unique value, and welcome it into the mix to make a united nation between each and every person in the United States.

References

Abramovitz, M., & David, P. A. (1995). Convergence and deferred catch-up: Productivity leadership and the waning of American exceptionalism. *Growth and Development: The Economics of the 21st Century,* 5-6.

Amodio, D. M. (2009). Intergroup anxiety effects on the control of racial stereotypes: A psychoneuroendocrine analysisstar, open. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 45*(1): 60–7. doi:10.1016/j.jesp.2008.08.009.

Armed Forces Equal Opportunity Survey. (1999). Arlington, VA: Defense Manpower Data Center.

Brewer, M. B. (1997). On the social origins of human nature. In C. McGarty & S.A. Haslam (Eds.), *The message of social psychology* (pp. 54-62). Oxford, U.K.: Blackwell.

Burke, K., (2008). Old world, new world: Great Britain and America from the beginning. *Atlantic Monthly Press.* ISBN 0-87113-971-5.

Bush, M. (2005). *Breaking the code of good intention: Everyday forms of Whitemess.* New York: Rowman & Littlefield.

Canny, N., (1998). The origins of empire: The oxford history of the British Empire. Volume I. *Oxford University Press.* ISBN 0-19-924676-9.

Cerda, N., & Hernandez, C. M. (2006). Legislation timeline. *Bilingual Education*. Retrieved from http://cerdahdz.webs.com/legislationtimeline.htm.

Criollo, M. (2010). Palestinian and Chicano peoples share a history of resistance to colonization, racism, and imperialism. *American Quarterly, 62*(2), 847-854.

Cummins, J. (2000) Language, power and pedagogy: Bilingual children in the crossfire.

Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Curiel, H., Rosenthal, J., & Richek, H. (1986). Impacts of bilingual education on secondary school grades, attendance, retentions and drop-out." *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences,* 8(4), 357-365. Print.

Davis, J. A., & Smith, T. W. (1994). *General social surveys, 1972-1994: Cumulative codebook.* Chicago: National Opinion Research Center.

DeVoss, T., & Banaji, M. R. (2005). American = White? *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 88*, 447-466.

Detsi-Diamanti, Z. (2005). The drama of colonialism: National identity and the construction of the 'Indian/other' in early-19th-century American plays. *America: History & Life, 30*, 87-110.

Dixon, Q. (2005). Bilingual education policy in Singapore: An analysis of its sociohistorical roots and current academic outcomes. *The International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism,* 8(1), 25-44. Print.

Dovido, J. F., (2001). On the nature of contemporary prejudice: The third wave. *Journal of Social Issues, 57*, 829-849.

Dovidio, J. F., & Gaertner, S. L. (1986). Prejudice, discrimination, and racism: Historical trends and contemporary approaches. In J. F. Dovidio & S. L. Gaertner (Eds.), *Prejudice, discrimination and racism* (pp. 1-34). Orlando, FL: Academic Press.

Dovido, J. F., & Gaertner, S. L. (1998). On the nature of contemporary prejudice: The causes, consequences, and challenges of aversive racism In J. Eberhardt & S. T. Fiske (Eds.), *Confronting racism: The problem and the response* (pp. 3-32). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Dovidio, J. F., Gaertner, S. L., Kawakami, K., & Hodson, G. (2002). Why can't we just get along? Interpersonal biases and interracial distrust. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology, 8*(2), 88-102.

Duckitt, J. (1992). *The social psychology of prejudice.* Westport, CT:Praeger.

Foreign Language (2010). *Center for Applied Linguistics.* Print.

Feliciano, C. (2001). The benefits of biculturalism: Exposure to immigrant culture and dropping out of school among Asian and Latino youths. *Social Science Quarterly, 82*(4), 865-879.

Gaertner, S. L., & Dovidio, J. F. (1986). The aversive form of racism. In J. F. Dovidio & S. L. Gaertner (Eds.), *Prejudice, discrimination, and racism* (pp. 61-89). Orlando, FL: Academic Press.

Gallo, Y., Garcia, M., Pinuelas, L., & Youngs, I. (2008). Crisis in the Southwest: Bilingual education program inconsistencies. *Multicultural Education, 16*(2), 10-16.

Golash-Boza, T. (2005). Assessing the advantages of bilingualism for the children of immigrants. *Inernational Migration Review, 39*(3), 721-753.

Gluszek, A., Newheiser, A., & Dovidio, J. F. (2010). Social psychological orientations and accent strength. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology, 30*(28). DOI: 10.1177/0261927X10387100.

Hakuta, K., & Garcia, E. E. (1989). Bilingualism and education. *American Psychologist, 44*(2), 374-379.

Hanson, D. A. (2011). Reinventing the melting pot: The new immigrants and what it

means to be American. *Journal of American Folklore* 124.491: 112+. *Literature Resource Center*. Web. 17 Apr. 2011.

Hillner, B., & Vance, S. (2005). "Bad policy and bad law": The shortcomings of the No Child Left Behind Act in bilingual education policy and its frustration of the Equal Protection Clause. *Villanova University School of Law,* 1-22.

Hochschild, J. L. (1995). *Facing up to the American dream: Race, class, and the sould of the nation.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Imperialism (2011). *Meriam-Webster Dictionary.* Print.

Klopf, D. W., & McCroskey, J. C. (2007). *Intercultural Communication Encounters.* Boston: Pearson Education.

Lieberson, S., Dalto, G., & Johnston, M. E. (1975). The course of mother-tongue diversity in nations. *American Journal of Sociology, 81*(1), 34-61.

Lustig, M. W., & Koester, J. (2006). Cultural biases and intercultural communication. In M. W. Lustig & J. Koester (Eds.), *Among US: Essays on identity, belonging, and intercultural competence* (2nd ed., pp. 157-173).

Lwin, M. O., Stanaland, A. J. S., & Williams, J. D. (2010). American Symbolism in intercultural communication: An animosity/Ethnocentrism perspective on intergroup relations and consumer attitudes. *Journal of Communication, 60*, 491-514.

Merritt, S. M., Ryan, A. M., Mack, M. J., Leeds, J. P., & Schmitt, N. (2010). Perceived ingroup and outgroup preference: A longitudinal causal investigation. *Personnel Psychology. 63*, 845-879.

Miller, R. M., & Fredrickson, G. M. (August 1990). The arrogance of race:

Historical perspectives on slavery, racism, and social inequality. *The Journal of Southern History, 56*(3), 575–6. doi:10.2307/2210337. JSTOR 2210337.

Monoculture (2011). *Meriam-Webster Dictionary.* Print.

Moore, M. S. (1982). America's monocultural heritage. *American: History & Life, 15*(1), 39-53.

Nalapat, M. D. (2011). India & the anglosphere. *Academic Search Premiere, 29*(5), 23-28.

Necochea, J., & Cline, Z. (2000). Effective educational practices for English language learners within mainstream settings. *Race, Ethnicity & Education, 3*(3), 317-332.

Nielsen, F., & Lerner, S. J. (1986). Language skills and school achievement of bilingual Hispanics. *Social Science Research, 15*(3), 209-240.

Nilep, C. (2006). "Code Switching" in sociocultural linguisitics. *Colorodo Research in Linguistics, 19*(1), 1-22.

Portes, A., & Hao, L. (1998). E pluribus unum: Bilingualism and loss of language in the second generation. *Sociology of Education, 71*(4), 269-294.

Portes, A., & Rumbaut, R. G. (2001). Legacies: The story of the immigrant second generation. *University of California Press.*

Richard, T. G. (1999). A global perspective on bilingualism and bilingual education. *ERIC Digest.*

Rodriguez, L., Schwartz, S. J., & Whitbourne, S. K. (2010). American identity revisited: The relation between national, ethnic, and personal identiy in a mulitethnic sample of emerging adults. *Journal of Adolescent Research, 25*(2), 324-349.

Rumbaut, R. G., Cornelius, W. A. (1995). California's immigrant children: Theory, research, and implications for educational policy. *University of California, San Diego: Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies.*

Rumbaut, R. G., Massey, D. S., & Bean, F. D. (2006). Linguistic life expectancies: Immigrant language retention in southern california. *Population & Development Review, 32*(3), 447-460.

Santoro, W. A., & Segura, G. M. (2011). Generational status and Mexican American political participation: The benefits and limitations of assimilation. *Political Research Quarterly, 64*(1), 172-184.

Schildkraut, D. J. (2005). *Press "One" for English: Lanugae policy, public opinion, and American identity.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Sumner, W. G. (1906). *Folkways.* Boston: Ginn and Company.

Thomas, W. P., & Collier, V. (1997). Two languages are better than one. *Educational Leadership, 55*(4), 23-26.

Tran, V. C. (2010). English gain vs. Spanish loss? Language assimilation among second-generation Latinos in young adulthood. *Social Forces, 89*(1), 257-284.

Tsai, J., Mortensen, H., Wong, Y., & Hess, D. (2002). What does being American mean? A comparison of Asian American and European American young adults. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology, 8*, 257-273.

U.S. Census Bureau (2008). Income, earnings, and poverty data. *American Community Survey.* Print.

U.S. Department of Education (2010). *National Center for Education Statistics.* Print.

U.S. Merit Systems Protection Board. (1997). *Fair and equitable treatment: A progress report on minority employment in the federal government.* Washington DC: Office of Policy and Evaluation.

Vermeulen, H. (2010). Segmented assimilation and cross-national comparative research on the integration of immigrants and their children. *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 33*(7), 1214-1230.

Wei, L. (2009). Code-switching and the bilingual mental lexicon. *Cambridge Handbooks in Linguistics.* 270-288.

Who doesn't speak English in the US? (2011). *Mr. Verb.* Print.

Wright, S., & Bougie, E. (2007). Intergroup contact and minority-language education: Reducing language-based discrimination and its negative impact. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology, 26*(2) 157-177. Print.