



<http://www.bgsu.edu/organizations/cfdr/main.html>

Phone: (419) 372-7279

cfdr@bgnet.bgsu.edu

Bowling Green State University

Working Paper Series 00-01

Jennifer Van Hook

Immigration and African American Educational Opportunity: Are Language Minority Students Transforming U.S. Schools?

Jennifer Van Hook, Assistant Professor

**Department of Sociology
Bowling Green State University
Bowling Green, OH 43403
(419) 372-2294**

vanhook@bgnet.bgsu.edu

February 2000

I gratefully acknowledge the support of the Melon Foundation. I also thank Jeffrey Passel, John Marcotte, and Duncan Chaplin for technical assistance, and Michael Fix, Toni Clewell and Jorge Ruiz-de-Velasco for helpful discussions.

ABSTRACT

This paper uses school-level data available from the Schools and Staffing Survey and the California Department of Education to assess the extent to which African Americans versus non-Hispanic whites attend schools with children with Limited English Proficiency (LEP). When examined at the national level, LEP students do not “crowd” the schools attended by most African American and non-Hispanic white children, nor has their presence in schools increased significantly in recent years. However, in states with large immigrant populations, African Americans are more likely to attend schools with LEP children than non-Hispanic whites. The relative autonomy between LEP and African American students at the national level can be explained by the fact that the two groups tend to live in different regions of the country. For non-Hispanic whites, the explanation has more to do with the fact that non-Hispanic white students are relatively unlikely to attend school with LEP students even in areas with large immigrant populations.

I. Introduction

In recent decades, immigration to the United States has increased to levels unprecedented since the turn of the century. Currently, three-quarters of a million immigrants are admitted legally and another quarter of a million or so establish residence illegally each year (INS, 1995). These trends have provided the basis for public policy debates and research concerning the implications of immigration for U.S. institutions and labor market outcomes, particularly those involving native-born racial and ethnic minorities (e.g., Bean and Bell-Rose, 1999; Hamermesh and Bean, 1998). An especially important issue concerns the implications of immigration for U.S. schools and the schooling experiences of U.S. children. From 1970 to 1995, the number of foreign-born and U.S.-born children of immigrants ages 5 to 20 living in the United States more than doubled from 3.5 to 8.6 million, and the share that they represent of all students in schools rose sharply from 6.4 to 16.0 percent (Van Hook and Fix, 2000), with the children of immigrants now outnumbering African American children (8.6 versus 8.0 million in 1995). In the past, schools have typically been viewed as critical to the successful linguistic, social, and economic integration of immigrants. In recent years, with the enactment of the Bilingual Education Act and the Emergency Immigration Act (The National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education, 1999), and as immigration levels have reached nearly all-time highs, the expectations for schools to accommodate the growing and diverse needs of the new immigrant population have grown.

At the same time that immigration flows have increased, the percentage of high school drop-outs among African Americans age 18 to 24 has increased slightly from 15.1 percent in 1990 to 16.0 percent in 1996 following a twenty year decline (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1998, No. 292). Changes such as these raise questions concerning immigration's potential implications for the educational opportunities and outcomes for other students, particularly, African American and other minority-group students. Unfortunately, relatively little attention in the research literature has been paid to how immigrant children in schools affect school and native students despite the prevalence of the issue in the media (e.g., San Francisco Examiner, 1999). Much of the literature concerning immigrants and schools has instead focused on educational experiences and outcomes for immigrants (e.g., National Research Council, 1997; White and Kaufman, 1997; Valdez, Andrews, and

DaVanzo 1992; Kao and Tienda, 1995; Vernez and Abrahamse, 1996), or for students with limited English proficiency (Han et al. 1997; National Research Council, 1997).

Examining the implications of immigration for U.S.-born students involves assessing the effects on educational outcomes, such as test scores or drop out rates, of attending school with immigrant or language minority students. However, before looking at outcomes, it is important to find out whether immigrant children even go to the same schools as African American or other minority children. If immigrant children do not overlap with others in schools, this would render the issue of the school-related impacts of immigration less relevant. Thus, as a first step, this paper assesses the extent to which African American and other minority-group students attend schools that include large numbers of immigrants and language-minority children.

II. Previous Research

The degree of overlap between African American and immigrant children is significant because, when large proportions of immigrant children attend a school, negative consequences for other students may result due to stretching of school and teacher resources. Some evidence that overlap has negative consequences for African Americans comes from a study finding a negative relationship between the percentage of immigrants in the metropolitan area and the educational attainments of African Americans (Betts, 1998). One explanation for such a result is that immigrant children—as opposed to other types of newcomers—tend to have special educational needs as a result of their limited English proficiency. The Schools and Staffing Student Survey (1993/94) indicates that approximately 42 percent of foreign-born students in grades K through 12 are classified by their school as “limited English proficient,” or LEP, and an analysis of the October 1995 Current Population Survey similarly shows that about 40% of foreign-born students—and an additional 20% of U.S.-born children of immigrants—are reported by their parents to speak English “well,” “not well,” and “not at all” (Van Hook and Fix, 2000)¹. U.S. law requires that LEP students be provided with effective instruction that leads to timely

¹ While the number and share of LEP children are important for legal and resource reasons, strategies for identifying and counting them vary from district to district and national numbers have always been suspect. However, the analysis of the parent-reported number of LEPs in the CPS are quite close to the school-reported numbers and shares in the National Survey of Schools and Staffing (SASS). To illustrate, the CPS reports that 5.0 percent of all students and 39.5 percent of foreign-born students are LEP. The Schools and Staffing Survey reports that 5.6 percent of all students and 42.4 percent of foreign-born students are LEP. This finding suggests that the CPS measures of English proficiency can be used as a proxy for LEP status among children of immigrants, which is useful since the CPS, but not SASS, identifies parent’s place of birth as well as other social and economic characteristics.

English language acquisition and that provides equal access to the mastery of the content knowledge being taught to all students (Crawford, 1989). Although the federal government provides funds, some of the expense of helping LEP students is covered by states and local school districts (Morra, 1994).

The special needs of children of immigrants, coupled with the legal mandate to provide special instruction for many of them, could potentially strain school budgets and divert resources from the needs of other students. As a principal of an elementary school in Palo Alto commented, “More money is spent per student on language-minority youngsters than other youngsters because it’s prescribed and protected by law” (San Francisco Examiner, 1999). In addition to school funds, immigrant and LEP students may cost schools in the way of teacher time and focus because they tend to have more trouble with school than others. Although not all LEP students do poorly in school, on average they receive lower grades, score below their classmates on standardized reading and math tests, and are more likely to drop out of high school (Baker and de Kanter, 1983; Bradby, Owings, and Quinn, 1992; Bennici and Strang, 1995; Moss and Puma, 1995; Van Hook and Fix, 2000).

Overlap in school between children of immigrants and *African American* children (as opposed to non-Hispanic whites) is of particular concern because the two groups now share similar disadvantaged socioeconomic positions. In 1970, poverty rates among immigrant children (at 11.9 percent) were comparable to non-Hispanic white children of natives (9.6 percent), and were considerably lower than the levels of African Americans (41.8 percent) (Van Hook and Fix, 2000). However, poverty rates among immigrant children have now increased to a level that is almost triple that of non-Hispanic whites (33.0 versus 11.8 percent). This increase has significantly reduced the poverty gap between immigrant children and African Americans (whose poverty rates now reach 47.7 percent). *Foreign-born* immigrant children in particular have poverty levels—at 43.8 percent—that approximate those of African American children. These trends are of significance for two reasons. First, the growth in poverty rates among immigrant children means that an influx of immigrant children will increase the concentration of poverty in a school, which has consistently been found to have strong adverse effects on educational outcomes of *all* students who attend the school (Orfield and Yun, 1999). Second, the similarity in income-related disadvantage between children of immigrants and African American children

suggests that the two groups are more likely to require the same scarce resources within schools and districts (Fix and Zimmerman, 1993).

In sum, examining school overlap between African Americans and children of immigrants is of concern because the addition of children of immigrants to schools may strain school budgets and other resources. However, very little is known about how LEP students are distributed across schools vis-à-vis other students. Although Orfield and his colleagues have examined patterns and trends in school segregation between Hispanics, African-Americans, and non-Hispanic white students (Orfield, et al., 1997; Orfield and Yun, 1998), they have not explicitly examined the level of school segregation between African Americans, LEP, or immigrant students. The reason for this omission is related to data availability. The research on race and ethnic segregation relies on a national-level database of all U.S. schools (referred to as the “Common Core of Data”, or CCD), which is compiled by the National Center for Education Statistics. These data contain information on the race and ethnic distribution of students in every public school in the country, but does not include information on place of birth or language status of the students. In addition, sample surveys did not routinely collect information about LEP students until recently.

Despite the limited amount of previous research on this issue, some expectations regarding the distribution of LEP students across schools may be formulated. In particular, these expectations derive from ideas that seek an understanding of residential patterns within a multiethnic, multi-race context, like areas with significant immigrant and LEP populations. On the one hand, theories on *spatial*, or *place*, *stratification* predict patterns of racial *segregation*, in which non-Hispanic whites position themselves spatially in ways that exclude racial and ethnic minorities from their neighborhoods (and schools), thereby preserving “social distance from less advantaged groups” (Logan and Alba, 1993: 244; see also Massey, 1985). The salient feature of segregation is the separation of majority non-Hispanic whites from minority groups, not the separation of different minority groups from each other. When immigrants move into a neighborhood or school district, majority whites may move out or send their children to private schools, but minority families may not have the economic or social resources to do so. Referred to here as the *Segregation* hypothesis, this type of process

would result in a pattern in which new minority students (immigrant and LEP students) overlap in schools with black students, and both groups attend schools apart from majority non-Hispanic whites. This view is partially supported by Orfield's work showing that the level of school segregation of African American and Latino students from non-Hispanic white students is remarkably high and, most notably among Hispanics, has been increasing in recent years (Orfield, et al., 1997; Orfield and Yun, 1999). Hispanic students are now more likely than blacks to attend schools that are more than half minority (74.8 vs. 68.8 percent in 1996).

On the other hand, ideas about residential niches predict spatial *autonomy* between immigrant and LEP students, African Americans, and non-Hispanic whites (i.e., patterns in which all three groups are separated from each other). Ideas derived from classical ecological theory (e.g., Hawley, 1950; Burgess, 1925; Park and Burgess, 1921) predict that newly arrived ethnic groups will settle in residential niches in ways that enhance "symbiosis" (i.e., they form ethnically cohesive neighborhoods to reduce competition with similarly situated groups). The ethnic composition of a neighborhood can shift as more incorporated immigrant groups become spatially assimilated (Massey and Mullan, 1984; Guest, 1980; Massey, 1985; Powers, 1968) and newer, less acculturated groups move in (e.g., Denton and Massey, 1991; Taeuber and Taeuber, 1965). However, the process of neighborhood succession is thought to occur quickly, particularly in areas with significant African American populations (Massey and Mullan, 1984). As a result, multi-race/ethnic neighborhoods containing African Americans are relatively rare and short-lived. Referred to here as the *Autonomy* hypothesis, the idea is that these kinds of neighborhood patterns are replicated in schools. Thus, a pattern would arise in which new minority students (less acculturated immigrant and LEP students) attend schools apart from both black and majority white students. This view is partially supported by Orfield and Yun (1999), who show that even though Latino and African American students tend to go to schools that are multi-ethnic, the average Latino goes to schools that are only 11.8% black, and the average African American student attends school with relatively small shares (9.8 percent) of Latino students. Since many immigrants are Hispanic, these results suggest there may be little overlap between African American and immigrant students.

The contribution of this research is to use national school-level survey data to assess the degree to which African Americans versus non-Hispanic whites currently attend schools with LEP students. It focuses on LEP

students rather than all children of immigrants because LEP students are more likely to have needs that require additional funds and attention from teachers. If the results were to show that, on average, African Americans attend schools with larger percentages of LEP students than do other students, or that the absolute level of exposure to LEP students is high, this would suggest that the influx of LEP students in U.S. schools could have important consequences for the educational experiences and outcomes of African Americans.

A second contribution is to test the hypotheses developed above using both national- and state-level data. The reason for conducting state-level analyses is that the hypotheses developed above pertain to race/ethnic patterns of school attendance within the context of a multi-ethnic, multi-racial environment. Because immigrants are not evenly distributed across the United States (nearly a quarter of new immigrants settle in California alone (INS, 1996)), it is difficult to observe multi-ethnic, multi-racial contexts without zeroing in on states that contain large immigrant populations. For example, when observed at the national-level, U.S. minority students—particularly African Americans—may appear to encounter relatively few immigrant and LEP students in school because immigrants and African Americans tend to be concentrated in different regions of the country (African Americans in the South, immigrants in places like California, Texas, Florida, and New York); the patterns specific to the South may overwhelm the national level results. Even though the national-level result (including the South) would be important for assessing the current impact of immigration on *national-level* educational outcomes for African Americans, it would not have much relevance for assessing whether patterns of autonomy or segregation *would* develop if or when large influxes of immigrants move into an area.

III. Data and Measures

Data. To describe trends and patterns related to the schools attended by immigrants and other groups, the analysis relies on the 1987-88, 1990-91, and 1993-94 Schools and Staffing Survey (SASS). In general, reliable data on the distribution of LEP students across schools in the United States is difficult to obtain. As noted above, the Common Core of Data (CCD) is often used in studies of school segregation because it includes a record for every school in the United States rather than a sample of schools. However, the CCD collects data on race and ethnicity but does not include information on the number of immigrant or LEP students. Other

sample data that collects school-level data on the number LEP students focus only on certain grades (NELS: 88, NAEP) or do not contain sufficient numbers of schools to provide reliable estimates (NELS: 88). However, the Schools and Staffing Survey (SASS) does include data on the race/ethnic composition of each school together with the number of students enrolled in bilingual and English-as-a-Second-Language classes and, for 1993-94, the number of students identified as having limited English proficiency. Conducted by the National Center for Education Statistics in the school years 1987-88, 1990-91, and 1993-94, SASS is comprehensive set of surveys of primary and secondary school districts, administrators, teachers, schools, and students (for 1993-94 only) in both the private and public sectors. The analysis here relies primarily on the surveys of public and private schools, although it draws on the 1993-94 private and public student data as well. The number of private and public schools in the samples total to 10,785 in 1987-88, 11,589 in 1990-91, and 11,352 in 1993-94, and the number of private and public school students in the 1993-94 student survey total to 6,232.

One drawback of using the SASS is that the sample sizes are not large enough to reliably examine patterns within states. To supplement the analysis, I use newly available data about LEP students in California public schools. Starting in 1998, the State of California has required that all students in grades 2-11—including all LEP students—participate in standardized testing. The results of these tests, tabulated by school, grade, and LEP/non-LEP status, *as well as the number of students in each category*, have been made publicly available (referred to as the STAR report) (California Department of Education, 1998). These data, in other words, contain information about the distribution of LEP students across *all* schools in California, not just a sample. A drawback of the STAR report data, however, is that they do not contain information about the race/ethnic composition of the schools. To remedy this, I merge the STAR report data with the race/ethnic data in the CCD 1997/98 file in order to obtain information about the distribution of African Americans vis-à-vis LEP students in California.

Finally, I supplement the analysis of school data with data about broad residential patterns in the 1995 October Current Population Survey. The reason I use the October CPS rather than the March Demographic

Supplement is that the October data include information on schooling and enrollment for children. All individuals age 5 to 20 who are enrolled in grades K through 12 are included in the sample².

Limited English Proficiency. Students classified by their school as having limited English proficiency are identified in the student survey of the 1993-94 SASS and in the 1998 STAR Report data, and the number of LEP students in each school is reported in the school survey of the 1993-94 SASS. Schools used a variety of methods to identify LEP students, including on the basis of parent requests, teacher referral, home language surveys, oral or written language exams, the student's previous school record, and achievement test results. According to the Schools and Staffing Survey, about 85% of schools with LEP students used more than one method, half used four or more, and 7.6% reported using all of the methods mentioned. Schools with many LEP students were more likely to use home language surveys and oral or written language examinations, and schools with relatively few LEP students were more likely to rely on parent recommendations and teacher referrals.

Unfortunately, the SASS data do not allow the examination of trends over time pertaining to exposure to LEP students because SASS did not collect data on LEP students until the 1993-94 survey. However, SASS did collect information on the number of students enrolled in ESL and bilingual classes every year (the two differ because not all LEP students receive ESL and bilingual instruction). These indicators most likely reflect both the number of LEP students and the degree to which schools accommodate the language needs of language-minority students. In the 1993/1994 data (for which LEP status and enrollment in ESL and bilingual classes is available), almost two-thirds of LEP students were enrolled in English-as-a-second-language (ESL) classes, bilingual classes, or both. However, LEP children in primary schools are much more likely than those in secondary schools to be enrolled in ESL or bilingual classes (76 versus 42 percent). Thus, it is important to differentiate by grade level when examining trends over time in the distribution of students enrolled in ESL or bilingual classes.

² The CPS files of 1994 and 1995, as released by the Census Bureau, suffer a problem with the sampling weights because race was defined inconsistently in the weighting process. This error leads to a systematic under-weighting of Asians/Pacific Islanders and American Indians/Alaska Natives by about 30 percent (Passel 1996). Also, since roughly two-thirds of Asians are foreign-born, the immigrant population is also significantly underestimated by the official 1994 and 1995 CPS data. To correct this problem, the CPS

To examine the degree of overlap between LEP and other children, I estimate the percentage of children who attend a school in which the student body is composed of certain percentages of LEP students, for example, the percentage who attend a school that is 10% or more LEP. The calculation is straightforward when the student survey is used:

$$\frac{\sum p_i \cdot w_i}{\sum w_i}$$

where i indexes students in the sample, p_i takes a value of one (zero otherwise) if the percent LEP in the student's school falls within the specified range (e.g., 10% or more), and w_i is the student's sampling weight. However, the student survey does not contain enough observations to permit analysis for different race/ethnic groups. In addition, because the student survey is available only for 1993-94, it cannot be used to examine trends over time. To minimize the standard errors and to examine time trends, I rely on the school surveys. The calculation is then:

$$\frac{\sum p_j \cdot s_j \cdot w_j}{\sum s_j \cdot w_j}$$

where j indexes schools in the sample, p_j takes a value of one (zero otherwise) if the percent LEP in the school falls within the specified range, s_j is the number of students in the school (in the example above, s_j would be the number of African American students in the school), and w_j is the school sampling weight. Standard errors for the estimates based on school data are calculated such that they treat the estimates as ratios of sample means (using the bivariate delta method (Goldberger 1991)). Further, the standard errors are inflated to take into account the design features of the stratified, clustered sample³.

Immigrants and Children of Immigrants. Children of immigrants in the CPS data are identified as those with at least one foreign-born parent. Within this group, those born outside the United States and its territories (immigrants) are distinguished from the U.S. born. Puerto Ricans and children of people born in Puerto Rico are excluded from the sample.

editing and weighting procedures were replicated as closely as possible to develop new weights for the October 1995 CPS that more accurately weight immigrants and the rest of the population (see Passel 1996 and Passel and Clark 1998 for details).

Results

Broad Residential Patterns. In terms of broad residential patterns, Table 1 shows that African American are distributed differently across states from children of immigrants and LEP students. Nearly three-quarters of children of immigrants live in six states: California (35.0%), Texas (11.3%), New York (11.1%), Florida (6.8%), Illinois (5.0%), or New Jersey (4.0%). Even greater proportions of LEP students live in these states. Within these states, about one-third are children of immigrants (and ten percent are LEP), and the figure reaches 45% in California (17.4% for LEP students). Children of immigrants outnumber African Americans in each of these six states except Illinois; in California, they outnumber African Americans by six to one. So within these states, it is possible that African Americans could be attending schools with large numbers and percentages of LEP students. But, only one-third of African Americans live in these six states and only six percent live in California. In contrast, nearly half (45.9%) of African American students, in comparison to 6.4% of children of immigrants, live in the south. In most of the southern states, African American students far outnumber children of immigrants and could not be attending schools with many LEP students.

School-level Distribution Patterns. Even though about 5.6 percent of K-12 U.S. students are considered LEP by their schools (according to the 1993/94 SASS, including Puerto Rican students), LEP students are not distributed evenly. Close to 70 percent of African Americans attend schools in which there are fewer than 1% LEP students, the vast majority (90%) attend schools that are 10% LEP or less, and only 2.6% attend schools that are 31% LEP or more (Table 2). Non-Hispanic white students are only slightly (but significantly) less likely to encounter LEP students at school. In fact, only small differences between blacks and whites in exposure to LEP students appear along the entire distribution of schools (Figure 1). Figure 1 shows the distribution of students by the percentage of LEP students in their school. Except for a few deviations, the lines for African American and white students nearly coincide. By contrast, Hispanic and Asian students—many of

³ The DEFF ratio is used as an inflation factor: $\overline{w^2}/(\overline{w})^2$.

whom are LEP themselves—are far more likely to go to schools with many LEP students. About one-fifth of Hispanics and ten percent of Asian students attend schools that are 31% or more LEP (Table 2).

Further, the extent to which African American and non-Hispanic white children are exposed to language-minority students at school appears not to have changed in recent years. Table 3 shows the percentage attending schools with 10% or more bilingual or ESL students⁴. The results show no statistically significant change for any of the groups in the level of exposure to language-minority students between 1987/88, 1990/91, and 1993/94. Furthermore, no statistically significant changes in overlap can be detected even within the six big immigration states (or other state groupings, for that matter). This result is counterintuitive given the fact that children of immigrants have increased as a share of all students from 13.9 % in 1990 to 16.0% in 1995 (Van Hook and Fix, 2000).

One of the reasons African Americans may be unlikely to attend schools with a high concentration of LEP students (and that the level of overlap appears not to be increasing) is that LEP students themselves are concentrated. Nearly half (versus two percent of non-LEP students) attend a school that is 31% or more LEP (Table 2) and nearly one-third attend schools that are at least 50% LEP (not shown). Because large numbers of LEP students (most of whom are Hispanic and Asian) attend a relatively small number of schools, most schools—and most African American and non-Hispanic white students—encounter few or no LEP students. Hence, at the national-level at least, the results appear to resemble a pattern predicted by the *Autonomy* hypothesis.

Variations Across States. An alternative explanation of the national-level patterns described above is that, in areas with large immigrant populations (i.e., multi-ethnic, multi-racial areas), African Americans overlap more with LEP students than non-Hispanic whites. But at the national level, black-white differences are reduced because African Americans are less likely to live in regions with large immigrant populations. Such a result would be consistent with the *Segregation* hypothesis. As shown below, the latter conclusion is clearly supported by an examination of state-level patterns.

⁴ This is the percentage of students enrolled in ESL or the percentage enrolled in bilingual classes, whichever enrollment is larger. Separate estimates of the percentage enrolled in ESL or bilingual classes show nearly identical patterns over time and between groups.

First, race differences in LEP/non-LEP overlap appear larger in areas with higher immigrant concentrations. The SASS results show that race differences are larger and reach statistical significance among non-Southern residents, whereas no statistically significant differences appear among Southerners (Table 4). According to the STAR data, African Americans living in California are much more likely to encounter LEP students at school than non-Hispanic whites; the degree of overlap is about twice as high as non-Hispanic whites (Table 5). Moreover, in California the pattern across the entire range of schools for African Americans is very similar to other ethnic minorities such as Asians and Hispanics and does not correspond with the non-Hispanic white pattern (Figure 2). This contrasts with the national-level results in which the pattern for African Americans was similar to the non-Hispanic white majority rather than other race/ethnic minority groups.

The generalization that race differences manifest themselves primarily in areas with higher immigrant concentrations is further supported by the results of multivariate analyses that control for poverty status. Using the sample of African American and non-Hispanic white students in the SASS student surveys, I estimated OLS regression models predicting the share LEP in the child's school. Included in the models are indicators of (1) school level (primary versus secondary), (2) poverty status (school lunch eligible), (3) race (African American versus non-Hispanic white), and (4) percent LEP among the students in the state. The coefficient for race is small but significant (Table 6, Model 1), indicating that, at the national level, African Americans attend school with only slightly higher shares of LEP students than do non-Hispanic whites (by about two percentage points). In Model 2, I added an interaction term between race and percent LEP in the state. The results show that, net of poverty status, the black-white differential appears significantly larger in states that have higher percentages of LEP students. To help interpret the results, I graphed the predicted relationship between the LEP share in the child's school and the relative number of the LEP students in the state for African Americans and non-Hispanic whites (Figure 3). In states with small shares of LEP students, the black-white differential in overlap is also

Also, a comparison of the ESL/bilingual measure with the 1993-94 measure of the percent LEP in the school in Table 4 shows a close correspondence (e.g., African Americans: 3.7 vs. 3.4; non-Hispanic whites: 2.0 vs. 2.0).

small (e.g., about 3.5 percentage points in states that are five percent LEP). However, in states with large shares of LEP students, the differential widens (e.g., to about 22.5 percentage points in states that are 30 percent LEP).

Summary and Conclusion

Despite the fact that children of immigrants are quickly growing as a share of the K-12 student population, the results suggest that—by and large—they do not go to the same schools as African American and non-Hispanic white children, nor has their presence in schools increased significantly in recent years. For African Americans, this counterintuitive result can be explained by the fact that children of immigrants and LEP students are concentrated in certain states (i.e., California, New York, Texas) while African Americans are more likely to live in the South as well as other non-immigration states. For non-Hispanic whites, the explanation has more to do with the fact that non-Hispanic white students are relatively unlikely to attend school with LEP students even in areas with large immigrant populations.

Despite the separation between African American and LEP children at the national level, it would be difficult to conclude that the two groups—within multi-ethnic, multi-racial contexts—are spatially “autonomous.” Rather, it appears that overlap in schools occurs between LEP and African American students in contexts in which such overlap is a possibility. Thus, rather than *autonomy*, the state-level results are more suggestive of *segregation*. In California, for example, the degree of overlap with LEP students among African Americans is about half the level of non-Hispanic whites, and is more similar to other ethnic minorities such as Asians and Hispanics. As shown more generally in the multivariate models, in places with larger immigrant populations, African American children overlap considerably with LEP children while non-Hispanic white children remain relatively isolated. These results hold even when poverty status is controlled.

It should be cautioned, however, that these school-level patterns of segregation and overlap do not necessarily derive from neighborhood residential patterns. For example, a situation could arise in which the residential patterns resemble autonomy (with non-Hispanic whites, African Americans, and immigrants living in separate but adjacent neighborhoods) while the pattern of school attendance is characteristic of segregation. In this situation, if school districts tended to incorporate both the African American and immigrant

neighborhoods but not the non-Hispanic white areas, African Americans would attend school with immigrant children but majority white children would not. One possible interpretation of such a scenario is that school district boundaries are drawn or maintained in ways that tend to “protect” non-Hispanic white neighborhoods from the impact of immigration. The scope of the research presented here is limited to school attendance. Nevertheless, the results showing overlap of LEP with African American students in schools, juxtaposed against previous work showing the *lack* of residential overlap between Hispanic and African American populations, raise questions for future research concerning the linkages between residential and school segregation in a multi-ethnic, multi-race context.

One implication of the results is that it is unlikely that immigration has adversely affected the schooling outcomes for most African Americans (i.e., the two-thirds living in non-immigrant states). The share of LEP students in schools attended by African Americans appears too low and too steady over time to bring about significant changes to the schools attended by these African American students. This conclusion has several caveats, however. First, the research presented here examined the LEP share in schools, not classrooms. To the degree that African Americans are tracked into classrooms that include larger shares of LEP students than the overall share in the school, even small percentages of LEP students in a school could translate into high levels of overlap. Second, immigration may have led to the dilution of funds available for minority student education at the federal, school district, and school levels (e.g., Fix and Zimmerman, 1993). This could indirectly adversely affect African American students even if they attend schools apart from immigrant students. Both of these topics warrant further research.

However, in states with large immigrant populations, the results show that the *possibility exists* that immigration might adversely affect the schooling experiences of African Americans as well as other minority groups. Furthermore, the degree of concentration of LEP students revealed by the analysis raises questions about the impacts of linguistic segregation on the social and linguistic integration of immigrant children. To resolve these questions, more research should be conducted to assess the effects of attending school with large shares of LEP students. In addition to being important for immigration states like California, such research could provide hints for the future for areas just now experiencing growth in their immigrant populations.

Already, both immigrants and immigrant children are beginning to settle in places that have not been traditional receiving communities (Van Hook and Fix, 2000). If immigrant settlement continues to disperse, the patterns of race/ethnic and linguistic segregation that currently occur in California and other immigration states may spread to other states.

REFERENCES

- Baker, Keith A. and deKanter, Adriana A. 1983. "An Answer from Research on Bilingual Education." *American Education* 19(6): 40-48.
- Barth, Fredrick (ed.). 1969. *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries*. Boston: Little, Brown.
- Barth, Fredrick. 1956. "Ecological Relationships of Ethnic Groups in Swat, North Pakistan." *American Anthropologist* 58(6): 1079-89.
- Bean, Frank D. and Stephanie Bell-Rose (eds.). 1999. *Immigration and Opportunity: Race, Ethnicity, and Employment in the United States*. Russell Sage Foundation: New York.
- Bean, Frank D., Jennifer Van Hook and Mark Fossett. 1999. "Immigration, Spatial and Economic Change, and African American Employment," pp. 31-63 in Frank D. Bean and Stephanie Bell-Rose (eds.), *Immigration and Opportunity: Race, Ethnicity, and Employment in the United States*. Russell Sage Foundation: New York.
- Bennici and Strang, 1995.
- Betts, Julian R. 1998. "Educational Crowding Out: Do Immigrants Affect the Educational Attainment of American Minorities," pp. 253-281 in Daniel S. Hamermesh and Frank D. Bean (eds.) *Help or Hindrance? The Economic Implications of Immigration for African Americans*, Russell Sage: New York.
- Blau, Peter M. 1994. *Structural Contexts of Opportunities*. University of Chicago Press: Chicago.
- Bradby, Owings, and Quinn, 1992.
- Buron, et al., 1998. *PROSPECTS: The Congressionally Mandated Study Of Educational Growth And Opportunity, Final Report On LEP Students*. Abt Associates (Prepared for the U.S. Department of Education): Washington, DC.
- Burgess, Ernest W. 1925. "The Growth of the City: An Introduction to a Research Project," pp. 47-62 in Robert E. Park, Ernest W. Burgess, and R. D. McKenzie (eds.), *The City*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- California Department of Education. 1998. "STAR State Summary Report." Report available online at <http://star.cde.ca.gov/reports>.
- Crawford. 1989.
- Denton, Nancy A. and Douglas S. Massey. 1991. "Patterns of Neighborhood Transition in a Multiethnic World: U.S. Metropolitan Areas, 1970-1980," *Demography* 28(1): 41-63.
- Fernandez-Kelly, M. P. 1995. "Social and Cultural Capital in the Urban Ghetto: Implications for the Economic Sociology of Immigration," pp. 213-47 in Alejandro Portes (ed.) *The Economic Sociology of Immigration*. Russell Sage: New York.
- Fix, Michael and Wendy Zimmerman. 1993. *Educating Immigrant Children: Chapter 1 in the Changing City*. Urban Institute Report 93-3. The Urban Institute Press: Washington, D.C.
- Goldberger, Arthur S. 1991. *A Course in Econometrics*. Harvard University Press: Cambridge.

- Guest, Avery. 1980. "The Suburbanization of Ethnic Groups," *Sociology and Social Research* 64: 497-513.
- Hamermesh, Daniel S. and Frank D. Bean (eds.). 1998. *Help or Hindrance? The Economic Implications of Immigration for African Americans*, Russell Sage: New York.
- Han, Mei et al. 1997. A Profile of Policies and Practices for LEP Students: Screening Methods, Program Support, and Teacher Training (SASS 1993-94) Statistical Analysis Report, National Center for Education Statistics: American Institutes for Research, Washington D.C., Catholic University of America.
- Hawley, Amos. 1950. *Human Ecology: A Theory of Community Structure*. Ronald: New York.
- Hawley, Amos. 1970. *The Metropolitan Community: Its People and Government*. Sage Publications: Beverly Hills, CA.
- Hawley, Amos. 1986. *Human Ecology: A Theoretical Essay*. University of Chicago Press: Chicago.
- Kao, Grace and Marta Tienda. 1995. "Optimism and Achievement: The Educational Performance of Immigrant Youth," *Social Science Quarterly* 76(1): 1.
- Logan, John R. and Richard D. Alba. 1993. "Locational Returns to Human Capital: Minority Access to Suburban Community Resources." *Demography* 30(2): 243-268.
- Massey, Douglas S. 1985. "Ethnic Residential Segregation: A Theoretical Synthesis and Empirical Review." *Sociology and Social Research* 69: 315-330.
- Massey, Douglas S. 1990. "American Apartheid: Segregation and the Making of the Underclass," *American Sociological Review* 96(2): 329-57.
- Massey, Douglas S., and Brenda P. Mullan. 1984. "Processes of Hispanic and Black Spatial Assimilation," *American Journal of Sociology* 89(4): 835-73.
- Morra, Linda G. 1994. *Immigrant Education: Federal Funding Has Not Kept Pace with Student Increases*. Testimony before the Subcommittee on Education, Arts, and the Humanities, Committee on Labor and Human Resources, U.S. Senate. (GAO/T-HEHS-94-146). General Accounting Office: Washington, D.C.
- Moss, Marc and Puma, Michael. 1995. *Prospects: The Congressionally Mandated Study of Educational Growth and Opportunity*. First Year Report on Language Minority and Limited English Proficient Students. Abt Associates, Inc.: Cambridge, MA; Department of Education, Office of the Undersecretary: Washington D.C.; Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Language Affairs: Washington D.C.
- National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education. 1999. "How has federal policy for language minority students evolved in the U.S.?" Report available online at <http://www.ncbe.gwu.edu/askncbe/faqs/03history.htm>.
- National Research Council. 1997. *Improving School for Language-Minority Children: A Research Agenda*, Diane August and Kenji Aukuta (eds.). National Academy Press: Washington, DC.
- Olzak, Susan. 1992. *The Dynamics of Ethnic Competition and Conflict*. Stanford University Press: Palo Alto, CA.

- Orfield, Gary and John T. Yun. 1999. *Resegregation in American Schools*, Civil Right Project Report 6/14/99, Harvard University. Available online at www.law.harvard.edu/groups/civilrights/publications/resegregation99.html.
- Orfield, Gary, Mark D. Bachmeier, David R. James, and Tamela Eitle. 1997. "Deepening Segregation in American Public Schools: A Special Report from the Harvard Project on School Desegregation." *Equity and Excellence in Education* 30(2): 5-24.
- Park, Robert E. and Ernest W. Burgess. 1921. *Introduction to the Science of Sociology*. University of Chicago Press: Chicago.
- Portes, Alejandro. 1998. "Social Capital: Its Origins and Applications in Modern Sociology," *Annual Review of Sociology* 24: 1-24.
- Powers, Mary. 1968. "Class, Ethnicity, and Residence in Metropolitan America," *Demography* 5: 443-8.
- San Francisco Examiner. 1999.
- Tauber, Karl E. and Alma F. Tauber. 1965. *Negros in Cities*. Athenem: New York.
- U.S. Bureau of the Census. 1998. *Statistical Abstract of the United States 1998* (118th edition). Washington, D.C.
- Valdez, Andrews, and DaVanzo. 1992.
- Van Hook, Jennifer and Michael Fix. 2000. "A Profile of the Immigrant Student Population," Chapter 1 in Jorge Ruiz DeVelasco, Michael Fix, and Toni Clewell (eds.), "Overlooked and Underserved: Immigrant Children in U.S. Secondary Schools," Urban Institute Press: Washington, D.C.
- Vernez, George and Allan Abrahamse. 1996. *How Immigrants Fare in U.S. Education*. RAND: Santa Monica, CA.
- White, Michael J. and Kaufman, Gayle. 1997. "Language Usage, Social Capital, and School Competition among Immigrants and Native-born Ethnic Groups." *Social Science Quarterly* 78(2): 385-398.
- Wilson, William J. 1987. *The Truly Disadvantaged: The Inner-City, the Underclass, and Public Policy*. University of Chicago Press: Chicago.
- Wilson, William J. 1996. *When Work Disappears: The World of the New Urban Poor*. Knopf: New York.
- U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service. 1995. *Statistical Yearbook of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, 1994*. U.S. Government Printing Office: Washington, D.C.

Table 1

	Percentage Distribution Across States			Percent Share Within States		
	Children of Immigrants	LEP Children	African American ¹	Children of Immigrants	LEP Children	African American ¹
Six Largest Immigration States	73.1	78.2	33.3	29.7	9.8	12.8
California	35.0	42.8	6.0	44.6	17.4	7.2
Texas	11.3	15.1	6.2	23.2	9.3	12.0
New York	11.1	10.0	6.5	26.8	7.1	14.8
Florida	6.8	5.2	5.2	22.8	5.3	16.6
Illinois	5.0	2.7	6.5	17.3	2.8	21.2
New Jersey	4.0	2.5	2.9	20.9	4.2	14.4
Southern States ²	6.4	4.1	45.9	4.4	0.8	29.7
Other States	20.5	17.6	20.8	8.6	2.1	8.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	15.8	4.7	15.0

Sources: *Statistics on children of immigrants and African Americans, 1995 October CPS; Statistics on LEP children, 1993 Schools and Staffing Surveys (School Surveys).*

¹Includes only those with U.S. born parents.

²Georgia, North Carolina, Virginia, Louisiana, Alabama, Mississippi, South Carolina, Maryland, Tennessee, Arkansas, Kentucky, District of Columbia, Oklahoma, Delaware, and West Virginia. Excludes Texas and Florida.

Table 2

	% Attend School Where Share of LEP Students Is:				
	< 1%	1-10%	11-20%	21-30%	31%+
<i>Percent</i>					
African-American	69.0	20.7	4.9	2.8	2.6
Non-Hispanic White	74.8	20.0	3.1	1.3	0.8
Hispanic	19.9	28.0	17.0	11.7	23.4
Asian	32.6	35.4	15.8	5.9	10.3
LEP	1.9	18.1	16.5	15.3	48.2
Non-LEP	69.1	21.7	4.9	2.3	2.0
<i>Standard Errors</i>					
African-American	4.8	2.1	0.8	0.6	0.5
Non-Hispanic White	2.2	1.0	0.3	0.2	0.1
Hispanic	1.9	2.7	2.5	1.9	3.4
Asian	3.3	4.6	3.9	1.7	2.5
LEP	0.1	1.4	2.0	2.4	7.4
Non-LEP	1.8	1.0	0.5	0.3	0.2

Source: Schools and Staffing Surveys (School Surveys, 1993-94).

Sample Includes Puerto Ricans.

Table 3

	Primary Schools			Secondary Schools		
	87/88	90/91	93/94	87/88	90/91	93/94
All States						
African-American	11.3	13.7	10.6	6.0	10.1	8.1
Non-Hispanic White	4.9	5.6	5.7	2.9	4.1	3.2
Immigration States						
African-American	21.7	25.9	19.4	9.3	17.3	15.7
Non-Hispanic White	9.7	10.2	10.9	6.8	8.6	7.2
Southern States						
African-American	1.8	1.9	2.0	1.3	1.9	1.4
Non-Hispanic White	1.6	1.6	1.5	1.1	1.1	1.2
Other States						
African-American	7.5	10.1	9.8	8.3	11.9	7.1
Non-Hispanic White	2.9	3.9	3.8	1.1	2.4	1.6

Sources: Schools and Staffing Surveys (School Surveys, 1987/88, 1990/91, 1993-94).

Table 4

	African- American	Non-Hisp. White	Difference
Immigration States	19.3	11.5	7.8 *
Southern States	1.7	1.1	0.6
Other States	9.5	2.8	6.7 *

Table 5

% Attend School Where Share of LEP Students Is:					
	< 1%	1-10%	11-20%	21-30%	31%+
African-American	8.2	30.2	24.2	14.4	23.0
Non-Hispanic White	20.0	46.2	18.3	8.0	7.5
Hispanic	5.2	16.5	16.7	14.4	47.2
Asian	7.2	30.6	24.2	14.8	23.2
LEP	0.1	7.8	14.3	15.0	62.8
Non-LEP	14.7	37.8	20.4	11.2	15.9

Sources: California Department of Education, Common Core of Data

Figure 1

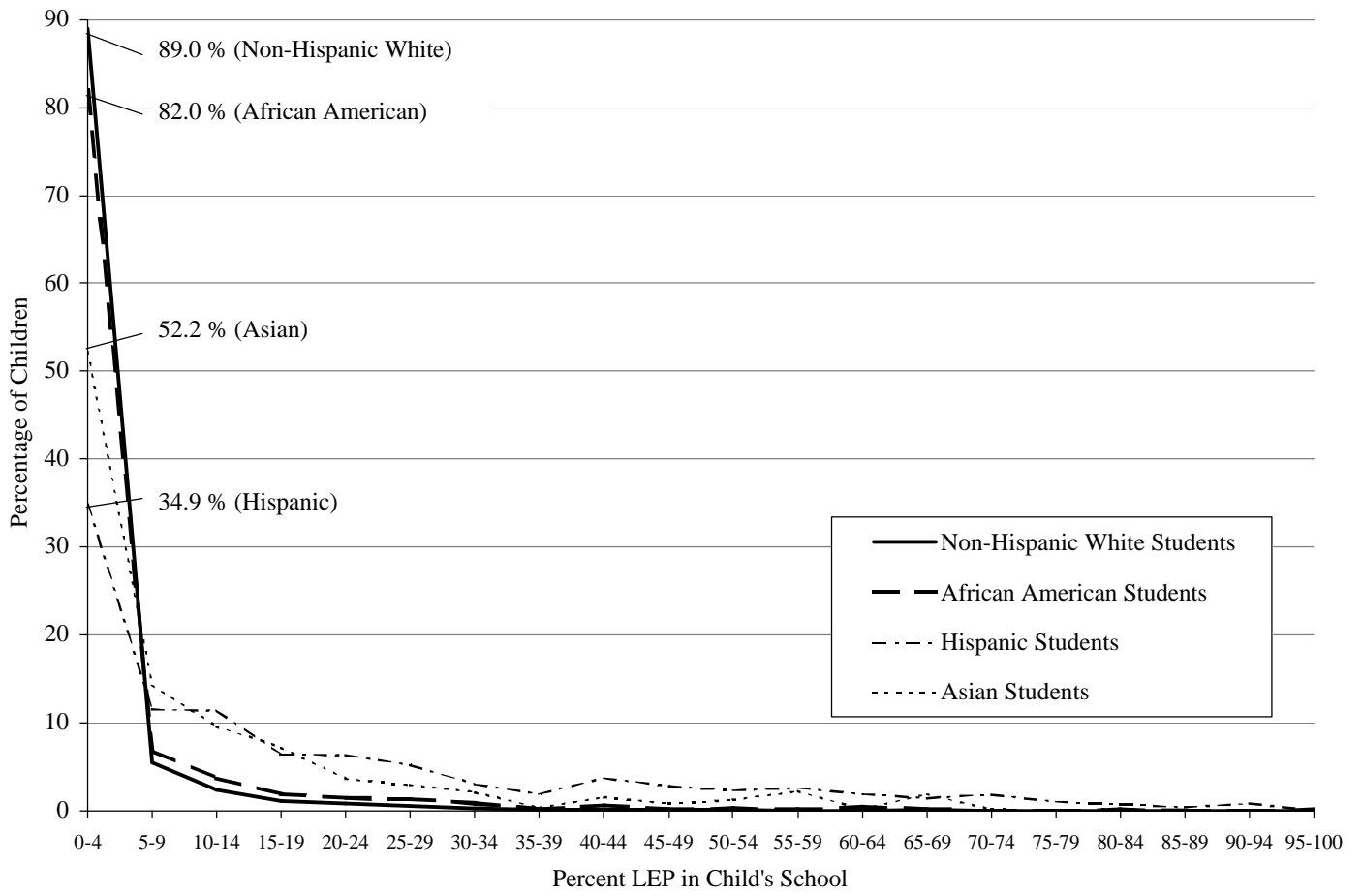


Figure 2

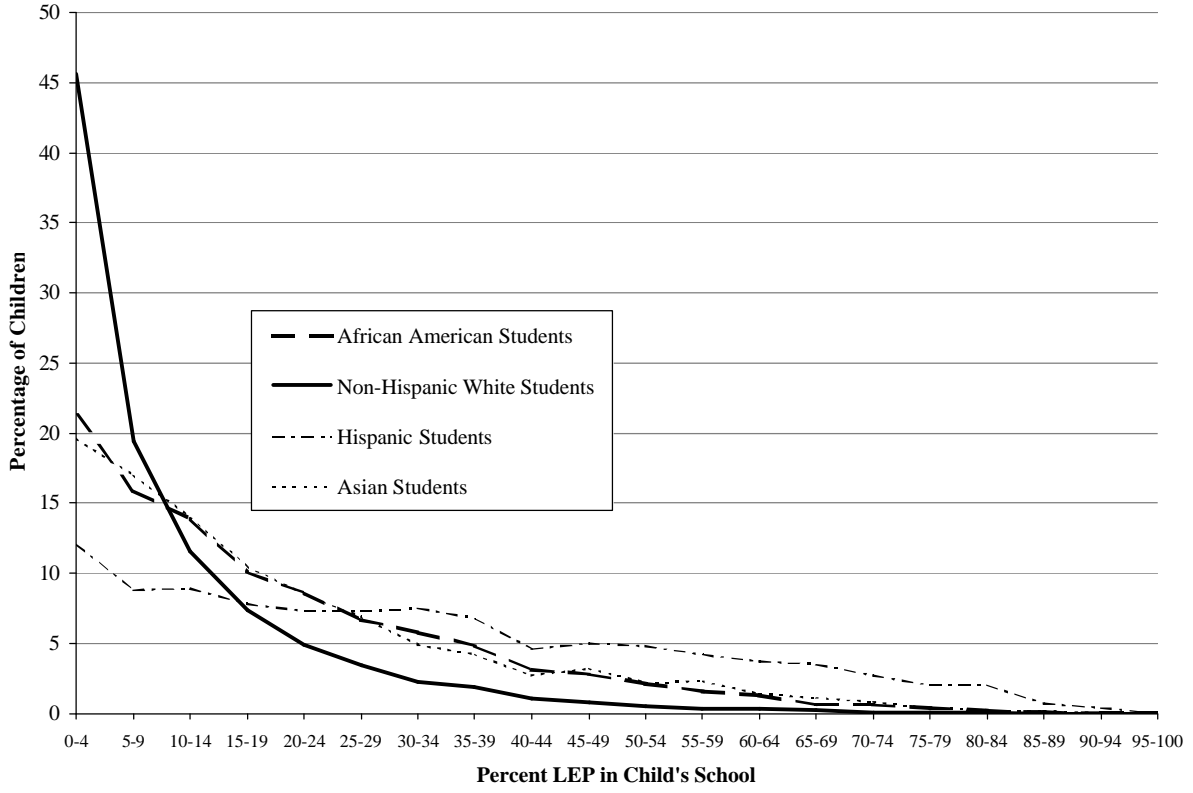


Figure 3

