

## **Dual Language as a Social Movement: Putting Languages on a Level Playing Field**

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*As a social movement, dual language challenges and co-exists alongside traditional English-only classrooms in the US. Using Manuel Pastor's social movements framework, we demonstrate how dual language provides teaching methods and languages of instruction that allow varying student populations to excel in learning the official curriculum. In this way, dual language addresses inequities in access to education and quality of instruction as addressed in the Civil Rights Movement in the U.S. and international agreements about the rights of children to learn in a language they understand. The U.S. dual language movement seeks to level the playing field for students and is sought by a range of schools, school systems, and states to meet the needs of increasingly diverse learners from a range of language and socioeconomic groups. In this paper, we address the quest of school leaders and parents to achieve successful academic results for Latino students through dual language programs. Drawing from a qualitative study of seven dual language programs in schools in two school districts, this article aims to explain how educators adapt dual language models to the needs of their changing communities. The schools' leadership led a process of academic innovations as they reshaped and improved the design of programs to serve their students. All the schools confirmed that they encountered difficulty in maintaining a 50-50 dual language model, but they also reported having to engage in continuous renewal and improvement in order to serve the needs of their communities. The article highlights the crucial role of the community in support of dual language learning and describes the empowerment networks of community actors that take part in education decision-making—which include parents, community education councils, and the schools' leadership. Through this research, we find Dual language programs, when combined with the rest of the schools' programs or when implemented across the school, to be one of the most innovative and effective forms of education programming.*

As a social movement, dual language challenges and co-exists alongside traditional English-only classrooms in the United States. Dual language provides teaching methods and languages of instruction that allow varying student populations to excel in learning the official curriculum. In this way, dual language addresses inequities in access to education and quality of instruction as addressed in the Civil Rights Movement in the United States and international agreements about the rights of children to learn in a language they understand. The U.S. dual language movement seeks to level the playing field for students and is sought by a range of schools, school systems, and states to meet the needs of increasingly diverse learners from a range of language and socioeconomic groups.

Manuel Pastor's ten elements of social movements (Pastor, 2013; Pastor & Ortiz, 2009) serve as a useful framework for understanding dual language programs as a social movement. Among the ten elements, Pastor first discusses three fundamental elements: (1) a vision and frame; (2) an authentic base in key constituencies; and (3) a commitment to the long haul. As described in this paper, dual language movements have a strong practice-based vision and frame and benefit

from vigorous support from parents of children in the programs. Next, Pastor points to four implementation tools: (4) an underlying and viable economic model; (5) a vision of government and governance; (6) a scaffold of solid research; and (7) a pragmatic policy package. Dual language works within the existing classroom instruction model to maximize the time children spend learning with teachers capable of instructing students in the target language in core curriculum. Meanwhile, research demonstrates the strength of the dual language model for all subgroups of children in reaching greater levels of academic achievement (Thomas & Collier, 2010; 2009; 1997). In essence, dual language defines a pragmatic policy package that can be adapted and used in diverse contexts for impressive results with varying populations of students. Finally, Pastor's three closing elements of social movements that highlight sustainability and scale are: (8) recognition of the need for scale; (9) a strategy for scaling up; and (10) willingness to network with other movements. Dual language has been shown in research studies to be more effective with scale, by having more than one classroom of students moving through a school. This scale within a school provides a teacher network and support system, embeds itself more deeply in the school leader vision, provides greater numbers to guard against the depleting effects of natural attrition in schools, and shores up community and parental support with more advocates for the program.

Bilingual education movements have been connected to the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s. In 1974, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in *Lau vs. Nichols* that California schools without special provisions to educate language minority students were violating the students' civil rights (Carrera, 1992). This decision gave impetus to the bilingual education movement. According to the 2010 U.S. Census, the number of people aged five and older who spoke a language other than English at home has more than doubled in the last three decades and at a pace four times greater than the nation's population growth. The percentage of non-English language speakers grew by 140 percent while the nation's overall population grew by 34 percent (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010).

Multilingual environments are not unique to the United States. In fact, research from the 1960s on bilingual education in Canada has been instrumental in shaping dual language models in the United States (Cloud, Genesee, & Hamayan, 2000). However, bilingual education has not only been prominent in Western and industrialized countries. International agreements such as the Convention on the Rights of the Child in 1989 have recognized that "the education of the child should be directed to ... the development of respect for the child's parents, his or her own cultural identity, language and values" (Article 29) and that "a child belonging to an [ethnic, religious, or linguistic minority] should not be denied the right ... to use his or her own language" (Article 30). Currently, the global development community is grappling more directly with how to teach children in multilingual environments. As student achievement data have uncovered a learning crisis, the global development community has awakened to critical flaws in post-colonial education systems. Children, especially in sub-Saharan Africa and Asia, are completing up to four years of school without the ability to read (UNESCO, 2014). Hence, the dual language movement in the United States has echoes in the current mother tongue education debates and policies in developing countries as well. Research and advocacy efforts point to the need for systems to accommodate the teaching of early grades in children's home languages to improve reading and learning outcomes.

Focusing on the call of an urban metropolitan area in the United States that is experiencing continuous demographic changes, this article seeks to expand our understanding of how dual language programs respond to community needs. Of special interest in this inquiry are *empowerment networks*, a phrase used in this article to refer to the ways in which communities, including parents, community education councils, and the school leadership, mobilize to take part in education decision-making. Pastor's second fundamental element of a social movement discussed previously is an authentic base in key constituencies. Dual language builds from the advocacy

of parents, teachers, and school leaders who experience the educational and social benefits of this approach. This article contributes to the literature on social movements and educational reform by illustrating how the most promising of the strategies to support English learners, the dual language classroom, has taken root in individual schools.

This article first describes the study. Next, it reviews the academic literature on social dual language programs as social movements. It then portrays the networks of community actors that support the programs in the schools, discussing their four main characteristics as identified in this research: flexibility in enrollment and flexibility in classroom composition; innovation through models of instruction, instructional materials, and teacher recruitment and certification; the role of the community networks; and cultural enrichment. We conclude by discussing dual language programs through Pastor's (2013) tenets on social movements.

### **The Study Design**

Within the research methodology used for the study, each of the seven schools is a case study. They are all in the Upper West Side of Manhattan, a part of New York City with significant demographic shifts, and within two school districts that operate dual language programs. (To protect the anonymity of the schools, this article does not include information identifying any of them.) As Table 1 demonstrates, each program was unique in its design. Overall, 100 dual language programs operate in different grades across the five New York City boroughs (New York City Department of Education, 2015). A strong emphasis on such programs under chancellor Carmen Fariña has resulted in 40 new dual language programs that will open in September 2015 (See Table 1).

Data collected from April to June 2010 address three areas of inquiry: (1) the demographic characteristics of districts and neighborhoods in the Upper Westside of Manhattan, (2) the program model, and (3) the extent of professional development opportunities and teaching resources available for teachers in both languages.<sup>1</sup> Data analysis is informed by Manuel Pastor's (2013) work on the social movements.

The use of purposeful sampling in this study provided rich in-depth information and understanding of classroom practices, policies, and negotiations with community actors. Qualitative data were drawn from several interview sources. Thematic analysis was used across all of the interviews and was structured following the research model of effective dual language instruction as proposed by Howard, Sugarman, Christian, Lindholm-Leary, & Rogers (2007). As they emerged, relevant themes were classified according to the inquiry areas. The content analysis of the interviews gave structure to the findings.

The research team interviewed 16 teachers, administrators, dual language coordinators, principals, and assistant principals in the seven schools; directors of the New York City Department of Education (NYCDOE), Office of English Language Learners (ELL) and the Office of ELL compliance; seven parents participating in the community education councils and in events such as the annual New York City special conference for parents of English learners; five parents of students in dual language programs; and two researchers in New York City and California, who expanded our view of dual language programs in the United States.

### **Literature on Dual Language Instruction**

The first element of social movements Pastor notes is (1) vision and a frame. Seeking academic achievement for all students is the broad vision and frame under which dual language came into being and began to amass its (6) scaffold of solid research. The benefits of dual language education have been documented in the research literature, particularly its impact on biliteracy, academic achievement, and socio-cultural enrichment for all students.

**Table 1. Dual Language Programs in Seven Upper Manhattan Schools**

| School | Number of Students in DL Programs School Year 2010/2011 | Percentage of Latino students in School 2010/11 | Percentage of White Students in School 2010/11 | Grades Offered in Dual Language | Total School Enrollment | Program as Described on School's Website                           | Program Model as Described by School Administrators*  |
|--------|---|---|--|---------------------------------|-------------------------|--|---|
| A      | 90  | 53 %  | 15%  | K-5                             | 678                     | The program is not mentioned explicitly on its website.            | Dual language self-contained model. Rollercoaster model (half day in Spanish, half day in English).                 |
| B      | 150   | 45%   | 28%  | K-3                             | 612                     | The program is called "Dual Language Gifted and Talented Program." | Dual language side-by-side and self-contained.<br><br>Rollercoaster model. Gifted and Talented is being phased out. |
| C      | 60  | 16%   | 67%  | K-5                             | 962                     | The program is called "Dual-Immersion Language Program."           | Spanish Dual Immersion.   |
| D      | 138   | 72%   | 6%   | K-2                             | 751                     | The program is not mentioned explicitly on its website.            | Dual language side-by-side. Eclectic model.   |
| E      | 204   | 98%   | 1%   | 6-8                             | 204                     | The school itself is presented as a Dual Language Middle School.   | Dual language. Eclectic model.  |
| F      | 22  | 35%   | 1%   | K-2                             | 198                     | The program is not mentioned explicitly on its website.            | Dual language self-contained. Rollercoaster model.  |
| G      | 26  | 49%   | 23%  | K-5                             | 482                     | The program is called "Dual Language."                             | Dual Language self-contained. side-by-side. **Spanish/English and French/English.                                   |

\*These descriptions refer to the actual implementation of the model as described by school administrators and observed by researchers in daily classroom practice.

\*\*All programs in these schools are in Spanish and English. School G has an additional French and English program.

Source: New York City Department of Education School Accountability Reports. Information compiled by the author.

### *Academic Benefits*

Several large-scale longitudinal studies have demonstrated measurable gains in academic achievement for students participating in dual language programs. One such study, conducted by Thomas and Collier (2003) confirmed that non-English speaking students enrolled in dual language programs were academically ahead of those in English-only programs, and their dropout rate was lower in those programs when compared with similar students in English-only programs. Another large-scale longitudinal study (Howard, Christian, & Genesee, 2004), commissioned by the Center for Research on Education, Diversity and Excellence (CREDE), demonstrated that non-English speaking students in two-way dual language programs scored nearly on par with native English speakers on English oral, reading, and writing measures. A fundamental element of dual language programs is that they are designed to put on a level playing field the status of the languages they use. Within schools, for example, Spanish and English have the same value within the programs. Howard et al. (2003) have reported that if the status of one of the two languages is lower, the program will fail to provide students with the same opportunity for high-level language arts instruction in their native language. Thus, having a balanced cultural environment is not only an important purpose of dual language programs, but also a key factor in their success. Gándara (1995) explored successful academic results in immigrant students, concluding, “across various immigrant groups, the most academically successful students were those who remained most closely allied with the culture of their parents” (p. 7). Gándara’s findings demonstrate that having language and cultures on an equal level promoted by dual language programs not only enhances the self-perception and well-being of students but also supports academic achievement. Once again, the scaffold of solid research that supports dual language and its ability to meet the need for a sound, basic education for all learners demonstrates its strength as a social movement.

### *Cooperative Language Learning and Cross-Cultural Competence*

Cooperative learning environments circumvent segregation by encouraging students to develop cross-cultural competence through learning together and from each other. Native English-speaking children and their parents are central to the success of dual language programs. The commitment of the monolingual English-speaking parents to their children’s acquisition of Spanish is essential. The seven- and eight-year-old children who can speak and understand Spanish are supporting the creation of a community of learners in the schools and gaining cross-cultural understanding. It is important, therefore, that dual language programs develop competence among native English speakers in a second language. This aim, however, must be placed within the context of the “Cautionary Note” in an article by Guadalupe Valdés (1997) on dual language education. She writes, “For minority children, the acquisition of English is expected. For mainstream children, the acquisition of a non-English language is enthusiastically applauded. Children are not aware of these differences (p. 417).” The analysis of the New York City case study, as discussed below, addresses the “Cautionary Note” of Valdés by reflecting on the multiple ways that this power imbalance is addressed and how conscious principals and teachers are that dual language programs do not become foreign language classes.

### **Study Findings: Language Education in New York City**

Changes in student demographics are one of the most urgent matters of concern for researchers of dual language education, according to the Dual Language Consortium (2008). They could be the result of gentrification, which produces an influx of a higher percentage of affluent English-dominant speakers; or they change could be the reverse, resulting in a higher percentage of lower income and Spanish-dominant speakers in the student population. Demographic shifts are especially relevant since dual language programs are designed to serve their communities and promote linguistic and cultural desegregation.

Demographic changes have an impact on the way in which programs can be implemented, given that they rely on the presence of two different linguistic groups: Spanish and English native

speakers. Even though dual language programs historically emerged in diverse socio-cultural and demographic contexts, the characteristics of student populations today shape their model of instruction and institutional support. The programs have become adaptable structures that change according to the particular environment where they are operating. Flexibility enables them to make necessary adjustments in order to be successful with the demographic group they serve. School communities are delineated by different geographic guidelines, such as district, catchment zone, and neighborhood. Mapping these borders is relevant to understanding how dual language programs work and identifying the particular challenges that schools face in light of current demographic shifts in the Upper West Side of Manhattan. Students who live in a certain school catchment zone are eligible to attend a local school within it. Catchment boundaries were randomly established by city government planning councils and have generated multiple challenges for the populations that would like to attend schools outside the catchments area. The general rule is that by living within the catchment zone, families have the right to enroll their child in a specific school within the zone. Admission for dual language programs in those schools, however, is often more competitive.

Dual language programs have been considered effective because they pair groups of students of different socio-cultural and linguistic backgrounds (Howard et al., 2004). Changes in the composition of the city neighborhoods generate challenges for enrollment and structure of dual language programs in different catchment zones of Manhattan. The ethnic composition of the population under age 18 has changed drastically in the two community districts. The most remarkable shift, between 1990 and 2000, occurred in one of the study districts; it is evidenced by a 22 percent decrease in the African American population, a 16 percent decrease in Latinos, and 17 percent increase in Whites. The second study district shows a different trend: a 96 percent increase in the Latino population, accompanied by a decrease in the white population (New York City Department of City Planning, 2010). These statistics confirm the different experiences reported by administrators in terms of the shortage, or disproportionately large number, of Latino students in their schools. Specifically, until 2000, the first community had a large number of Latino students under age 18. As the number of luxury high-rise buildings increased there, so did rents and the cost of services, resulting in a large number of Latinos leaving the neighborhood to move further north. Principals and teachers worried about maintaining the preferred model for its pedagogical applications and demonstrated effect on literacy development.

These two occurrences—the rise of Latino students and overcrowding of the programs in some parts of the district and the loss of Latino families and closing of the dual language programs in other neighborhoods—were, far from divergent incidents, a reflection of demographic shifts and their impact on dual language programs. While some of the schools have not been subjected to the problem of maintaining a program balance between the two languages, others were faced with the possibility of closing their programs altogether because they did not have enough Latino students.

By initiating a dialogue with the NYCDOE, school districts in the Upper West Side of Manhattan were working on understanding how to better address demographic shifts. In particular, the community education councils were in dialogue with the NYCDOE through their different constituents and they were represented by the multilingual committee in the district.

The conflict between the general purpose of dual language programs and the students they are ideally intended to serve is also illustrated by a recent initiative from a group of parents in a community education council in Manhattan's Upper West Side. The group sought support to open a dual language program in English and Mandarin. The number of constituents signing the petition was high, the community was organized, and the arguments provided were convincing; however, the NYCDOE was unable to honor their request because no one in that community was Chinese or spoke Mandarin at home. When interviewed, a representative of this

group expressed concern about the nature of the criteria for opening a dual language program and of the conditions to structure a program based on student composition and neighborhood demographics. These discussions illustrate the possibility of using dual language programs as potential enrichment or foreign language programs, which are increasingly seen as the equivalent of gifted and talented programs, at a time when they are being phased out of many schools.

While research shows that Latino parents experience difficulty in communicating their expectations to the school system, the case of dual language programs offers a different perspective by showcasing organized initiatives of parents who are vocal about their expectations. An important caveat, however, was reflected in a recently conducted study on dual language programs in California (Gándara & Hopkins, 2010) in which a clear difference was established between school-driven programs and parent-driven programs: some parent-driven programs were supported by parents who were better educated, better informed, and wealthier than other parents, which resulted in elitist programs. All the school principals interviewed in this study asserted their commitment to support school-driven programs to assure student academic success, to serve and enhance the culture and community within their schools, and to address the power imbalance defined by Valdés (1997) for dual language programs, so that such programs do not become merely foreign language programs for the more affluent students. These population shifts within neighborhoods and schools may once again demonstrate the authentic base in key constituencies within dual language as a social movement. Navigating and coming through these shifts are what will prove the strength of dual language as a social movement and its commitment to the long haul. Rather than remaining separate and arguably at odds, these parents groups will need to forge unified arguments and continue to push forward.

### **Community as key constituent**

The community—defined as the network of actors that take part in educational decisions—is a crucial factor in the operation of the programs. Community includes: (a) parents; (b) institutionalized boards, such as committees and community education councils; (c) the schools themselves through their outreach efforts with the city, the DOE; and (d) empowerment networks and affiliated organizations. Once again, to evidence a commitment to the long haul, dual language will need to move with these alliances and population shifts and continue to strengthen with their support and unified voice.

### *Parents*

Dual language programs have a long history of parental and community support. In fact, many of them were created in response to lobbying by the community. In an interview, one of the administrators of the Office of English Language of the NYCDOE shared multiple examples of organized initiatives by an increasing number of groups of parents who were demanding dual language programs in their schools. In addition, all the principals in the schools agreed that these programs were serving the needs of the community, as in the case with a French dual language program that was created to respond to the needs of the children through the efforts a group of organized Haitian parents. In the words of the principal in a school with a dual language program, “We already had a Spanish-English dual program; we honestly were not thinking about the French at that point. But a group of parents from the community came together, we listened, and the program is up and running since then.”

Indeed, the level of community involvement captured in the study revealed a culturally and economically diverse group of parents who felt heard and strongly supported by the school. One of the challenges that dual language programs continue to face, however, is that English monolingual middle-class parents tend to pull out their students in third grade for fear of having them miss out on standardized testing. Such transfers, persistently described by all the school principals in the study, resulted in an effort to add what one of them called a “comprehensive parental education component” to their dual language programs.

*Community councils*

All seven schools had strong connections between their dual language programs and their communities, which included not only the students' families, but also the organized and institutionalized neighborhood groups such as the multilingual committees or the community education councils (CECs).

*Languages on a level playing field*

Giving equal attention to teaching both languages was important not only for the success of the program but for student outcomes as well. The identity of dual language programs springs from their cultural component and their status within the schools. Either the programs were welcomed and greatly appreciated, or they were perceived as something external, an unfamiliar appendage to the school. In the latter case, their intrinsic value was not necessarily acknowledged and the teachers and students involved were not considered full members of the school community. Teachers interviewed for this study emphasized that language parity was an important factor for the students. For example, a Spanish teacher highlighted how students' pride in their own language grew:

It is their language [Spanish], they speak it, but they become proud of it and that's very important...they acknowledge that their language is more than 'go to bed,' '[brush] your teeth' ...if you talk to the students, they will tell you that they are really happy and proud to be in a school called dual language middle school, because they feel we are giving them something that they were losing.

**Table 2. School Report Cards**

| School | Grades        | Integration with the Rest of the School*                   | Score 2009/2010** | Score 2010/11 |
|--------|---------------|--|-------------------|---------------|
| A      | Entire school | n/a  | A                 | A             |
| B      | k-5           | Integrated   | B                 | B             |
| C      | k-2           | Integrated   | B                 | A             |
| D      | k-3           | Operates somewhat independently—separation of celebrations | C                 | C             |
| E      | k-5           | Operates independently                                     | C                 | C             |
| F      | k-2           | Operates independently                                     | C                 | C             |
| G      | k-5           | Operates independently                                     | C                 | F             |

\* Information reported on interviews. Integration means programs that have connection with the rest of the school in their different activities, celebrations, etc.

\*\* Source: [http://schools.nyc.gov/FindASchool/reportsearch.htm?name=P.S.%20163&report\\_name=progressreport](http://schools.nyc.gov/FindASchool/reportsearch.htm?name=P.S.%20163&report_name=progressreport)

Source: New York City Progress Report, Academic Year 2009/2010 and 2010/2011.

It is important to note that schools were using innovative strategies to support and respect non-English speaking students' native language. For instance, a program coordinator said that in the rollercoaster model, they were starting the day with Spanish because:

Spanish will become extinct if we do not give it enough support and respect. This is an English environment, so of course a child that comes from another country is going to



learn English right away, they have it in the backyard, but where is the Spanish? Where's the support?...So, you know the brain in the morning is much more awake for a child, so start with the Spanish and right after lunch English.

Every principal in the study acknowledged the benefits of dual language programs for student achievement. Their opinion is reflected in the students' scores. One of the principals remarked that they were "unprecedented gains in language arts, and by March, all but one kindergarten child was on or above grade level in both in both English and Spanish language arts." Further, as Table 2 shows, the only school to have implemented a dual language model for the entire school is also the only school to have obtained an A on its New York State Report Card in two consecutive years: 100 percent of the students made AYP (adequate yearly progress) in Math, Science and Language Arts.

### **Conclusion**

Community networks sustain dual language programs through words and actions. The school principals, teachers, and administrators interviewed for this study are strongly committed to their dual language programs. They lobby, secure resources, and do outreach in their communities as part of their efforts to demonstrate their support of these teaching and learning strategies. Organized community networking efforts beyond the schools can be seen in the work that parents and communities are doing through the community education councils and the multiple parental association councils. The community, as represented by these active agents of change, has increasing power to shape educational decisions and influence the way that the NYCDOE implements its bilingual education policies. However, attention must be paid to the particular characteristics of parental initiatives in order to guarantee that all parents are provided the same opportunities and the programs do not become elitist enclaves mainly spearheaded by the well-educated, wealthier segments of the population for which dual language programs are "foreign language education," thus addressing the "Cautionary Note" in an article by Guadalupe Valdés mentioned earlier on dual language education. Moreover, the fact that the stronger supporters are not only the monolingual English-speaking parents, but also the middle-class Spanish speaking parents is crucial to balancing the cultural environment in the schools, the status of languages in the classroom, and the cross-cultural competence of the students.

One key conclusion of the study is that an equal number of hours of instruction is not the only way of guaranteeing that each language is uniformly valued. The objective of dual language programs is to emphasize both languages and cultures equally, but this is possible even without using a highly structured instructional model or having an equal distribution of students speaking the two different languages. None of the seven schools had the highly structured programs described in the literature. Their principals reported the difficulty in maintaining a 50-50 dual language model, since as a result of demographic shifts some schools have experienced the rise of Latino students and overcrowding of the programs in some parts of the district, while the loss of Latino families is bringing about the closing of dual language programs in other neighborhoods. Some of the schools have not been subjected to the problem of maintaining a program balance between the number of students speaking the two languages, but others were faced with the possibility of closing their programs altogether because they did not have enough Latino students. For this reason, school principals lobbied for changes in the enrollment policies that limit Latino students to their catchment zone. This research, thus, has demonstrated the value of creating a more nuanced understanding of dual language programs. Despite variations in their programs, schools where the dual language model was well integrated were able to foster academic literacy in both languages. But still, dual language can be the most effective language program even if it cannot be fully implemented across the school. Interviewees highlighted the importance of integrating dual language programs into the rest of the school in order to share resources and activities and demonstrate the equal value of all languages and cultures.

In closing, this research in New York City found that the empowerment networks of community actors that take part in education decision making—which include parents, community education councils, the schools' leadership—have led to a process of academic innovation as they have reshaped and improved the schools' design to serve their students. Once again, Manuel Pastor's ten elements of social movements (Pastor, 2013) serve as a useful framework for dual language programs. As described in this paper, dual language movements have a strong practice-based vision and frame, benefit from vigorous support from parents of children in the programs. Among Pastor's four implementation tools, we focus on two of these: a scaffold of solid research and a pragmatic policy package. Dual language works within our existing classroom instruction model to maximize the time children spend learning with teachers capable of instructing students in the target language in the core curriculum. Meanwhile, research demonstrates the strength of the dual language model for all sub-groups of children in reaching greater levels of academic achievement (Thomas & Collier, 2010; 2009; 1997). In essence, dual language defines a pragmatic policy package that can be adapted and used in diverse contexts for impressive results with varying populations of students.

Finally, Pastor (2009) recognizes the need for scale, with a strategy for scaling up and willingness to network with other movements. Dual language has been shown in research studies to be more effective with scale, by having more than one classroom of students moving through a school. This scale within a school provides a teacher network and support system, embeds itself more deeply in the school leader vision, provides greater numbers to guard against the depleting effects of natural attrition in schools, and shores up community and parental support with more advocates for the program. As we demonstrated in tying current dual language movements to broader national and international bilingual education movements and to other civil rights movements, dual language has the potential to network across country and culture boundaries to achieve greater scale and strength. Census numbers in the United States point to the growing potential to harness learner populations and language-rich communities to scale dual language effectively.

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