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The English Learner Dropout Crisis: Causes, Costs, Consequences, and Solutions

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About the Author



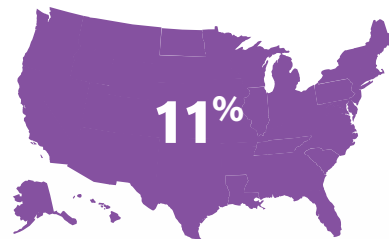
Lise Ragan, former English as a Second Language (ESL) teacher, has been a publisher, editor, and author of instructional materials for English learners and resources for their teachers for over three decades. In 1993, Lise founded Course Crafters, a curriculum development company that specializes in creating programs for the English learner market. Since then, she has developed scores of successful instructional programs and professional learning offerings to ensure the academic success of the English learner student population, Pre-K through Grade 12. Lise has also been a trainer, coach, and consultant to school districts and educational organizations, including educational publishers, educational technology companies, and non-profit organizations. She is recognized internationally for her research and expertise in the English learner market.

The English Learner Dropout Crisis: Causes, Costs, Consequences, and Solutions

Many children from homes in which a language other than English is spoken are English learners (ELs); that is, they are children who, based on an assessment of their English proficiency given by the school, are not fully English proficient. Conservative estimates show that English learner (EL) students account for 11 percent of the U.S. K–12 student population. If we add to that number former EL students (ELs who are no longer considered “limited English proficient”), estimates rise to 20 percent, or one in five students. Projections suggest that by the year 2025, one in four students in the classroom nationwide will be English learners (Klinger, Hoover, & Baca, 2008).

High school completion for the growing EL population is critical at both the individual and societal levels.

EL U.S. STUDENT POPULATION



BY 2025



an estimated **one in four** students in the classroom nationwide will be an English learner

Facts and Figures

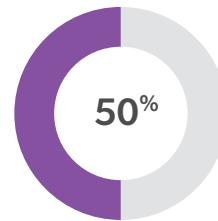
Graduation rates for English learners (ELs) are much lower than for the general population, 50 percent vs. 80 percent (Ross, 2015) and ELs are twice as likely as those with English proficiency to drop out of high school (Callahan, 2013; Belfield & Levin, 2007).

In their review of 25 years of dropout research, Rumberger and Lim (2008) identify EL students, along with disadvantaged minorities (Blacks, Hispanics, and Native Americans), as more likely to drop out than students belonging to other status groups. Twenty-five percent of EL students are identified as high school dropouts, compared to 18 percent of both special education and socioeconomically disadvantaged students, and 14 percent of the overall population.

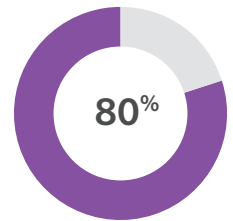
California alone enrolls more than one-third of the nation's EL students (Aud et al., 2012, Table A-8-1), with EL students accounting for 22 percent of the total enrollment in 2011–2012, and “ever-EL students” (or “long-term ELs”) for 21 percent (California Department of Education 2012). Long-term EL students may be especially at risk for dropping out, given their prolonged tenure in EL programs (see “*Long-Term English Learners*,” page 8).

The U.S. Census reports that by 2060, the number of Hispanic Americans will reach 31 percent of the general population. Although not all EL students are Hispanic, the vast majority are (80 percent), exacerbating the EL dropout dilemma with the well-documented Hispanic-White achievement gap. Nationally, 19 percent of Hispanic youth drop out, compared to 10 percent of Blacks, and five percent of Whites (Fry 2007).

GRADUATION RATES

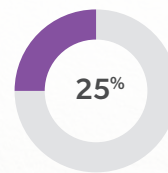


English learners

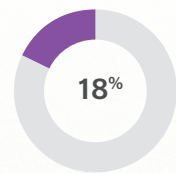


General population

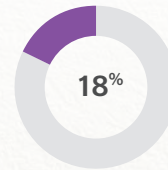
STUDENTS IDENTIFIED AS HIGH SCHOOL DROPOUTS



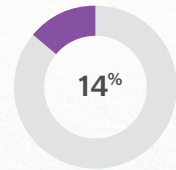
English learners



Special Education



Socioeconomically disadvantaged



General population

As the fastest growing segments of the U.S. population, Hispanic and EL students' high dropout rates pose a threat to the economic and civic future of American society. Making sure Hispanic students and all English learners stay in high school, graduate, and get a college education will in turn raise the quality of life for all Americans.

Factors and Risks Impacting EL Graduation

Dropping out is often described as a process, not an event, with certain risk factors building and compounding over time. “For some students, dropping out begins in early elementary school. Poor academic achievement, as early as elementary school, is one of the strongest predictors of dropping out” (Rumberger & Lim, 2008).

According to research, student and family characteristics account for most of the variability in dropout rates (Rumberger & Lim, 2008). Families have a significant impact on student achievement and graduation rates for all students, and ELs are no exception. In the case of ELs, their families may be ill equipped to engage with the school or might lack knowledge of school policies, rules, and systems (Christianson & Sheridan 2001; Guo 2006; Turney & Kao 2009). Also, the relatively high level of mobility among immigrant EL families (Olsen 1997; Ruiz-de-Velasco and Fix 2000) has the potential to increase EL students’ risk for dropping out.

In addition to student and family factors, about 20 percent of dropout rates can be attributed to characteristics of schools, including resources, structural features, and policies and practices (Rumberger & Lim, 2008).

Key factors for dropping out that are unique to English learners include tracking as a result of EL status, a high-stakes accountability system, and access to certified teachers.

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School and Program Factors

The following are some significant factors in schools that may put EL students at greater risk for dropping out.

Academic Achievement and ELs

Academic achievement is a stronger predictor of dropping out among EL students than among non-EL students (Callahan 2013). However, the academic achievement of ELs is a complex and multifaceted, and often elusive, objective. **Academic achievement reflects not only student ability, but also school factors, such as course placement and teachers' expectations. School practices designed to support EL students may prioritize language learning over academic content and inadvertently impact achievement.**

Federal educational policy has been in place for several decades to ensure that English learners experience equity of education with their English-proficient peers (Castañeda v. Pickard 1981; Lau v. Nichols 1974). However, federal requirements and policies such as EL classification, the provision of language support programs, and inconsistent EL program “exit” criteria all contribute to the EL dropout crisis.

EL Classification and Language Support Programs

Many, although certainly not all, children of immigrants speak a language other than English when they come to school. Based on federal guidelines, the English proficiency of all “language minority” students must be assessed upon entry into U.S. schools using an English language proficiency (ELP) assessment. Those students whose English is determined to be not yet sufficient to master academic content in English are thus identified or classified as *English (language) learners (ELs or ELLs)* by U.S. schools (National Clearinghouse for English Language Acquisition 2011).

Classification or identification into the EL status group alerts educators in a school that a student requires, and is legally entitled to, language support services in order to access grade-level content-area instruction. Federal civil rights statutes and case law entitle ELs to specialized instructional services that support both English language development and content proficiency attainment (Linguanti & Cook, 2015; Hakuta, 2011).

However, despite federal requirements that EL students receive linguistic support services, the types, levels, and quality of EL support services vary. A national survey of services and support for EL students reported that 16 percent received no EL services or support and an additional 34 percent received some, but not extensive, EL services in an English-only environment (Hopstock and Stephenson 2003).

In addition, the great diversity of English proficiency and academic competency within the EL student population complicates the provision of EL programs, especially appropriate support services.

EL Reclassification or “Exit”

Based on federal guidelines, EL students’ progress in English is assessed annually until results indicate that *reclassification* from limited English proficient to fluent English proficient is due, such that the student no longer requires linguistic support services to access academic content in English. The same English language proficiency assessment that was used upon entry to school is typically used to determine when EL students are ready to “exit” EL support programs, along with (sometimes) other measures.

The act of reclassifying an English learner (i.e., exiting them from EL to “former EL” status) is significant because it signals that educators have determined an EL student no longer requires specialized linguistic and academic support services she is legally entitled to receive in order to meaningfully participate in classroom learning, where the language of instruction is English.

Although there is no specific time for which EL students remain EL classified, students generally remain an “English learner” until they demonstrate not only English proficiency, but also grade-level academic competency (Ragan and Lesaux 2006). However, English language proficiency (ELP) assessments, standards, and regulations regarding EL exit criteria vary from state to state, and are in many cases not adequate or reliable for predicting academic success. In fact, in a 2015 study on EL reclassification published by CCSSO, authors Robert Linqanti and H. Gary Cook found that 29 states and the District of Columbia rely solely on the state ELP assessment for reclassifying ELs, with no consideration of additional criteria (Linqanti & Cook, 2015).

As part of this study, CCSSO published recommendations on how states and school districts should reclassify ELs as “former ELLs,” with the goal of making this process more consistent and reliable. In this publication, the authors state:

In effect, exit from EL status is a high-stakes decision because a premature exit may place a student who still requires specialized support related to her linguistic needs at risk of academic failure (R. Linqanti and H.G. Cook, 2015).

Long-Term English Learners

The high-stakes exit status decision has had a number of serious consequences, notably a growing incidence of “long-term English (language) learners,” also known as “ever-ELs.” These are the EL students, often no longer fluent in the language of the home (Portes and Hao 1998; Wong Fillmore 1991), who have not yet been exited from EL support programs; long-term ELs are significantly at-risk for dropping out (Oakes 2010).

A 2011 study published by the National Center for Research on Evaluation, Standards, and Student Testing (CRESST) on English (language) learner status and school persistence, states that “after accounting for academic achievement, behavioral issues, background, and district contexts, the longer a student is designated as an ELL, the more likely he or she is to drop out.” (Kim, CRESST, 2011). As Kim says in the Introduction to this study:

*...the longer
a student is
designated as an
ELL, the more
likely he or she is
to drop out.*

The heart of the problem lies in the tension between assuring sufficient English language proficiency (ELP) in mainstream classrooms and avoiding potential negative consequences of protracted ELL status (Kim, 2011). **Eighty percent of second generation immigrant children labeled as long-term English learners at the elementary level continue to be categorized as having limited English language ability at the secondary level** (Calderón et al. 2011:104).

Some estimates suggest that 50–60 percent of high school EL students, who have been schooled primarily in U.S. contexts, are considered ‘long-term’ (Olsen 2010; Ruiz-de-Velasco and Fix 2000).

High-Stakes Accountability and Focus on Testing

Failure on minimum competency tests and other assessments motivates students’ decisions to drop out of school (Bishop and Mane 2001), especially among racial and linguistic minority youth. In fact, Reardon and colleagues (2010) found that rather than improving student performance, high school exit exams effectively lowered graduation rates, especially in high minority regions.

NCLB brought with it—and ESSA continues—the inclusion of EL students in state accountability measures. The academic assessment of EL students still varies greatly from state to state (Ragan and Lesaux 2006), but it is “high stakes” for ELs, as it is for all students.

Because they are learning English, EL students’ test scores often reflect their proficiency in English as much as their competence in math, language arts, science, or history (Abella, Urrutia, and Shneyderman 2005; Lam 1993).

In addition to content-area and minimum competency tests, EL students are subject to annual English proficiency assessments (Menken 2008; Wright and Li 2008). As a result, a greater proportion of EL students’ instructional time is given over to assessment and preparation for assessment compared to their non-EL peers.

Course Placement and Academic Stratification (Tracking)

Early, accurate high school course placement strongly predicts end of high school achievement and completion. Systematic placement of racial and ethnic minority students in low-track classes has been found to decrease their likelihood of high school graduation, and increase the risk of dropping out (Lucas 1999; Oakes 1985). This issue, of course, is not limited to EL students, but rather applies to the majority of students placed in relatively low-level academic coursework.

A number of scholars argue that schools' placement of EL students, which may prioritize linguistic above academic needs, may in fact exacerbate the academic struggles of some EL students. Some provision of language support services are of course required as ELs develop English proficiency; however research suggests that current programs may favor the most recent immigrants, and may poorly serve long-term ELs, who have been in U.S. schools for some time (Callahan, Wilkinson, and Muller 2010; Mosqueda 2010).

Systematic placement of EL students in lower level content-area classes due to their EL status—not their academic ability—poses threats to their academic and social potential. Content-area placement cannot, and should not, be associated with a student's linguistic competency in English. For too long, we have conflated limited English proficiency with limited intelligence; the parameters of EL programs need to address the range of English as well as academic proficiency across the EL student population.

Teacher Expectations

In a recent review of the literature, Jussim and Harber (2005) argue that regardless of actual student performance, low teacher expectations may have a powerful effect among students from stigmatized groups, such as EL students.

The conflation of low expectations and 'caring', alternately referred to as the "Ay Bendito" (Antrop-González and De Jesús 2006) or "Pobrecito" (Berzins and López 2001; Manzo 2003) syndrome, has proven particularly problematic for EL students. The "kind" nature of these syndromes obscures the possible side effect of low educational achievement.

The Importance of Engaging EL Families

More than 50 years of research supports the importance of parental and family engagement for improved student achievement, better school attendance, and reduced dropout rates, regardless of socioeconomic background or ethnicity (Waterman & Harry, 2008; M. Beatriz Arias & Milagros Morillo-Campbell 2008).

However, EL families can face unique barriers to effective engagement with their children's school, especially those that arise from a lack of conversational English, which in turn can inhibit engagement with the school on a number of fronts. Differences in cultural expectations around the role families play in their children's schooling, and unfamiliarity with the norms of U.S. schooling (Christianson & Sheridan 2001; Guo 2006; Turney & Kao 2009) are other barriers. At the high school level, EL families' lack of understanding of the school system can have an impact on student achievement and graduation.

Romo and Falbo's (1996) work on Latino achievement in Texas found that students whose parents had little understanding of the differences between levels of high school classes were likely to accept placement into low-track coursework without question. Students, especially children of immigrants whose parents are unfamiliar with the U.S. system, often fail to question the authority of the counselor who has placed them in low-level academic coursework. **The ability to graduate from high school can also be at risk when an EL family does not know that placement in some low-track classes can compromise their students' ability to meet high school graduation requirements. Knowing which questions to ask about implications of course placement is therefore an essential practice for EL families, yet language barriers may prevent them from gaining this knowledge.**

Costs and Consequences of Dropping Out

There are significant costs and consequences of not graduating from high school:

1. **Economic:** High school graduates earn a national average of \$8,000 more annually compared to high school dropouts. In the end, the lifetime earnings of high school dropouts are \$260,000 LESS than peers who earn a diploma (<http://impact.all4ed.org/#national/increased-investment/all-students>).

The financial ramifications of dropping out of high school hurt more than the individual. It is estimated that half of all Americans on public assistance are dropouts. A study out of Northeastern University found that high school dropouts cost taxpayers \$292,000 over the course of their lives (Sum et al, 2009).

2. **Societal:** Over 80 percent of the incarcerated population are high school dropouts—making this an issue that truly impacts every member of the community. The incidence of institutionalization problems among young high school dropouts was more than 63 times higher than among young four-year college graduates (Sum et al, 2009).

3. **Civic:** High school dropouts are significantly less likely to vote and to participate in the core of civic society (Goldstein 2006). There is interesting research highlighting the critical importance of high school coursework and graduation to ensure a minimal level of civic and political participation among the growing number of children of immigrants. In a study investigating the role of high school social science coursework and performance on young adults' later political participation, Callahan, Muller and Schiller (2010) found social science coursework to matter for immigrant youth in a way that it did not for children of U.S.-born parents. Specifically, net of overall academic achievement and attainment, social science course credits were directly associated with the odds of voting and registering to vote among children of immigrant parents, but not for the children of U.S.-born parents (Callahan, Muller, and Schiller 2010).

Solutions to the EL Dropout Dilemma

Based on a framework developed by Rumberger (2011), the following section will explore some solutions to the EL dropout dilemma on two levels: (1) targeted reforms at the programmatic and school levels; (2) systemic reforms to the field of education in general.

Reforms at the School and Programmatic Levels

Schools can change the trajectory of our EL students and their success in high school by making some of the following reforms.

Establishing High School Conditions to Graduate College- and Career-Ready ELs

Focusing on school conditions and practices that make the growing population of English learners more successful in high school has been shown to result in more students who graduate and are ready for college and careers.

A 2015 study of six U.S. high schools with strong outcomes for their English learners (Castellon et al 2015) noted that all of the schools shared certain values that guided daily actions and decision making, shaped how students and their families experienced the schools, and allowed students to thrive. I am highlighting four of these here, which resonate for me and reflect our recent work.

- 1. *The school puts forth an ambitious mission focused on preparing all students for college and career success.*** “From the moment students walk through the door of the school, it is conveyed to them repeatedly that they can and will succeed. This mindset goes beyond high expectations.”
- 2. *The entire school shares responsibility for students’ success.*** Everyone in the school contributes significantly toward and takes responsibility for the success of every student. This includes staff members, network partners, parents, and even students themselves, who know to ask for help when they need it, and who frequently help other students when they are struggling.
- 3. *The school is highly attuned to students’ needs and capacities.*** Everything starts with the students themselves. Courses, schedules, and other structures are designed and adapted with the ever-changing EL student population in mind, including the variety of unique language and cultural backgrounds and language proficiencies.
- 4. *There is a strong sense of pride in and respect toward all cultures.*** The school values the diversity of students’ languages and cultures and invests time and resources to understand the experiences of students. Students feel proud of their unique identities and abilities, and are guided to respect those of their peers as well.

Academic Support

Movement out of EL programs and success in high school requires not only demonstration of English proficiency, but also grade-level content-area academic proficiency (Mahoney and MacSwan 2005; Ragan and Lesaux 2006). The presence of long-term EL students in our schools indicates a need to focus on the academic orientation of our EL programs.

Reframing EL education to focus on academic rigor along with English acquisition has the power to address one of the root causes of the EL dropout dilemma: poor academic preparation.

Nesserodt's (2007) case study of a high school reform process provides an account of a comprehensive response to lower-than-expected EL performance. These comprehensive reforms included academic and linguistic support services integrated across all content-area departments: math, science, social science, ESL and English language arts (ELA).

Schools engaging EL families as partners in ensuring their children's academic success, starting in pre-K and early elementary and through high school, is essential to addressing the EL dropout dilemma.

Researchers cite parent-family-community involvement as a key to addressing the school dropout crisis (Belfield & Levin 2007).

Teacher Preparation and Professional Development

Prior research shows a relationship between teacher certification and EL student graduation. In their LAUSD study, Silver and colleagues (2008) found that although teacher certification did not have a direct effect on the school graduation rate, it did mediate the dropout risk associated with EL status.

Systemic Shifts

EL students are already at risk; their exclusion from the population of high school graduates will only increase the economic and civic disparities that confront U.S. society. ELs are also further classified by an educational system that measures their value in terms of their lack of English proficiency instead of the assets that they bring, notably biculturalism and potential bilingualism.

The EL dropout dilemma threatens the economic and civic future of our nation; it cannot be addressed solely through piecemeal solutions. Only through concerted efforts by policy makers and educators will EL education shift from a compensatory, deficit-oriented approach to an additive, academically centered design. *Only a systemic paradigmatic shift will fully prepare EL students, academically and socially, for higher education and the workforce.* (Callahan 2013)

Systemic shifts are required to help to alleviate the EL dropout crisis and fully prepare ELs as future leaders, for school, college, and career success.

A Shift in Focus: From Deficit to Additive Education

Traditionally, the educational policy that motivates education has framed EL students as products of their perceived language needs (Gold and Maxwell-Jolly 2006). In response, **educational theorists have long argued for the need to discuss EL students and their educational programs not based on what they lack (e.g., English), but rather on the resources they bring to the classroom (Moll and González 1994). From a language policy perspective, this shift positions EL students' home language as a resource rather than a problem** (Ruiz 1984).

Many studies support the cognitive, as well as social and economic benefits of bilingualism (Bialystok 2009). Among language minority youth, maintenance of the primary language can be instrumental in facilitating educational attainment. White and Kaufman (1997) find bilingual youth 17 percent less likely to drop out of high school than those who speak only English.

Although EL students enter the U.S. educational system with numerous linguistic and cultural resources, their bilingual and bicultural assets remain largely untapped. In addition, many familial, individual, and societal factors interfere with the development of bilingualism in ELs in U.S. schools. The loss of the home language often occurs within one generation, where in the past the process took at least two generations within a family (Portes and Hao 1998).

Here are specific strategies to support this systematic shift in focus:

- **Provide professional development for educators** that focuses on practices that reflect the assets EL students and families bring to school, such as proficiency in their first language, and how it can serve to bridge growth in English and academics.
- **State and federal policy can and should support and promote biliteracy;** doing so offers considerable economic and academic advantages for the future. Thirteen states now offer a “seal of biliteracy,” and at least 10 more are working toward implementing a similar award. (Education Week, 2015). Since January of 2012, California, the largest enrollment EL state, has awarded a seal of biliteracy to more than 10,000 high school graduates who demonstrate high levels of proficiency speaking, reading, and writing in one or more languages and English.
- **Help EL families to understand early, when their children are in Pre-K, the benefits of being bilingual** and how they can support and develop their children’s home language and encourage them to become strong in English as well.

Conclusion

Conservative estimates show that current EL students account for 11 percent of the U.S. K–12 student population; if we add to that number former English learners, estimates rise to one-in-five students. High school completion for the growing EL population is critical at both the individual and societal levels.

Before any programmatic changes can be made that will help more ELs to be academically successful, stay in school, and graduate, a shift in how English learners and their families are perceived is needed. Asset-based thinking will allow educators, families, and EL students to work as equal partners to ensure that every EL student reaches his or her full potential.

In closing, here is an excerpt from the Introduction to “Innovations in Educational Equality for English Language Learners,” by Rosann Tung (Annenberg Institute for School Reform 2013), as it appears in the *HMH Family Engagement* program.

Rather than write about EL education as a problem, dilemma, achievement gap, or crisis, these innovative practitioners, scholars, and policy analysts **shift the paradigm**, reminding and urging us to embrace ELs as the very community members who, when well educated, will be the bicultural, bilingual leaders who improve our city neighborhoods and help us participate effectively in the global economy (Tung, 2013, Annenberg Institute for School Reform).

If it continues on its current course, the EL dropout phenomenon stands to extract significant individual costs as well as major social, economic, and civic costs to the larger society through the loss of talent and human capital. Let’s change that course together.

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