

The Education of Latinos In Northern Manhattan Schools

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Abstract

Focusing on students from Latin American and Caribbean origin, this paper examines demographic shifts taking place in Northern Manhattan and their implications for education. The goal is to understand the educational experiences of Latinos, who constitute 40 percent of the students in New York City schools, by using as a case study the ten schools in the Harlem Schools Partnership. The low graduation rate of Latinos highlights how the new accountability measures introduced by the New York State Board of Regents have increased their dropout rates. One of the issues affecting the academic trajectories of Latinos is a school practice of tracking them into English as a Second Language (ESL) programs. Further, there is a shortage of dual language programs, in spite of substantial research confirming their positive influence on academic performance and the acquisition of academic English. Given the demonstrated need to improve the quality of education for Latino students to increase their academic success, the paper offers policy recommendations and suggestions for additional research to support the implementation of more effective education programs.

Introduction

Immigration is changing the demographic landscape of urban and rural areas alike, with thousands of immigrants entering the borders of the U.S. each year. The constant influx of immigrants

has created an enormous challenge for many public institutions. Many of them speak a language other than English and come from low-income areas in their country of origin. Those who work with arriving groups need to be aware of their specific characteristics, but the educational system, which helps Latino immigrant youth and Latino native-born children integrate into American society, is not yet well suited to address this reality (Capps Fix, Murray, Ost, Passel, and Herwanto 2005).

New York City, in particular, has seen a massive resurgence of immigration in the last three decades. The number of foreign-born residents nearly doubled between 1970 and 2000. New York census data published in 2004 identified the Dominican Republic as the largest source country, while northern Manhattan showed some of the most intense residential settlement patterns for new immigrants (New York City Department of City Planning 2004). Acutely reflecting city-wide demographic shifts, the population to the immediate east and north of Teachers College and Columbia University has seen significant changes. One in every five Manhattanville and South/Central Harlem residents is foreign-born, and a quarter of them are Dominican. In Hamilton Heights and South Washington Heights, where the influx of new immigrants has been the greatest, half of all residents are foreign-born; as many as two thirds are Dominican. Other Latino populations — Mexicans,



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Colombians, and Ecuadorians, in particular — have also moved into these areas, although to a lesser degree until recently when there has been growth of the Mexican population.

These demographic shifts have significant implications for education. First and foremost, there are large numbers of U.S.-born children of Latin American and Caribbean families in the area schools. Ruiz-de-Velasco, Fix, and Clewell (2000) document how, in the midst of high and increasing rates of poverty and segregation among immigrant communities, immigrant youth are both “overlooked and underserved” in high-need schools. In the case of their U.S. born siblings, Abedi (2004) illustrates how high-stakes standardized testing — in particular, yearly assessments in language arts, science, and mathematics, required under the No Child Left Behind (NCLB) Act — has aggravated the capacity of schools to support English language learning, placing tremendous pressure on schools with high numbers of Latino students. The educational impact on Latino students has been detrimental. In New York City, the Department of Education (2008a) recently reported a 53.4 percent graduation rate for Latinos, compared with a 79 percent overall rate for whites.

Programs and policies need to be targeted to Latino students. Doing so requires a deep understanding of their needs, identities, and experiences. Such knowledge is essential for creating successful educational strategies for the Latino community (Pedraza and Rivera 2005). Building on quantitative and qualitative data, this paper aims to demonstrate that a greater understanding of Latino students’ countries of origin, language, and cultural contexts is crucial to strengthening public education and addressing the learning needs of Latino students. To achieve this aim, five schools included in the Harlem Schools Partnership will be used as examples.¹

To promote more effective teaching and to demonstrate the academic trajectories of Latinos in Northern Manhattan, this paper starts by looking at the characteristics of students and families from Latin American and Caribbean origin. It pays particular attention to the newest groups, the Dominican and Mexican populations, even though Puerto Ricans

comprise the largest group of Latinos in the City. It seeks to determine the implications of demographic information on school-based support programs for students, teaching, curricula and professional development. Using data from New York City and the NYC Department of Education, the paper offers an in-depth description of the Latino population vis-à-vis its socioeconomic status and labor force participation.

The next section of this paper provides an overview of Latin American and Caribbean immigration and its impact on urban education. It is followed by a section describing general trends for Latino household income, poverty status, and employment in New York City, and then a section that reviews the education of the Latino population in New York City. A section follows that describes Northern Manhattan’s Latino and immigrant population, with special attention to the schools that provide descriptive data for this paper. The penultimate section discusses the effect of immigration, culture, and language on education. The last section makes recommendations for policy and further research.

The Impact of Latino Students on Urban Education

The Extent of Immigration

The U.S. Current Population Survey (2004) shows that in 2003 there were more than 33.5 million foreign-born individuals in the country, representing about 11.7 percent of the population. Of these, 53.3 percent were born in Latin America and the Spanish-speaking Caribbean, 25 percent in Asia, 13.7 percent in Europe, and the remaining 8.0 percent in other regions. Nearly 17 percent of children under age 18 in the U.S., or 11.5 million children, live with a foreign-born parent, while the proportion of children under age six reaches almost 34 percent (U.S. Census Foreign Population Report 2000). These statistics illustrate the immigration boom of the last two decades, during which 57 percent of the nation’s foreign-born population entered the United States (U.S. Census Bureau 2009).

The Latino population has become the largest and fastest growing in the country. Both geographical proximity and the effects of economic globalization on Latin American economies have propelled thousands of people to migrate to the U.S. in search of better opportunities. A significant proportion of those who migrated has low educational attainment and comes from low-income families. These immigrants generally have little or no knowledge of the

¹ The Harlem Schools Partnership was started with a grant from the General Electric Foundation to Teachers College and the Fu Foundation School of Engineering and Applied Science at Columbia University. It is currently in its first year of a five-year demonstration project to improve science and math education in New York City public schools. The aim is to develop an interdisciplinary, inquiry-based science and math curriculum, to advance teachers’ subject matter knowledge, to improve teachers’ pedagogical content knowledge, to enhance pedagogical practice, and to help English language learners achieve academically, creating a model and materials for science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM) education that can be used across New York City.

English language, making acculturation into American society even more challenging.

About 97 percent of the foreign-born population from Mexico and the Dominican Republic age five and older speak a language other than English at home (U.S. Census 2009). Further, more than 70 percent of the people in the U.S. who were born in Mexico, Guatemala, Honduras, and El Salvador age five and older identify themselves as able to speak English less than “very well.” In addition, the data show that a quarter of the population born in the Dominican Republic and Mexico is living in poverty, compared with 13 percent of the total U.S. population, and 16 percent of the foreign-born (U.S. Census Bureau 2009).

The Education Experiences of Latinos

Immigration is having a profound impact on the nation’s urban schools. The number of children of Latin American and Caribbean descent in schools has grown rapidly — to the point where today these students are the second largest group after whites. Moreover, Latino immigrant children account for 58 percent of all immigrant youth in the country. Nearly 45 percent of the Latino children attending U.S. schools are English Language Learners (ELLs). It is important to underscore that many of these children were born in the U.S.; in fact, 77 percent at the elementary level are U.S. born, 59 percent have immigrant parents, 18 percent are children of U.S.-born parents, while only 24 percent are foreign-born (Kohler and Lazarin 2007). Although the citizenship status of the children may differ, the key point for both the native- and foreign-born groups is that Spanish is the language of the home for them.

Even though Latino student enrollment in schools has increased, the rate of school completion has not changed. Latino students drop out of high school at disquieting rates and have made virtually no progress in their level of college attendance or completion in the last 20 years. Only ten percent of Latino students who enter kindergarten graduate from college (The Education Trust 2006). Latino children are less likely to attend early childhood education programs, they represent a small proportion of the student population enrolled in gifted and talented programs, and they are more likely to attend schools or programs within schools that offer less rigorous academic courses.

Latino students are also less likely to attend postsecondary education institutions. While 41.7 percent of whites and 31.8 percent of African Americans age 18-24 are enrolled in higher education, only 24.7 percent of Latinos of the same age group are enrolled (Kohler and Lazarin 2007). Postsecondary graduation rates for Latinos are substantially lower than for other groups, standing at 12.4 percent, compared with 18.5 percent for Blacks and 28.4 percent for whites (Orfield 2009). In the case of New York State, only 6.9 percent of Latinos had a bachelor’s degree in 2000 (De Jesús and Vasquez 2005). Although the academic achievement of Latino students improved as a result of the civil rights movement during the 1970s and 1980s, when compared with the achievement of white students, the last two decades have seen an increasingly widening gap, higher dropout rates, and lower graduation rates for the Latino population (Haycock 2001).

The Latino Population in New York City

Size and Composition

New York City and Los Angeles are the two cities with the highest number of foreign-born residents in the country. Over one third of New York City residents — 2.82 million, or 35.9 percent of the city’s population — were born outside the U.S. Latin America and the Spanish-speaking Caribbean are the largest regions of origin (32 percent), followed by Asia (24 percent), the non-Spanish speaking Caribbean (21 percent), Europe (19 percent), and Africa (3 percent). The Dominican Republic, Mexico, and Ecuador rank among the top ten countries of national origin for the New York City population (New York City Department of City Planning 2004).

Migration is not the only source of growth for the Latino population. The group’s growth is also related to its members’ high fertility rates. Approximately 70 percent of the Mexican population in the city is younger than age 29. The age group of five years and younger is showing a significant increase, as are all school-aged groups, representing the children of the thousands of men and women from Mexico who have come to the U.S. in search of economic opportunity. Table 1, for example, shows that both in 1999 and 2005 the percentage of school-aged Latino children is increasing.

**TABLE 1:
SCHOOL-AGED LATINO CHILDREN AS A PERCENTAGE OF LATINO POPULATION IN NEW YORK CITY 1999 AND 2005**

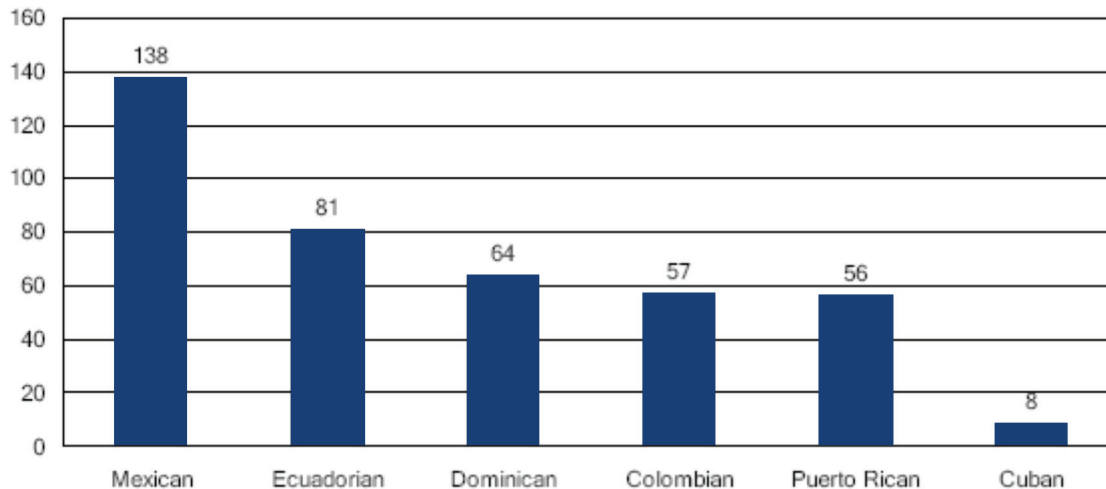
AGE GROUPS	PUERTO RICANS		DOMINICANS		OTHER HISPANIC		MEXICANS	
	1999	2005	1999	2005	1999	2005	1999	2005
5 or younger	8.5	10.0	9.1	10.5	7.8	9.6	12.1	15.8
6 to 14	15.8	17.0	17.2	18.4	13.2	13.0	13.5	10.7
15 to 19	8.0	7.3	10.4	7.8	6.7	6.7	6.9	8.1
School Aged	32.3	34.3	36.7	36.7	27.7	29.3	32.5	34.6
20 to 24	7.0	6.6	7.2	7.0	7.9	7.8	14.5	15.8
25 to 29	6.4	7.7	6.9	8.8	9.5	10.4	14.0	19.0
30 to 34	6.6	8.9	7.3	9.9	8.4	9.4	13.4	10.9
35 to 39	8.4	7.8	8.3	8.5	7.5	10.5	10.1	8.3
40 to 44	7.7	7.3	8.4	8.1	9.6	7.0	5.8	4.7
45 to 64	22.1	19.4	19.6	15.7	20.9	19.2	8.4	5.2
65 and older	9.5	8.0	5.6	5.3	8.5	6.4	1.3	1.5
Mean	33.8	31.7	30.6	28.2	33.7	32	25.4	23.7
Median	33	30	29	28	32	31.7	25	24

Source: Information compiled by the author, based on U.S. Census Bureau (1999 and 2005).

The Mexican population that arrived most recently is also the group that has been growing fastest due to high fertility rates. Figure 1 shows that Mexican women have the highest birth rate among foreign-born mothers. Birth rate statistics are of particular importance as they represent a challenge for education leaders in the city: in the next five years the number of students who speak Spanish at home will increase, thus also increasing the amount of resources needed to teach English and to support the academic success of

Latino students. Furthermore, demographers expect this trend to be steady. The fertility rate among Latino women in 2006 was the highest, with 2.96 children per woman, compared with 2.11 for non-Latino black women and 1.86 for non-Latino whites. Given the declining birth rate among U.S.-born women, Latino immigrants and their U.S.-born children and grandchildren who already account for most of the nation's population increase will triple by 2050 (Pew Hispanic Center 2008).

FIGURE 1: BIRTH RATES AMONG SELECTED LATINO NATIONALITIES IN NEW YORK CITY, 2006
(Number of Live Births per 1,000 Women Ages 15-44)



Source: Bergad (2008)

Following national trends, the Mexican population in New York City dramatically increased by 57.7 percent since 2000: to an estimated 289,755 in 2007 (Bergad 2008). This growth — 27 percent from 2005 to 2007 — is a result of the continuing arrival of migrants and the high birth rates of Mexican women already living in the city. Approximately two thirds of the Mexicans living in the city are foreign-born, and one third, all of them children, was born in the city (Bergad 2008).

Income

The New York City Department of City Planning, using data from the 2000 Census, provides information on the household income of the Latino population, and demonstrates that the group's income is lower than the median for the city. As shown in Table 2, while the median household income for New York City is \$37,000, Dominicans have a

median income of \$25,300, or 31 percent less than the city median. Mexicans earn an average of \$32,000, or 13 percent less than city average. Even though Mexicans are concentrated in lower paying jobs, most Mexican households have more than one family member contributing to the household income: 1.8 average workers compared with 1.1 for the Dominicans. The pooling of income explains the significant difference between the two groups. In spite of such pooling, as Table 2 shows, 32 percent of the city's Mexican population lives in poverty, as does 30.9 percent of the Dominican population. By 2007 the percentage of the Mexican population living in poverty decreased to 25.6 percent, while the Dominican level stayed at more or less the same (for additional comparisons of income among Latino groups, see Bergad 2008).

TABLE 2: HOUSEHOLD INCOME AND POVERTY STATUS BY COUNTRY OF BIRTH, NEW YORK CITY, 2000

	HOUSEHOLD INCOME			POVERTY	
	MEDIAN	RATIO: SUBGROUP TO TOTAL	AVERAGE WORKERS PER HOUSEHOLD	PERSONS FOR WHOM POVERTY STATUS HAS BEEN DETERMINED	PERCENT IN POVERTY
Total, New York City	\$37,000	1	1.1	7,853,336	21.1
Native-born	\$39,900	1.06	1	4,994,540	21.5
Foreign-born	\$35,000	0.93	1.2	2,858,796	20.4
Dominican Republic	\$25,300	0.67	1.1	369,002	30.9
Mexico	\$32,000	0.85	1.8	123,265	32
Ecuador	\$36,000	0.95	1.5	111,337	21.9
Colombia	\$35,000	0.93	1.3	83,288	20.2
Honduras	\$27,000	0.72	1.1	30,570	27.7

Source: New York City Department of City Planning (2004).

Labor Market Participation

Table 3 demonstrates that the rising level of education for Latinos is not reflected in their participation in the labor market in New York City. Latinos continue to work predominantly in the lowest paying occupations in the service sector, although Dominicans and Mexicans have seen a slight growth in participation in management

positions in the last five years. All Latino groups have increased their participation in the food preparation and food services industry, with 25 percent of the Mexican labor force concentrated in this type of occupation. Another 15 percent of Mexicans work in sewing shops, cleaners, laundromats, and other occupations in the service sector.

TABLE 3: OCCUPATIONS BY ETHNICITY, NEW YORK CITY, 1999 AND 2005

OCCUPATIONS	PUERTO RICANS		DOMINICANS		OTHER HISPANIC		MEXICANS	
	1999	2005	1999	2005	1999	2005	1999	2005
Managers/Professionals	20.2	19.9	11.2	12.4	17.7	15.2	6.8	9.5
Technical, Sales & Administrative Support Occupations	29.0	21.1	26.7	12.2	21.1	10.4	12.5	8.3
SERVICE OCCUPATIONS								
Private household	1.0	3.5	2.1	6.5	1.1	3.0	5.5	3.7
Protective	5.4	5.9	1.2	2.2	6.0	2.2	0.9	0.4
Food Preparation/Service	3.8	3.9	6.7	7.5	5.4	9.6	22.6	25.8
Health Services	4.5	5.4	6.6	9.8	8.0	4.9	1.8	1.2
Cleaning & Building Occupations	9.3	7.9	6.4	9.4	4.9	12.7	4.1	10.8
Personal	3.7	1.8	6.3	3.4	9.6	1.9	1.4	1.2
Precision, Production, Crafts & Repair Occupations	8.4	4.5	8.2	2.9	10.9	10.9	8.2	13.2
Operators, Fabricators, & Laborers Machine Operators, Assembles & Inspectors	4.8	8.6	12.7	7.4	6.5	16.3	18.4	15.2
Transportation & Material Moving Occupations	5.2	6.9	6.3	8.5	5.2	7.3	6.7	5.7
Handlers, Equipment Cleaners, Helpers & Laborers	4.2	3.7	5.4	6.2	5.3	8.0	10.8	5.1

Source: Information compiled by the author, based on U.S. Census Bureau (1999 and 2005).

The Educational Experiences of Latinos in New York City

Student Demographics

During academic year 2007-2008, 384,211 Latino students were enrolled in New York City schools, or 39.6 percent of the total student population. One in every four students has participated in, or is enrolled in, English Language Learners (ELLs) programs (New York City Department of Education 2008b). New York City Latino students have been put at a disadvantage. The growing presence of Latinos coincides with the implementation of high-stakes testing that has constrained their opportunities to graduate. Given the rising number of children with foreign-born parents and the lack of enough programs informed by current research to teach English effectively, standardized testing has contributed to the rise in the number of Latinos dropouts. Almost 70 percent of ELLs are Latino and, as mentioned earlier, only 53.4 percent of Latinos graduate from high school.

The Educational Climate

New York City's educational system is the largest in the country, serving over one million students in 1,500 schools. In the past few years, under Mayor Michael I. Bloomberg, the New York City Department of Education, the entity responsible for the management of the city's schools, has completely changed its administrative organization. The community districts, which previously were responsible for all aspects of elementary education, were dismantled in an effort to centralize the management of the system with the goals of improving graduation rates and test scores and reducing dropout rates through greater accountability.

New accountability policies implemented in 1996 by the New York State Board of Regents prompted development of a set of standardized measures: students must now pass five examinations to earn their high school diploma. Their test scores on the state's Regents exams determine the type of diploma that students receive upon graduation. Students who score within the 55-64 range in specific content areas receive a Local Diploma, scoring between 65 and 84 qualifies a student for a Regents Diploma, and scoring above 85 qualifies students for an Advanced Regents Diploma (see Appendix B). In addition to the yearly assessments under NCLB, within New York State, these new examinations work to students' disadvantage and have resulted in a spike in dropout rates, particularly noticeable in the dramatic exit of students in tenth grade, when they are required to take the Regents examinations (De Jesús and Vasquez 2005). The

implementation of these standards without accompanying academic support is placing Latinos at risk of not graduating. In interviews with students and teachers, Menken (2008) reports that they repeatedly refer to the English and Math Regents examinations as the most difficult obstacle to graduation for Latinos and the teachers describe how these exams compel students to leave school. In fact, it has been documented that there is a widening gap between the number of Latino students who take the exams and those who drop out of high school (De Jesús and Vasquez 2005).

For example, in the class of 2001 only 8.5 percent of Latinos earned a Regents Diploma; in 2004, 9.8 percent of Latinos graduated with a Regents Diploma, compared with 37.5 percent of Asians and 36 percent of whites in the same cohort (Moskowitz 2005). The latest NY Department of Education (2008a) report on the class of 2007, which draws data from a four-year longitudinal study, shows the persistence in the gap: 53.4 percent of Latinos in the class of 2007 graduated from high school and they had a dropout rate of 18.2 percent. However, the report contains no information on how many students remain in the system past the fifth year and graduate after their age cohort. Furthermore, a significant number of ELLs who passed the Regents exams were actually retaking them because they had failed previously (Menken 2008). Lastly, children from poor backgrounds are not proportionately represented in the gifted and talented programs and in college-bound academic work.

Educational Attainment

Table 4 shows the educational attainment and English language proficiency of Latino groups. For the Latino population age 25 and above, Mexicans have the lowest level of educational attainment: only five percent have a college education, compared with 23 percent of all foreign-born groups in the city, and a staggering 65.3 percent do not have a high school diploma. Dominicans show slightly higher levels of college attainment: 7.7 percent have a college degree, but 56.2 percent did not complete high school. Approximately 76.2 percent of Mexicans, 71.2 percent of Ecuadorians, and 70 percent of Dominicans are not English proficient. Language barriers represent one of greatest obstacles for the Latino population, as it limits their job opportunities and often pushes them toward low-wage, dead-end occupations.

TABLE 4:
ENGLISH LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY AND EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT BY COUNTRY OF BIRTH, NEW YORK CITY, 2000

	POPULATION AGE 25 AND OVER	PERCENT NOT ENGLISH PROFICIENT	PERCENT LESS THAN HIGH SCHOOL	PERCENT HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES		
				TOTAL	HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATE ONLY	SOME COLLEGE
TOTAL, NEW YORK CITY	5,281,784	23.7	27.7	72.3	24.3	27.5
Native-born	2,951,179	8.6	21.6	78.4	25.1	31.1
Foreign-born	2,330,605	48.2	35.3	64.7	23.5	23
Dominican Republic	287,592	70	56.2	43.8	19	7.7
Mexico	75,295	76.2	65.3	34.7	22.5	5
Ecuador	88,499	71.2	47.2	52.8	25.3	8.7
Colombia	68,442	69.1	35.5	64.5	28.3	14.8
Honduras	24,020	64.5	57.7	42.3	24	6.3

Source: New York City Department of City Planning (2004).

A recent report released by the New York City Department of Education (2008a) shows that students of Caribbean and Latin American origin are less likely than whites to complete high school; while 79 percent of white students who enroll in high school graduate in New York City, only 53.4 percent of Latinos do so. The class of 2007 also shows a gender gap in graduation rates for Latino students: 56.8 percent of men graduated, compared with 66.9 percent of women. One possible explanation for the gender gap is differential expectations about future labor market participation and the role that education plays in their career opportunities.

One source of data for New York City that provides information on the educational attainment of the city population consists of records from the New York City Housing and Vacancy Survey conducted by the U.S. Census Bureau in 1999 and 2005 under contract to the city. As shown in Table

5, the survey found that educational levels improved for the Latino population. The contrast of 2005 and 1999 data reveals that Mexicans — who in 1999 were the lowest educated group among Latinos in the city — saw a decrease in the number of adults and young people without a high school diploma: from 64.2 to 51 percent. Further, from 1999 to 2005, the number of Latinos who attended college at all increased from 12.1 percent to 17.7 percent.²

Educational attainment rates for Dominicans in New York City also improved over the same five years. The percentage of Dominicans without a high school education decreased from 49.6 to 45.1. A more dramatic increase can be seen in those who enrolled in college: from 26 percent to 30 percent. However, it can be surmised that a significant percentage of these students will attend less selective postsecondary institutions, such as community colleges.

TABLE 5: EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT BY ETHNICITY, NEW YORK CITY, 1999 AND 2005 (15 YEARS AND OVER)

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT	PUERTO RICAN		DOMINICAN		OTHER HISPANIC		MEXICAN		TOTAL	
	1999	2005	1999	2005	1999	2005	1999	2005	1999	2005
6th grade or less	9.8	7.7	13.3	11.2	12.6	11.6	28.3	21.5	12.8	11.0
7th or 8th grade	5.9	6.0	8.0	7.8	3.9	5.3	10.7	9.6	6.1	6.7
Some high school, no diploma	29.2	26.4	28.3	26.1	19.4	18.0	25.2	19.9	25.7	23.6
High school diploma	25.9	28.4	24.3	24.7	25.6	28.7	23.8	31.2	25.3	27.8
Some college or more	29.2	31.6	26.1	30.1	38.5	36.5	12.1	17.7	30.1	31.0

Source: Information compiled by the author, based on U.S. Census Bureau (1999 and 2005).

² Records from the 1999 and 2005 New York City Housing and Vacancy Survey (NYCHVS) were obtained from the U.S. Census Bureau (1999 and 2005). Data were extracted using the same methodological grid for both years and it is comparable. Additional information from the 1999 NYCHVS survey is available in Cortina and Gendreau 2003.

Latinos in Northern Manhattan

Demographics

While the Latino population is scattered throughout the five boroughs, the most intense residential settlement patterns for new immigrants is evident in Northern Manhattan. The neighborhoods of Manhattanville, Morningside Heights, South/Central Harlem, East Harlem, Hamilton Heights, Washington Heights, and Inwood have experienced the most significant changes. The largest percentage of Manhattan's foreign-born population — 20 percent — resides in Washington Heights. In Inwood, Washington Heights, and Hamilton Heights, over half of the population is foreign-born, and as many as two thirds are Dominican. Mexicans, Ecuadorians, and Cubans comprise a large share of those living in these neighborhoods. One in every five Manhattanville and South/Central Harlem resident is foreign-born; a quarter is Dominican. In East Harlem, Mexicans account for one third of all foreign-born residents, followed by Dominicans and Ecuadorians (New York City Department of City Planning 2004).

The demographic and residential patterns visible today in Northern Manhattan started in 1960. In his carefully researched book, *A Tale of Two Cities: Santo Domingo and New York after 1950*, Jesse Hoffnung-Garskof (2008) describes the political situation in the Dominican Republic that led to a boom in migration to New York City after the 1961 assassination of the dictator Rafael Trujillo. Through kinship and social networks, the immigrants arrived and created a community that settled in the northern tip of the island. *A Tale of Two Cities* discusses the integration of the Dominican community identity vis-à-vis the experiences of Puerto Rican and African American residents in those same neighborhoods. It also describes the struggle, since the 1970s, of Dominican youngsters to gain access to college-bound programs and their demands for a fairer educational system and expansion of dual language programs, since most students enter schools speaking Spanish only.

The arrival of Mexicans in New York City was part of a new phase of migratory expansion for Mexican immigrants in the East Coast of the U.S. — from Florida to Maine — after the 1986 passage of the Immigration Reform and Control Act that gave amnesty to Mexicans living in the U.S. since 1981. Through family reunification many immigrants, along with their families and children, were able to obtain legal permission to be in the U.S. After obtaining legal permission to work, they were able to seek better jobs, and

they left their traditional areas of concentration in the West and Southwest. Furthermore, in the late 1980s and early 1990s, many Mexicans from new sending communities within Mexico arrived in New York City. The free trade treaties of the 1980s signed between Mexico and the U.S. fostered the migration of ever larger numbers of peasants. The economy was booming on the East Coast: many construction jobs that used to be unionized became open to new migrants as did jobs in the service sector that were not being filled by the traditional labor pool (Cortina and Gendreau 2003). Data from the Mexican Consulate in New York City show that by the year 2002, 68 percent of the Mexican population in New York City came from the Mixteca region — where the states of Puebla, Oaxaca, and Guerrero come together (Cortina and Cárdenas 2003). In fact, many of the Mexican families that members of the Harlem School Project encountered in our visit to schools in Northern Manhattan come from the State of Guerrero.

Schools

In order to demonstrate how demographic and residential patterns are affecting what is happening at the school level, this paper provides student demographic and academic performance information on five of the ten schools located in Northern Manhattan that are part of the Harlem School Partnership sponsored by Columbia University's Teachers College, described above. They were selected because each has a student body that is more than two thirds Latino (see Appendix A, which contains a description of all the schools in the partnership since a significant number of Latinos are enrolled in each).

Two high schools are part of the partnership: H.S. 540 A. Phillip Randolph Campus High School and H.S. 680 Heritage High School (Appendix B provides information on the Regents exam results at these schools). Both are approximately two thirds Latino and one third African American. A. Phillip Randolph is in Central Harlem, where many families of Dominican origin reside. The students at Heritage, which is located in East Harlem or what is known as “El Barrio,” mostly live in the area; they are predominantly Puerto Rican and Dominican native-born New Yorkers, and Mexican students who were either born in New York or who have been attending school in the city for several years. Both schools are located in areas with high poverty and sizeable rates of new immigration.

The student body of the middle and elementary schools that are part of the partnership are primarily Latino and African

American. The schools that are predominately Latino are: Pedro Albizu Campos School (P.S. 161), located in Harlem (Manhattanville), with a population of Dominicans, Mexicans, and African Americans; the Wright Brothers School (P.S. 28), located in Washington Heights in an area where families of Dominican heritage have made their home; and the Adam Clayton Powell School (P.S. 153), located in South Washington Heights, with a student population of Dominican, Mexican, and Ecuadorian origin.

The racial and ethnic composition of the schools provides an opportunity to develop classroom practices and culturally relevant curriculum through the study of the students' common history, such as the African Diaspora in the Americas, globalization, and migration; and through the incorporation of topics related to neighborhood history and heritage.

The Role of Immigration, Culture, and Language in Education

Building on research on migration and education, this paper now shows how immigration, language, and culture are intertwined in the process of improving the educational opportunities of Latino students. School completion for students of Latin American and Caribbean descent needs to be understood in the context of the neighborhoods and communities where they live and the ways that schools support their academic achievement. Researchers have explored the school factors associated with Latino and immigrant underachievement, including teacher quality, teacher race, the nature of the English instruction program provided, and the availability of resources for parents in their native language.

In a review of how school resources, teacher quality, the racial composition of teachers and students, culture, and school organization influence gaps in student achievement, O'Connor, Hill, and Robinson (2009) warn against over-emphasizing the impact of a student's background on level of achievement, arguing that background should not prevent schools from making efforts to close the achievement gap between whites and other groups. They suggest that schools can promote achievement beyond what is predicted by background, and if schools fail to do all they can to maximize a student's ability to learn, they compromise the academic development of underserved populations. Furthermore, O'Connor et al. emphasize that through the provision of an equitable education, schools play an essential role in mediating the negative effects that community and/or family background might have and in helping students achieve their

highest potential. The authors support other research indicating how school resources, particularly teacher quality, account for gaps in racial educational achievement.

In a recent study conducted to determine the importance of school influence on whether children catch up or lag further behind, Han (2008) echoes these findings. Her research, comparing the academic trajectories of native- and foreign-born students from Kindergarten to third grade, examines a multiplicity of individual, family, home, school, and neighborhood characteristics identified in the research as influencing a child's development. She argues that schools serving immigrant children often do not provide a positive school climate or adequate educational resources. Her study found that first- and second-generation children of Latin American origin were positively affected by school-level factors more than their Asian counterparts, confirming the importance of the school in shaping the academic trajectories of children of Latin American origin, particularly Mexico, and providing evidence of how programs and services for ELLs can prove critical to improving their math performance. She demonstrates that the school resources available for Latino children and their families are an important reason why some children were better able to raise initial lower scores and improve significantly faster.

The Effect of Cultural Sensitivity on Learning

Teachers who understand the cultural background of their students can improve learning by using the students' cultural capital in a positive way. Culturally relevant teaching uses students' culture to develop meaningful learning to help students anchor their academic understanding in events in their families and communities. Specifically, it encourages students to critically examine educational content and processes through the lens of their culture. In their study on culturally relevant mathematics, Gutstein, Lipman, Hernández, and de los Reyes (1997) examined mathematics instruction and its intersection with culturally relevant teaching in an elementary and middle school in a Mexican American community. Using qualitative data, the authors show how teachers can leverage the knowledge and experiences that students bring into the classrooms to make connections between the students' lives and the curriculum. The teachers who built connections with their students and their families, or built on their students' first language as part of a curriculum, improved the learning environment.

Research also demonstrates the role model effect: a demographically similar teacher increases a student's academic

motivations and expectations simply by developing empathy with their students. Dee (2005,163) points out that the “racial, ethnic, and gender dynamics between students and teachers have consistently large effects on teacher perceptions of student performance,” which may, in turn, positively affect student achievement.

Types of Language Instruction and Assessment

English Language Learner tracking. Too much emphasis has been placed on the role of language in explaining the underachievement of Latino students without considering the importance of the quality of programs and school resources they encounter. In fact, the abandonment of schools by Latino students can be lessened if students are prepared to carry out academic work in an English language environment where they also have native language instruction that develops their English language proficiency. In her recent study of immigrant youth in New York City high schools, Cortina (2009, 128) found that “the rapid break away from ELL courses” is one salient predictor of high school graduation.

Most secondary schools lack the resources to provide students with native language skills that offer enough support for their transition into learning English. This lack of resources translates into the tracking of ELLs away from academic courses: 69 percent of all current ELLs in New York are in English as a Second Language (ESL) programs (New York City Department of Education 2008b). Tracking students into these programs puts them at further disadvantage, since it removes them from content-area exposure and shelters them from other school activities.

Policies and tests for English learners consider fluency in English the primary requirement for academic success, but research, such as the study by Callahan, Wilkinson, Muller, and Frisco (2009), shows that while English may be necessary in U.S. schools, a strong base in content-area academics is fundamental for educational achievement. Their study demonstrates how tracking English learners away from courses that would provide them with the opportunity to build that base of knowledge is detrimental to their academic success. Further, they argue that track placement is a better predictor of achievement than proficiency in English, particularly since placement in ESL programs strongly limits students’ exposure to academic content.

In her study on Latino youth in New York City high schools, Cortina (2009) argues that the quality of the programs in which students enroll when they enter high schools influences

their academic career and performance in high school and beyond. She shows that students in the ELL track are not able to participate in math and science classes, honors (Regents) level courses, advanced placement courses, and all the other programs necessary for the college bound. ELL students represent a growing group of talented students who might never go to a community or four-year college because they do not have the opportunity to take the necessary prerequisites during their high school years.

Dual language programs. A successful alternative to the tracking system is the implementation of dual language classrooms across all grade levels. Dual language education programs integrate native English-speaking students with native Spanish-speaking students for academic instruction, which is presented in both languages. All the major academic areas, including reading, language arts, math, science, and social studies, are taught in both Spanish and English; and social and academic learning occurs in an environment that values the language and culture of all students. These programs encourage the use of Spanish in support of the premise that a strong native language foundation reinforces academic learning in English (August and García 1988). Recent studies show that most of the learning in Spanish transfers easily to English and promotes learning in content areas such as math, science, and social studies. These burgeoning programs are beginning to reap important benefits for ELLs, and further research is needed to explore and expand these learning opportunities in New York City.

Tests for proficiency in English. Since 2001, when Congress passed the No Child Left Behind (NCLB) Act, schools have increased accountability through constant assessment and monitoring of students’ achievement. To measure achievement schools must frequently evaluate students using standardized tests. Test scores show school administrators and government officials whether students are making adequate yearly progress, which in turn determines whether or not schools continue to receive federal funding without restrictions (Menken 2008). Thus, ELL students are tested from the moment they are enrolled in school, with no time to adapt to their schools and/or to learn English. Menken argues that “one of the main problems with the notion of ‘adequate yearly progress’ is that ELLs, as a group, will by definition always be low performing,” since when an ELL achieves a level of “proficient” in the English language arts, “that student will leave the ‘ELL subgroup’ and no longer be considered an ELL under NCLB accountability requirements” (Menken 2008, 33). This practice perpetuates the stigma of ELLs as

low-performing and focuses on language spoken in the home as the main obstacle to learning.

In addition to the tests that all students take, the English proficiency of ELLs is evaluated by state agencies to measure whether they are improving in oral language and in reading and writing skills in English, thus increasing the already heavy academic burden on this group of students. The New York City Office of English Language Learners, which reports on the proficiency test in English Language Arts for Grade 8, states that only 3.7 percent of the students meet the standard out of 4,868 Spanish speakers taking the test. In the case of the Grade 4 test, 26.2 percent of the Spanish speakers meet the standard out of 7,702 taking the test (New York City Department of Education 2009a, 17). The results of these proficiency tests highlight the need to improve teaching in language arts for Latino students in middle and high school.

The Harlem Schools Partnership case study. With respect to the schools participating in Harlem Schools Partnership, an examination of the New York City Department of Education Report Cards and the Accountability and Overview Reports in 2007 shows that Latino students and ELLs are not meeting the requirements for English Language Arts (ELA). Only three of the schools have dual language programs: P.S. 28, P.S. 153, and P.S. 161. But only a few of the students in the schools are in this program. In the case, of P.S. 28, where 45 percent of the students are ELLs and 78 percent of its student body is Latino, only 11 percent of students pass English Language Arts. Overall, ELLs are not passing the English tests, although a higher percentage is passing math and science tests, which provide ample evidence that the students have the academic skills to succeed in schools (see Appendix A).

This pattern is also evident in P.S. 153, where Latino students account for 79 percent of the school population and 47 percent are ELLs. The school's tracking system allows for three different paths for students within the school. The Gifted and Talented track is English only. Students not placed in this track are channeled into either the dual language program or an ESL self-contained classroom. Students can only start the dual language program in an early grade, so those who enter the school later are automatically channeled into the ESL track and excluded from dual language classes. Moreover, the students are only placed in dual language programs upon request from the parents, who might not know the difference

between the two programs and probably do not know about research findings demonstrating the advantages that the dual language classes have for students whose home language is not English. As a result, the students in ESL are in larger classes and taught in English even though most of them come from Spanish-speaking homes.

Dual language programs in the partnership schools have two groups of students and two classrooms in every grade. Students start the morning in English on the first day, and change to Spanish in the afternoon, and the language order is rotated from day to day. Implementation of a dual language program requires two teachers for each grade. The English teachers have a certification and master's degree in teaching English; they are familiar with the vocabulary and have a variety of teaching materials, publications, and software for working with ELLs. However, the same types of teaching materials are not available for the Spanish teachers. In fact, teachers find themselves traveling to other countries and buying teacher guides and books in Spanish for themselves and their students. One big challenge to the success of these programs is, therefore, the lack of resources for teaching in Spanish.³ Most of the time, the cultural context and content of the available materials do not relate to the daily experience of children living in New York City.

One of the leading concerns about tracking students into ESL classes is whether they can be successfully integrated with their peers in the content classes. Some schools pull out ESL students for tutoring during periods when other academic content is taught so that the emphasis of their education is solely on reading and writing in English. Students in these segregated tracking systems experience academic marginalization, as shown by Schneider, Swanson, and Riegle-Crumb (1997), whose study concludes that ELL students enrolled in more advanced math and science coursework have greater access to academic content and demonstrate greater gains in achievement as reflected by the results of subject-specific test scores.

Students in the two partnership high schools, H.S. 540 A. Phillip Randolph and H.S. 680 Heritage School, have higher scores in other content areas than in English Language Arts. While only 1 percent of the students in Heritage School obtained scores for an Honors Regents Diploma in Mathematics, 65 percent of students obtained these scores

3 Additional research is needed to ascertain the type of professional development materials that are available for dual language teachers in schools in Northern Manhattan, especially teaching materials in Spanish, Spanish language literature for the appropriate grade, and social studies books that are comparable in Spanish and English.

in Comprehensive Spanish. In English Language Arts, only 32 percent obtained scores for a Local Diploma, compared with 57 percent of students who obtained scores for a Regents Diploma in U.S. History and Government. In both schools more than 50 percent obtained scores for a Regents Diploma in Mathematics as well as in U.S. History and Government (see Appendix B).

In addition, the lack of professional development seminars and printed materials for teachers teaching Spanish challenges the expansion of dual language programs, even though research on the development of bilingualism and biliteracy has demonstrated repeatedly that these programs support the literacy development of both native language speakers and native English speakers (Howard, Christian, and Genese 2004). Furthermore, instruction in the native language improves achievement in the second language, and students who are provided with such instruction will perform better academically than students instructed only in English (August and Shanahan 2006). In spite of the evidence from the research literature that the experience for students in the dual language classes produces gains in language arts, and that most children in such classes are performing at grade level in both English and Spanish language arts, the number of schools in New York City with dual language programs is quite small. In Manhattan, only three middle schools have such programs and only two K-8 schools do, in addition to a dozen or so elementary schools (New York City Department of Education 2009b).

Recommendations for Policy and Research

Latino students represent 20 percent of the students in New York State and 40 percent of students in New York City. The issue is how best to educate everyone and to improve the educational opportunities of Latinos. Given the multitude of factors and complexities, no single policy will solve the problem of Latino academic achievement and open their pathway to college.

Policy

In making decisions about education research and services, it is necessary to distinguish between Latinos and Latino immigrants, although there are, of course, some students who fit into both categories and the association is grounded in a frame of common history and Latin American migration. Nevertheless, failing to distinguish between these groups ignores the distinct character and changing demographics of

the Latino population in the U.S. Similar to other children, most Latino children are neither immigrant nor undocumented. Indeed, 91 percent of Latinos under the age of 18 are U.S. citizens (Dolan 2009).

Poverty, economic necessity, and lack of English language proficiency are intertwined in explaining the low graduation rates for Latino student. This paper points to the need to increase dual language programs in schools, particularly in the middle and high schools. These programs are beginning to reap important benefits for ELLs, and consideration needs to be given to the expansion of such learning opportunities in New York City.

There is a need, either within dual language programs or through the quality of other programs to increase native language resources aimed at helping students without adequate English literacy develop academically in the schools. It is also crucial to end the tracking of ELL students into programs and classes that do not provide a content-rich education; tracking creates a barrier to timely graduation and, most importantly, eliminates students' chances to advance to higher education.

It is especially important to note that the quality of school programs for English Language Learners is related to their academic performance. Quality relates to the preparation of teachers, their professional development, and the instructional resources available at the school. Finally, schools that work with Latino students need to provide social supports — such as counseling, mentoring, and a positive school climate — to help students navigate their academic challenges (Conchas 2001).

Future Research

This paper identifies two main areas for further research:

Dual language programs in New York City schools. In Northern Manhattan, a small number of dual language programs have operated for several years in schools, some under teachers' leadership, others in response to parents' interest and support. Systematic study of these programs is needed. Given the findings of the study of the Harlem School Partnership reported here, and in light of the paucity of research on dual language programs in the city, an important task ahead is to look at the dual language programs in Northern Manhattan and document their history, current models, and success in improving student learning and academic trajectories. Dual programs are not nested exclusively in the arena of language acquisition; their

impact intersects with every other aspect of student learning and, as shown in this paper, have implications for content-area instruction, teacher collaboration, curriculum design, and professional development.

Therefore, research on effective teacher professional development activities is needed, and it should include identification of effective strategies to prepare teachers for dual language classrooms and ways to most efficiently provide teachers with information about students' native cultures and communities of origin. Research should also identify age- and grade-appropriate instruction methods in both English and native language skills, and content-area instruction in both languages.

Higher education access and success for Latino students. Building upon work in Harlem School Partnership, new research can be directed to working with English and social studies teachers and their students to strengthen content knowledge and teaching pedagogies in high schools. The surveys that have been used by the partnership to identify teachers' curriculum and pedagogical needs in science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM) education can be used for the English and social studies teachers.

For example, in a proposed research program, Teachers College faculty and doctoral candidates will work with teachers and students at their school sites by modeling teaching practices and culturally relevant pedagogy through initiatives such as participatory research. Specifically, doctoral candidates will develop inquiry projects that engage students in conducting investigations about social justice issues that relate to their schooling, careers, preparation for postsecondary education, and other future plans. In so doing, students will engage in critical research that will support the development of their academic and critical literacies needed to prepare for college and careers.

Teachers College faculty and doctoral candidates will also organize workshops for teachers and principals at their request on issues such as school retention, bilingualism, cultural citizenship, college access, combating lower teacher expectations, and building home-school-community relationships with parents and families.

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APPENDIX A: DEMOGRAPHICS AND ACADEMIC INFORMATION IN NORTHERN MANHATTAN SCHOOLS

SCHOOL NAME	TOTAL # OF STUDENTS	SCHOOL DEMOGRAPHICS					% ENGLISH PASS*					% MATH PASS*					% SCIENCE PASS**					DUAL LANGUAGE	GRADE RANGE		
		% LATINO	% AFRICAN AMERICAN	% OTHER	% RECENT IMMIGRANT†	% ELL	SCHOOL MEAN	LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	ELL	SCHOOL MEAN	LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	ELL	SCHOOL MEAN	LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	ELL	SCHOOL MEAN	LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN			ELL	
PS. 161 Pedro Albizu Campos School	861	83	15	2	8.8 DR 6.8 DR .9 Yemen .4 Mexico	46	44	41.2	-	26	75.2	76	-	70.3	68	70	-	60	-	-	-	-	K-3	K-6	
PS. 153 Adam Clayton Powell School	1018	79	19	2	8.7 5.9 DR 1 Mexico .2 Jamaica	47	39.6	40	-	22	68.6	68	-	59.3	54	50	-	28	-	-	-	-	K-5	K-6	
PS. 28 Wright Brothers School	1226	78	19	3	5.0 3.5 DR .5 Ecuador .5 Mexico	45	30.7	28.6	46	11	67.3	67.7	86	53.3	42	41	-	20	-	-	-	-	K-5	K-5	
H.S. 540 Phillip Randolph Campus High School	1540	64	31	5	3.1 1.1 DR .4 Canada .4 Senegal	3	78	79	74	18	80	83	74	18	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	9-12	9-12
H.S. 680 Heritage School	331	65	33	2	.7 3 DR .3Mexico	5	65	63.5	82 (2003 Cohort)	-	66	70.5	82 (2003 cohort)	-	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	9-12	9-12
I.S. 195 Roberto Clemente School	909	55	43	2	7.9 4.6 DR 1.2 Yemen .3 Ivory C.	18	30.3	32.7	-	7.7	41.7	46.7	25	28.3	24	28	18	23	-	-	-	-	-	6-10	6-10
PS. 180 Hugo Newman School	444	23	75	2	2.2 1.1 DR .4 Senegal .2 Jamaica	11	55.5	79	55	29	81.8	93	77.7	56	63	71	61	-	-	-	-	-	-	K-6	K-6
PS. 154M Harriet Tubman Learning Center	446	27	70	3	2.1 .8 Yemen .4 Mexico .2 Chile	17	44.7	-	45.6	9.6	57.7	-	53	56.6	57	-	61	28	-	-	-	-	-	K-5	K-5
PS. 076 Phillip Randolph School	399	20	76	4	3.1 1.1 DR .4 Canada .4 Senegal	10	37	-	38.6	11	61	82	61.6	15	58	-	62	40	-	-	-	-	-	K-5	K-5
PS. 036 Margaret Douglas School	443	35	60	5	1.4 .4 DR .4 Ecuador 2 China	13	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	K-2	K-2

1 Source: Information compiled by the author, based on the New York City Department of Education School Report Card, Accountability and Overview Report (2007) and Annual School Report Supplement (2008). This column shows the total percentage of recent immigrants first, and then the disaggregated proportions for the three largest groups of recent immigrants. These percentages show recent immigrants for each of the schools. This is the reason why some countries may appear twice: e.g., in PS 161 Pedro Albizu, .4 of the recent immigrants are Mexican, while in PS 28 Wright Brothers School, .5 of the recent immigrants are Mexican.

*Scoring at or above a level 3 is a passing grade.

**Percentage of fourth grades only, due to non-testing of subject in other grades.

†The (-) symbol indicates that data for a group of students have been suppressed (Accountability and Overview Report, 2007).

Formulas: K-5 Schools [(3rd grade % + 4th grade % + 5th grade %) / 3 = Average of Percentage]
K-6 Schools [(3rd grade % + 4th grade % + 5th grade % + 6th grade %) / 4 = Average of Percentage]
9-12 H.S. [% by cohort]

APPENDIX B: REGENTS EXAMS PERFORMANCE FOR GENERAL EDUCATION STUDENTS IN TWO NORTHERN MANHATTAN HIGH SCHOOLS

REGENTS EXAM	H.S. 540 – PHILLIP RANDOLPH CAMPUS HIGH SCHOOL				H.S. 680 HERITAGE SCHOOL			
	TOTAL # OF STUDENTS TESTED IN GENERAL EDUCATION	% OF STUDENTS SCORING BETWEEN 55-64 (LOCAL DIPLOMA) *	% OF STUDENTS SCORING BETWEEN 65-84 (REGENTS DIPLOMA & POSSIBLE ADVANCE REGENTS DIPLOMA) **	% OF STUDENTS SCORING AT OR ABOVE 85 (REGENTS DIPLOMA & POSSIBLE ADVANCE REGENTS DIPLOMA) **	TOTAL # OF STUDENTS TESTED IN GENERAL EDUCATION	% OF STUDENTS SCORING BETWEEN 55-64 (LOCAL DIPLOMA) *	% OF STUDENTS SCORING BETWEEN 65-84 (REGENTS DIPLOMA & POSSIBLE ADVANCE REGENTS DIPLOMA) **	% OF STUDENTS SCORING AT OR ABOVE 85 (REGENTS DIPLOMA & POSSIBLE ADVANCE REGENTS DIPLOMA) **
COMPREHENSIVE ENGLISH	423	8	70	13	62	32	33	6
MATHEMATICS A	412	13	58	18	97	23	67	1
MATHEMATICS B	187	19	27	5	32	-	-	-
GLOBAL HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY	491	23	33	7	93	19	47	8
U.S. HISTORY AND GOVERNMENT	473	14	51	20	49	21	57	10
LIVING ENVIRONMENT	352	-	-	-	84	37	46	2
PHYSICAL SETTING/ EARTH SCIENCE	159	33	33	1	45	-	-	-
PHYSICAL SETTING/ CHEMISTRY	343	34	36	3	16	-	-	-
PHYSICAL SETTING/ PHYSICS	82	31	36	5	14	36	7	0
COMPREHENSIVE SPANISH	209	-	-	-	78	3	32	65

Source: Information compiled by the author, based on the New York City Department of Education School Report Card, Comprehensive Information Report (2006-2007).

*Scoring at or above a 55 is a passing grade.

** Advanced Regents Diploma is awarded if a student's regents exam scores are at or above 65, and if student meets required number of credits with proper distribution of credits by subject area.

"The (-) symbol indicates that data for a group of students have been suppressed" (Comprehensive Information Report, 2006-2007).

Formulas:

% of students scoring at or above 55 = % of students scoring between 65-84 = % of students scoring between 55-64

% of students scoring at or above 65 = % of students scoring at or above 85 = % of students scoring between 65-84

% of students scoring at or above 85 is given by sources cited above

Note- Sum of all percentages of students above may not equal to 100 due to students scoring below 55