Introduction

Since we published our first book on educating immigrant students (Rong & Preissle, 1998), the United States has entered a new era of immigration, and the U.S. government, the general public, and immigrant communities are facing new challenges because of new demographic, political, social, and educational environments. An estimated 17 million immigrants entered the United States between 1990 and 2005, and the number of immigrants and their children reached more than 70 million, accounting for more than 20% of the U.S. population. This group is more diverse than ever before in terms of race, ethnicity, language, religion, education, social class, and reasons for and the process of immigration. However, a third of the current newcomers came from Mexico alone, and Mexican immigrants were likely to come from rural areas and earn minimal wages in the United States. Economic conditions and job outsourcing have created hostilities among some local residents toward newcomers, and government reaction to the 9/11 tragedy has created a harsh political climate for immigrants, especially those who are undocumented and/or from countries perceived by Americans as unfriendly.

A series of legislative attempts to manage relationships with migrants has further aggravated the hostile environment in many local communities. Both legal and undocumented immigrants face limitations on social supports such as food stamps and health care as well as arrests at their jobs, indefinite detention, and deportation. The United States has, nevertheless, failed to adopt either national or state policies or provide any systematic government agencies to oversee and support immigrants' adaptation and adjustment. The current "sink or swim" philosophy and practice are devastating for many immigrants.

In this new text, we provide educational policymakers and administrators at various levels with the information needed to project school enrollment and staff recruitment and development, as well as plan curriculum and program construction and reconstruction. Knowledge of immigration, immigrants, and the history of U.S. immigration and immigrants' schooling provides the nation's educators with understanding, insight, and perspectives

on the new immigration movement and on how our society and schools can adapt effectively to the changes.

CONTENT OF THE BOOK

In this book, we focus on the education of immigrant students. Eight chapters examine immigration and how it interacts with race-ethnicity, nationality, gender, immigration generational status, social class, and residential location. Three interrelated approaches guide us: we explore the current information on immigrant children, their families, and their schooling; we examine the factors that influence children's linguistic transitions and educational attainments; and we explain why the educational experiences of immigrant students differ both among themselves and from those of other students. Our goal is to stimulate dialogue on this topic at local, regional, national, and international levels.

The first four chapters are an overview of immigration and education in the United States and a summary of the most current information available on the socioeconomic, demographic, linguistic, and educational characteristics of U.S. immigrant children and adolescents aged 5–18. Chapter 1, "Immigration and U.S. Schools," is an overview of who current immigrants are, how they compare to previous immigrants, and what the immigrant experience in schools has been and why. Chapter 2, "Immigrant Children, Their Families, and Their Environments," examines the sociodemographic profiles of current immigrants—adults and children—in terms of how they differ from one another and where they settle in their new country. Chapter 3, "Learning English and Maintaining Heritage Languages," focuses on the status of immigrant children's language proficiency—English acquisition and the retention or attrition of native languages. Chapter 4, "Educational Attainment," compares the educational achievement of immigrants and their native-born children and grandchildren with that of other U.S. students.

The next four chapters focus on current immigration from different geographic areas: Latin America, Asia, Africa and the Caribbean, and the Middle East. These four chapters are Chapter 5, "Immigrant Children From Asia"; Chapter 6, "Black Immigrant Children From the Caribbean and Africa"; Chapter 7, "Immigrant Children From Latin America"; and Chapter 8, "Immigrant Children From the Middle East." In Chapters 5 through 8, we consider the education of Asian, Black, Latino, and Middle Eastern children in four domains: characteristics of the children themselves, attributes of their families, immigration-related characteristics such as language status, and the attributes of their neighborhoods and schooling environments. Each chapter follows a similar format: a sketch of the immigration history of people from the region, followed by a sociodemographic profile of immigrant children 5–18 years old and their parents in the domains we detailed.

The educational attainment of immigrant children is presented in reporting the information on school enrollment, enrollment in private and public schools, and school completion rates, focusing on school drop-out rates. Data are cross-tabulated by the major nationalities of a regional group. We explain the differences in life and schooling between immigrant children and native-born as well as the variations among the nationality groups in frameworks of established theories. The last section of each chapter outlines the special needs of immigrant children from that region of the world and offers recommendations for educators, policymakers, and parents. This section also considers implications educators can draw from their experience working with immigrant children of particular racial-ethnic groups or nationalities, and whether these apply to educating other immigrant children.

In using a common framework for Chapters 5 to 8, we place multiculturalism and pluralism in a historical, comparative, and international context. These four chapters serve as case studies, inviting readers to compare the experiences of one group to the other groups and thereby to consider how each group relates to other groups and how all groups relate to the effect of immigration on schools and communities. We believe that both the similarities and differences among the various nationality groups require tailoring educational policies and practices to local situations.

Throughout the book, we make comparisons based on grouping the U.S. population in several different ways. The general population and the general school-age child population mean everyone, and these two categories include immigrants. In many other places we distinguish four generations of immigrants: 1st generation, the foreign born; 1.5 generation, foreign-born children who arrived in the United States at 5 years old or younger; 2nd generation, the children of one or two foreign-born parents; and 3rd generation, U.S.-born children with U.S.-born parents. We use the four-generation structure selectively to show population transformation and language transition, and many comparisons are based on only two or three generations.

RACE, ETHNICITY, AND GROUPING HUMANS

The U.S. Census Bureau organizes information on people by categories such as age, sex, socioeconomic status, educational attainment, citizenship status, race, and ethnicity. None of these categories has absolute boundaries. All involve fallible human judgment, and many are controversial. However, these categories can provide useful information about a particular segment of the population and also facilitate comparative understanding of inter- and intragroup relationships.

Race, for example, is a way of categorizing people that human biologists and population geneticists no longer find to be accurate when classifying human beings biologically. Variations in skin color and blood type, for example,

are found among human groups everywhere around the globe, and all human genetic variation can be found in Africa. Most importantly, traits once believed to vary together consistently have been found to be distributed unevenly across human populations. See the American Anthropological Association's commentary on race at http://www.understandingrace.org/ for more detail on the discredited biological theory of human race.

Because of the association of race with the geographic distribution of recent human ancestry around the globe, and the historical inequities associated with this geographic ancestry, some scholars have advocated the term "social race" (Harris, 1999; Omi & Winant, 1994). Social race is the assumed geographic origins of individuals' forebears based on such visible traits as skin color, facial features, and such. The social race attributed to a particular individual may or may not match the geographic origin of that individual's recent ancestry. Race, then, in our usage is a social category used to roughly identify people whose forebears came to North America from Asia, Africa, Europe, and other regions of the world. Race is important to continue tracking in the 21st century United States because of the ongoing and contemporary effects of historical racism, discrimination, and prejudice. Because race is associated with ancestry, race is inextricably tied to ethnicity—the cultural characteristics associated with stable human communities—including language, customs, religion and other symbolic systems, and social organization in preferred familial, economic, and political arrangements. Ethnic affiliations may be national, regional, linguistic, religious, and such, and people have often married and procreated within ethnic groups, which accounts for much genetic similarity within groups. However, because humans have consistently procreated across group boundaries, the human genetic pool is continuous. In this text, we use the phrase race-ethnicity or racial-ethnic to denote individuals' affiliations with ancestral groups.

Recognizing these subtleties of classification and their charged political connotations, the U.S. Census Bureau has recently made a number of changes in the system used (see http://www.census.gov/Press-Release/www/2001/raceqandas.html). First, people self-select their racial-ethnic identities on the presumption that individuals are most knowledgeable about their own forebears. Second, the groups designated as "racial" groups are coterminous with the geographic locations of forebears: White (presumably of European or Middle Eastern ancestry); Black or African; Asian, Native Hawaiian, and other Pacific Islanders; and indigenous North Americans, Native Alaskans, and Native Americans. Third, in 2000, the U.S. Census Bureau added an open-ended option to its racial categories that permits people to indicate multiple races. Fourth, only two groups are designated by the U.S. Census Bureau as "ethnic": one is Hispanic or Latino, and the other is non-Hispanic or non-Latino (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2001a, 2001b). Latino is the more inclusive term, referring to those from Latin America; Hispanic refers to Spanish-speaking individuals who

have migrated to the United States from Central or South American countries colonized by Spain, or even from Spain itself. We follow U.S. Census Bureau usage for these terms, using them more or less interchangeably in this book (see Chapter 7 for more information on these ethnic categories).

We agree with S. Lee (2005) and Singer (2002) that race has continued to play an influential role in the equality of opportunity in many spheres of U.S. society. Racism has played a significant historical role in the disproportionate numbers of Black and Hispanic children living in poverty compared to White children. Major differences in educational services and achievements as well as in economic, employment, social, and health trends across race are persistent, and this partially explains why various government agencies have been collecting data on race to document these trends. Laws, policies, and programs designed to prevent racial discrimination, such as the Civil Rights Act and hate crimes laws, have also required these data. Finally, we have also incorporated information from research based on data and information sources other than the 2000 decennial census, which may use different definitions of categories and different classifications for data analyses.

HOW THE SECOND EDITION DIFFERS FROM THE FIRST

Our second edition is a rewritten and updated version of the 1998 book, with new data and more than 85% of the text rewritten. The new book has the following changes and additions:

1. We have updated the information in the 1998 book with data from the 2000 census, 2005 American Community Survey, 2005 Current Population Survey, and so forth. We also use recent data from the National Center for Educational Statistics and other agencies to compare the demographic, social, economic, language, and academic characteristics of immigrants aged 5–18 among 28 nationalities that have significant numbers of immigrant children. We also compare information from 2000 to the 1990 data to reveal consistent or changed trends.

2. All chapters in this book have been rewritten to reflect conceptual developments in the recent research literature published since 1997. We have sketched the immigration history of each of the four major immigrant groups and noted variations among their major nationalities in Chapters 5–8. The theoretical framework of this book stresses the syntheses of additive and subtractive models, framed on the discussion of segmented assimilation (selected assimilation or acculturation) explanations vs. classic assimilation explanations. Compared to the 1998 book, the literature cited and data used in analyses in this book are more

comprehensive, and sections on findings, interpretations, applications, and recommendations have been enhanced in each chapter. We make recommendations for professionals on how to use knowledge about the immigrants in their own communities to make informed decisions about programs and practices, including assessment approaches, accountability measures, parent-involvement programs, and strategies targeted to specific immigrant groups.

3. Our new chapter, "Immigrant Children From the Middle East," was added both to reflect a shifting trend in immigration from this region of the world and to address the difficulties faced by Middle Eastern immigrants because of the events of recent decades.

4. Some components included in our first edition are stressed and enhanced in this revision. Socioeconomic status, immigration status, gender, and undocumented immigrant family status are considered in analyses and discussions in most chapters. Although this book focuses on children who are foreign-born, the influences of immigrant generation are introduced whenever necessary. For example, children's English attainment and heritage language retention and attrition are studied along the four-generation structure we discuss in the first section of this introduction.

KNOWLEDGE BASE

We have used two sources of knowledge for this book: empirical research studies and conceptual material from the literature. The empirical studies comprise two categories: primary data we have analyzed ourselves and secondary data we cite from other researchers' studies. Primary data are quantitative aggregated data or individual data from U.S. government agencies, mainly the U.S. Bureau of the Census and the National Center for Educational Statistics (see Sources of Information, pp. 293–295). Secondary data are material cited from empirical research conducted by others: quantitative studies conducted by demographers, sociologists, and social psychologists and qualitative studies conducted by anthropologists, other ethnographers, psychologists, and educational researchers. The conceptual material from the literature includes theoretical frameworks, policy formulations, and other position statements, and anecdotal accounts from participants. These come from many literatures: the philosophy and psychology of education, demographic studies, critical sociology, cultural anthropology, critical race theory and identity studies, multicultural theory, and many subfields within educational research. From time to time, we also draw from our own lives, experiences, education, and teaching.

DATA

Data from the decennial census of 2000 are our primary sources for information on a wide range of children's characteristics. The long form of the decennial census asked questions about various social, economic, and household characteristics, many relevant to children. Although other data about children are available through government, nonprofit, and private organizations, the information in this report is uniquely important. Unlike school-based data, the census provides comparability across the nation, at the state and local levels, and across decades, enabling us to underscore trends over time and identify the commonalities and differences among subgroups.

The sample size, complexity, and stability of the questionnaire used by the Census Bureau allow detailed analysis of race-ethnicity and nationality by gender, generation, and many other segments in population at the local, state, and national levels for two points (1990 and 2000) in time. Researchers report great variation within each racial-ethnic group. Because we work with such a large census database, we can examine adequate information on immigrant children for each subgroup. Thus, this book provides a rare opportunity to create a detailed picture of children in the United States as they changed between 1990 and 2000.

INFORMATION LIMITATIONS

The data we present in this book must be interpreted cautiously. First, our findings are a sketch of immigrant children aged 5–18 in the United States in 2000. Just as any sketch—selective in its hues, strokes, focus, and perspective—it is likely to be simplified and incomplete because it is a representation of a subject, immigration in this case, that is too rich and elusive to be rendered in images grouped by classifications of race and Hispanic origin. Therefore, although we focus on trends, we point out the exceptions whenever we can. Moreover, this sketch can be seen as a snapshot of the population in April 2000. However, the population has changed because of the continued heavy immigration since 2000.

Second, we believe it is hard to separate the effects of various conditions from each other by simply taking each at face value. Instead, we should see how these conditions relate to one another. These conditions, and the domains we specify in the first section of the introduction, are intertwined; their associations reveal complex relationships far beyond the conventional understanding of the effect of a simple item. Just as pictures arrayed in a kaleidoscope are variable and colorful, the impact of various combinations of the conditions in the four domains changes with the year of entry, the length of residency, country of origin, and other attributes.

OUR GUIDING QUESTIONS

In addition to addressing basic questions about the nature of the new immigration and characteristics of new immigrant children, we grapple with many of the questions in the national discourse about educating immigrant students, a hotly contested topic in recent years. Here are common concerns:

1. What does the U.S. school-age population look like at the beginning of the 21st century? What will it look like in the year 2020? How has this school-age population changed between 1990 and 2000, between 2000 and 2005, and how will it change between 2005 and 2020? What do these changes mean to schools and communities?

2. What challenges do schools face as they try to come to grips with new immigration-driven student demography? What should schools do to encourage the integration of newcomers with the longer-term immigrants and the ones who are established? What role can communities play in helping culturally diverse children do well in school? How will schools cope with declining federal and local supports while still effectively integrating immigrant children into U.S. society? How should schools and communities deal with those who arrive without governmental authorization?

3. What are the promises and problems, challenges and opportunities when society and its schools deal with practical and policy issues on the education of large numbers of immigrant students with enormous diversity? What are differences between temporary and long-term solutions, simplified and more comprehensive solutions? What have been common agreements and disputes, dilemmas and paradoxes, surrounding school and classroom practices and the laws and policies on the education of immigrant children?

4. With the arrival of unprecedented numbers of immigrants from Asia, Latin America, and the Caribbean over the last several decades, we must reexamine the role social race plays in children's acculturation. Rogers (2006) emphasizes that the United States is confronting the challenge of incorporating a steady, substantial stream of non-White, non-European voluntary immigrants into its society.

How are non-White immigrant children making choices in their acculturation? How does racism complicate or limit the assimilation and acculturation patterns of non-White minorities in the United States? Will racism make this process as difficult for these newcomers as it did for Africans in U.S. history? How will U.S. schools integrate the newcomers? What roles will non-White immigrant children play in 21st-century U.S. life? Because over the past three decades, the majority of immigrants have been non-Whites, responses to these questions will help educators think profoundly about how to support newcomers in becoming Americans.