Title of Project:
"Hard to Place": Multilingual Immigrant-Origin
Students in Community Colleges

Researcher:
Tasha Darbes
New York University
tdarbes@nyu.edu

Tasha Darbes

Research Supervisor:
Dr. Fabienne Doucet

Project Summary:

Assessment and placement practices at community colleges play a key role in shaping the academic pathways of students (Hughes & Scott-Clayton, 2011), and determining remedial status is now a central function of community colleges due to an increase in the number of "underprepared" students (Deil-Amen, 2011). The increasing role of English remediation is occurring in tandem with a rise in the number of culturally and linguistically diverse students at community colleges (Szelenyi & Chang, 2002), where immigrants and the children of immigrants are more likely to enroll (Erisman & Looney, 2007; Teranishi, Suárez-Orozco, & Suárez-Orozco, 2011). Although all students are confronted with the potholes of the transition to college, the testing and placement process can be both particularly problematic for students with different patterns of competencies, identity formations, and educational histories who may be "hard to place" and, therefore, experience difficulties due to mismatches between placement and students' needs and perceptions (Bunch, Endris, Panayatova, Romero, & Llosa 2011; Marshall, 2009; Nero, 2005; Salas, Portes, D'Amico & Rios-Aguilar, 2011). Given that community colleges are important sites for academic and social integration for immigrant origin youth (Szelenyi & Chang, 2002), it is imperative to understand how students respond to institutional practices that can impact their engagement and trajectories during the critical first year of attendance.

This study examined assessment and placement as a social, ideological process, and combined critical language testing, (Shohamy, 2001), theories of dynamic bilingualism, (García, 2009), and cognitive dissonance theory (Festinger, 1957) to answer three questions:

1) What are the patterns of bilingual competencies and language identity described by immigrant students in community colleges?

2)   a) What are assessment and placement practices at community colleges, and how do they differ from each other?
    b) How do immigrant students perceive and respond to the testing and placement practices?

3)   How do the practices of assessment and placement at community colleges interact with bilingual competencies and language identity?

The methods of this study were based on the aim to describe rather than ascribe, thus, resulting in a mixed methods design that combined cluster analysis (which discerns categories in data rather than analyzing assigned categories) and a grounded theory approach to students' narratives that described their abilities and experiences. Three campuses[1] were selected: a historically Latino-serving institution ("Taino"); a diverse, urban technical institution offering both four-year and two-year degrees ("Domino"); and a suburban college that has experienced recent growth in its Latino population ("Oakmont"). Analyzed data included responses of 347 immigrant-origin current community college students (aged 18-25) to a survey and a Bilingual Confidence questionnaire, as well as a purposive sub-sample of 42 semi-structured interviews with immigrant-origin students.

Research Question 1: How Do Students Perceive their Bilingual Abilities?

Results of this analysis showed that overall students exhibited high levels of confidence in their abilities in both English and the home language, and that speaking their home language was important. Cluster analysis uncovered a group of confident bilingual, less confident bilinguals and English Dominant students. Both quantitative and qualitative results suggested that the ways that students perceive their abilities differed in significant ways from the institutional categories in use. Categories such as "ESL student" were not aligned with student perceptions, and perceptions were fluid and relative rather than fixed and inherent.

Research Question 2: How Do Students Experience Assessment and Placement Practices?

The three campuses differed widely in how they placed and interpreted tests scores, especially how they constructed a line between "ESL" and "English remedial." These differences were predicated on local ideologies about language and in response to local student populations. Categories such as "ESL student" were locally constructed even when institutions used standardized assessments and procedures designed to assist students with proper placement. For example, students at the suburban campus Oakmont experienced more dissonance and also more prevalent racialized discourses that conflated 'ESL' with Hispanics. Preliminary analysis also suggested that students who attended Taino (a campus focused on identifying and supporting recent arrivals) had the lowest incidence of dissonance and perceived misplacement.

Analysis of students' perceptions of assessment and placement revealed a number of important findings. First, students perceived assessments to be valid and unquestionable, resulting in

---

[1] These names are pseudonyms.

"testing tautology" – the belief that tests were accurate, and that students knew tests were valid because the tests revealed their abilities. Testing tautology meant that students did not often articulate misplacement and very few reported actively advocating for another placement in spite of the fact that all of the colleges in the study had such mechanisms in place. Students had a number of explanatory narratives related to passing or failing assessments, including issues with second language acquisition, distraction during the exam, and "forgetting the material." These narratives aligned with perceptions of their bilingual abilities. Overall, students placed blame on themselves or circumstances rather than questioning the validity of the college's assessment and placement practices.

Research Question 3: Dynamic Interactions between Perceptions and Practices

This study explored the complex dynamic between perceptions related to their bilingual confidence and placement practices. During analysis the theme of dissonance arose, which led to using theories of Cognitive Dissonance (Festinger, 1957), as students must resolve the difference between their perceptions of themselves – their readiness for college, their process of learning English, their belief in the value of hard work – and their experiences with assessments and courses. Four themes related to assessment and placement dissonance were found: "becoming remedial," "speaker identity dissonance," "course challenge," and "hard work doesn't pay." These types of dissonance were also implicated in other processes, such as "testing as ritual," a marker of college belonging; "whirlpooling," when students spend more than three semesters in remedial in a cycle of fueled by failing tests; and "inducement," when students change their identity to conform to institutional norms. Reports of dissonance occurred frequently in the qualitative sample, as approximately one-third (15 of 42) of students experienced some type of dissonance, and the majority of these students fell in the Confident and Less Confident Bilingual clusters (11 out of 15).

The experience of dissonance had various effects. First, dissonance was found to incur the internalization of deficit narratives that affected the engagement and academic trajectories of students. Since rightness of placement was found to depend much on peer relationships, misplacement could also diminish a student's ability to form supportive relationships with peers that could increase belonging and persistence. Assessment and placement practices were therefore powerful agents in forming student perceptions and feelings of belonging, of identity – they communicated, they sent messages, which students then reacted to, resisted, and / or internalized.

Findings suggest that assessment and placement experiences were not equally distributed or interpreted similarly across student populations, but differentially affected students whose language performance, identities and developmental trajectories may differ from norms. One's linguistic background, rather than one's immigrant-origin background, appeared to contribute to the saliency of English assessments in college trajectories, as second-generation bilingual students experienced more difficulties and dissonance compared to monolingual immigrant-origin youth.

Implications for Policy and Practice

Currently, community colleges do not collect data or use any information related to the home language, speaking ability, or immigration factors when making placement decisions and do not have any category that refers to students as bilinguals or multilinguals. Instead, decisions are made based solely on language assessment scores, which have been found to be unreliable predictors of success in English courses (Scott-Clayton, 2012). The use of a bilingual confidence questionnaire (as was developed for this study), demographic information, or including student input in placement decisions would ensure that coursework would be aligned with student needs and perceptions, thus reducing misplacement

Assessment and placement practices were found to be particularly problematic for linguistically diverse students and produced multiple types of dissonance that could lead to disengagement. Because of "testing tautology", community colleges should not rely on students initiating challenges of their placements and instead enact more proactive approaches to identifying misplaced students and mechanisms to change initial English courses. Additionally, counselors were not always sensitive to the needs and identities of linguistically diverse students, and were responsible for placing such students down or ascribing an ESL identification based on appearance or assumptions. Counselors with such power need additional training to appropriately handle placement decisions and cannot be seen as a solution to unreliable test scores.

This study's findings further the argument that in light of the unreliable nature of assessments and the realities of an extremely diverse population, the binaries of "ready" and "not ready" should be replaced by with a system of supports that are gradually reduced as students progress. Assessments should focus instead on the identification of students in early stages of acquisition. Recent arrivals may take longer to pass assessments due to time it takes to acquire language, and students reported losing financial aid or facing expulsion due to multiple test failures. Such policies should not withdraw funds or frame these students as failures.

Investigating the impact of assessment and placement as gatekeeping mechanisms is crucial for understanding the academic pathways of immigrant youth and has important implications for equity and integration in globalized spaces. My future research will examine these results quantitatively and extend findings to K-12 settings and the transition between high school and higher education.

References

Alexander, B. C., Garcia, V., Gonzalez, L., Grimes, G., & O'Brien, D. (2007). Barriers in the transfer process for Hispanic and Hispanic immigrant students. *Journal of Hispanic Higher Education*, *6*(2), 174–184.

American Association of Community Colleges. (2008). For the hearing of committee on ways and means subcommittee on select revenue measures "Tax Incentives for Postsecondary Education." Presented by Dr. Wayne Watson, May 1st, 2008. Retrieved from http://waysandmeans.house.gov/media/pdf/110/watson.pdf

Anderson, C. A. (1991). How people think about causes: Examination of the typical phenomenal organization of attributions for success and failure. *Social Cognition, 9*(4) 295–329.

Armstrong, W. B. (1994). English placement testing, multiple measures, and disproportionate impact: An analysis of the criterion- and content-related validity evidence for the reading & writing placement tests in the San Diego Community College District. Retrieved from http://ezproxy.library.nyu.edu:3827/?id=ED398965

Aronson, E. & Mills, J. (1959). The effect of severity of initiation on liking for a group. *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 59*(2)177–181.

Aronson, J., Fried, C. B., & Good, C. (2002). Reducing the effects of stereotype threat on African American college students by shaping theories of intelligence. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, *38*(2), 113–125.

Bachman, L. F., & Palmer, A. S. (1996). *Language testing in practice*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Bailey, T. R. (2009). *Rethinking developmental education in community college*. New York, NY: Community College Research Center.

Bailey, T., & Morest, V. S. (Eds.). (2006). *Defending the community college equity agenda.* Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press.

Bailey, T., Jeong, W.D., & Cho, S-W. (2010). Student progression through developmental education sequences in community colleges. (CCRC Brief #45). New York, NY: Community College Research Center, Teachers College, Columbia University.

Baum, S. & Flores, S. (2011) Higher education and children in immigrant families. *Future of Children 21*(1), 171-194.

Belfield, C., & Crosta, P. M. (2012). Predicting Success in College: The importance of placement tests and high school transcripts. Retrieved from http://academiccommons.columbia.edu/ catalog/ac:146486

Bempechat, J., & Mirny, A. (2005). Contemporary theories of achievement motivation. In S. J. Farenga & D. Ness (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of education and human development* (pp. 433–443). Armonk, NY: M.E.Sharpe.

Blanton, L. L. (1999). Classroom instruction and language minority students: On teaching to 'smarter' readers and writers. In L. Harklau, K. M. Losey & M. Siegal. (Eds.), *Generation 1.5 meets college composition:Issues in the teaching of writing to US-educated learners of ESL* (pp. 127–153). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.

Bleakely, H., & Chin, A. (2004). Language skills and earnings: Evidence from childhood immigrants. *Review of Economics and Statistics, 86*(2), 481-96.

Bloom, D. E. (2004). Globalization and education: An economic perspective. In M. Suárez-Orozco & D. Qin-Hilliard (Eds.), *Globalization: Culture and education in the new millennium* (pp. 56–77). Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Boatman, A., & Long, B. T. (2010). Does remediation work for all students? How the effects of postsecondary remedial and developmental courses vary by level of academic preparation. An NCPR Working Paper. *National Center for Postsecondary Research*. Retrieved from http://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED5 12610.pdf

Bourdieu, P. (1998) *Practical reason: On the theory of action*. Redwood City, CA: Stanford University Press

Bowen, G. (2008). Naturalistic inquiry and the saturation concept: A research note. *Qualitative Research*, *8*(1), 137.

Brock, T. Jenkins, D., Ellwein, T., Miller, J., Gooden, S., Martin, K., MacGregor, C., & Pih, M. (2007). *Building a culture of evidence for community college success: Early progress in the Achieving the Dream initiative*. MDRC and Community College Research Center. Retrieved from http://www.mdrc.org/publications /452/full.pdf.

Bunch, G. & Endris, A. (2012) Navigating "open access" community colleges: Matriculation policies and practices for US-educated language minority students. In Y. Kanno, Y. & L. Harklau (Eds.) *Linguistic Minority Students Go to College: Preparation, Access and Persistence* (pp. 165–183). New York, NY: Routledge.

Bunch, G., Endris, A., Panayotova, D., Romero, M., & Llosa, L. (2011). Mapping the terrain: Language testing and placement for US-educated language minority students in

California's community colleges. Report prepared for the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation. Retrieved from http://www.escholarship.org /uc/item/31m3q6tb.

Bunch, G., & Panayotova, D. (2008). Latinos, language minority students, and the construction of ESL: Language testing and placement from high school to community college. *Journal of Hispanic Higher Education, 7(1)*, 6–30.

Cabrera, A. F., Crissman, J., Bernal, E. M., Nora, A., Terenzini, P., & Pascarella, E. (2002). Collaborative learning: Its impact on college students' development and diversity. *Journal of College Student Development, 43*(1), 20-34.

Calcagno, J. C., & Long, B. T. (2008). The impact of postsecondary remediation using a regression discontinuity approach: Addressing endogenous sorting and noncompliance. New York, NY: National Center for Postsecondary Research. Retrieved from http://www.nber.org/papers/w14194

Canagarajah, A. S. (2006). The place of world Englishes in composition: Pluralization continued. *College Composition and Communication*, *57*(4), 586-619.

Center for Community College Student Engagement. (2012). *A matter of degrees: Promising practices for community college student success (A first look).* Austin, TX: The University of Texas at Austin, Community College Leadership Program.

Chapa, J. & De La Rosa, B. (2004). Latino population growth, socioeconomic and demographic characteristics, and implications for educational attainment. *Education and Urban Society*, *36*(2), 130–149.

Charmaz, K. (2003) Grounded theory: Objectivist and constructivist methods. In Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (Eds.), *Strategies of Qualitative Inquiry* (pp. 219-291). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Charmaz, K. (2006). Constructing grounded theory. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Charmaz, K. (2008).Grounded theory as an emergent method. In S.N., Hesse-Biber, & P., Leavy(Eds.), *Handbook of emergent methods* (pp. 155-170), New York, NY: Guilford Press.

Codó, E. (2008). Interviews and questionnaires. In L. Wei & M. Moyer (Eds.), *The Blackwell guide to research methods in bilingualism and multilingualism* (pp. 158-176). Malden, MA: Blackwell.

College Board. (2008). *Winning the skills race and strengthening America's middle class: An action agenda for community colleges*. New York, NY: The College Board, Center for

Innovative Thought, National Commission on Community Colleges. Retrieved from http://professionals.collegeboard.com/data-reports-research.

Collier, V. (1987) Age and rate of acquisition of second language for academic purposes. *TESOL Quarterly*, *21*(4), 617–641.

Conley, D. T. (2010). *Replacing remediation with readine*ss. Paper presented at the National Center for Postsecondary Research Conference on Developmental Education, New York, NY. Retrieved from http://www.postsecondaryresearch.org /conference/PDF/NCPR_Panel2_Conley.pdf

Connell, C. (2008). The vital role of community colleges in the education and integration of immigrants. Report for Grantmakers Concerned with Immigrants and Refugees. Retrieved from http://www.gcir.org/publications/gcirpubs/college.

Contreras, F. E. (2005). Access, achievement, and social capital: Standardized exams and the Latino college-bound population. *Journal of Hispanic Higher Education*, *4*(3), 197–214. doi:10.1177/1538192705276546

Conway, K. M. (2009). Exploring persistence of immigrant and native students in an urban community college. *Review of Higher Education: Journal of the Association for the Study of Higher Education. 32*(3), 321-352.

Crandall, J., & Sheppard, K. (2004). Adult ESL and the community college. *CAAL community college series*. New York, NY: Council for the Advancement of Adult Literacy.

Crisp, G., & Nora, A. (2010). Hispanic student success: Factors influencing the persistence and transfer decisions of Latino community college students enrolled in developmental education. *Research in Higher Education*, *51*(2), 175–194.

Cumming, A. (2004). Broadening, deepening, and consolidating. *Language Assessment Quarterly*, *1*(1), 5–18. doi:10.1207/s15434311laq0101_2

Cummins, J. (1991). Language development and academic learning. In L. M. Malavé & G. Duquette (Eds.), *Language, Culture, & Cognition* (pp. 161–175). Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Curry, M. J. (2004). UCLA Community college review: Academic literacy for English language learners. *Community College Review*, *32*(2), 51-68.

Deil-Amen, R. (2011). Beyond remedial dichotomies: Are "underprepared" college students a marginalized majority? *New Directions for Community Colleges*, *2011*(155), 59–71.

Deil-Amen, R., & Rosenbaum, J. E. (2002). The unintended consequences of stigma-free remedlation. *Sociology of Education*, *75*(3), 249–268.

Deil-Amen, R., & Tevis, T. (2010). Circumscribed agency: The relevance of standardized college entrance exams for low SES high school students. *Review of Higher Education, 33*(2), 141–175.

di Gennaro, K. (2008). Assessment of generation 1.5 learners for placement into college writing courses. *Journal of Basic Writing (CUNY)*, *27*(1), 61-79.

Doolan, S. M., & Miller, D. (2012). Generation 1.5 written error patterns: A comparative study. *Journal of Second Language Writing*, *21*(1), 1–22.

Dörnyei, Z. (2005). *The psychology of the language learner: Individual differences in second language acquisition*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Edgecombe, N. (2011). *Accelerating the academic achievement of students referred to developmental education* (CCRC Working Paper No. 30, Assessment of Evidence Series). New York, NY: Columbia University, Teachers College, Community College Research Center.

Enright, K. A. (2010). Language and literacy for a new mainstream. *American Educational Research Journal*, *48*(1), 80-118.

Erisman, W. & Looney, S. (2007). *Opening the door to the American Dream: Increasing higher education access and success for immigrants.* Washington, D.C.: Institute for Higher Education Policy.

Everitt, B., Landau, S., Leese, M., & Stahl, D. (2011). *Cluster analysis* (5th Ed.) West Sussex, UK: JohnWiley & Sons, Ltd.

Extra, G., & Vallen, T. (2012). Assessing multilingualism at school. In *The Encyclopedia of Applied Linguistics*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.

Faltis, C. (1999). Creating a new history. In Faltis, C. & Wolfe, P. (Eds.), *So much to say: Adolescents, bilingualism and ESL in the secondary school* (pp. 1-12). New York, NY: Teachers College Press.

Ferris, D. (2011). *Treatment of error in second language student writing*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.

Festinger, L. (1957). *A theory of cognitive dissonance*. Evanston, IL: Row, Peterson & Company.

Foderaro, L. (2011). CUNY adjusts amid tide of remedial students. *The New York Times.* Retrieved from http://www.nytimes.com/2011/03/04/nyregion/ 04remedial.html?_r=1&emc=eta1

Forsythe, D., Story, P., Kelley, K., & McMillan, J. (2009). What causes failure and success? Students' perceptions of their academic outcomes. *Social Psychology and Education 12*(2), 157–174. DOI 10.1007/s11218-008-9078-7

Fortuny, K., Capps, R., Simms, M., & Chaudry, A. (2009). Children of immigrants: National and state characteristics. Brief 9, August 2009. *Urban Institute*. Retrieved from http://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED506971.pdf

Frodeson, J. (2009) The academic writing development of a generation 1.5 "latecomer." In M.Roberge, M. Siegal & L. Harklau (Eds.), *Generation 1.5 in college composition.*(pp. 91-104). New York, NY: Routledge.

Frodesen, J., & Starna, N. (1999). Distinguishing incipient and functional bilingual writers: Assessment and instructional insights gained through second-language writer profiles. In L, Harklau, K. M. Losey & M. Siegal. (1999). *Generation 1.5 meets college composition: Issues in the teaching of writing to US-educated learners of ESL* (pp. 61-80). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.

Gándara, P., & Contreras, F. (2009). *The Latino education crisis: The consequences of failed social policies*. Cambridge, MA:Harvard University Press.

Gándara, P., Horn, C., & Orfield, G. (2005). The access crisis in higher education. *Educational Policy*, *19*(2), 255-261.

García, O. (2009). *Bilingual education in the 21st century: A global perspective.* Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.

García, O., & Menken, K. (2006). The English of Latinos from a plurilingual, transcultural angle: Implications for assessment and schools. In S. Nero (Ed.), *Dialects, Englishes, Creole and education.* New York, NY: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Grubb, W. N. (2010). *The quandaries of basic skills in community colleges: Views from the classroom* (NCPR Working Paper). New York, NY: Columbia University, Teachers College, National Center for Postsecondary Research.

Gutiérrez, K. D., Morales, P. Z., & Martinez, D. C. (2009). Re-mediating literacy: Culture, difference and learning for students from nondominant communities. *Review of Research in Education, 33*(1), 212-245.

Gutiérrez, K. D., & Orellana, M. F. (2006). At last: The " problem" of English learners: Constructing genres of difference. *Research in the Teaching of English*, *40*, 502–507.

Hair, J., Black, W., Babin, B. & Anderson, R. (2010). Multivariate data analysis. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Prentice Hall.

Harklau, L. (2000). From "good kids" to the "worst": Representations of English language learners across educational settings. *TESOL Quarterly, 34*(1), 35-67.

Harklau, L. (2003). Generation 1.5 students and college writing. *CAL/ERIC Digest. October*. Retrieved from http://webdev.cal.org/Development/resources/digest /digest_pdfs/0305harklau.pdf

Harklau, L., Losey, K.M., & Siegal, M. (Eds.). (1999). *Generation 1.5 meets college composition: Issues in the teaching of writing to U.S.-educated learners of ESL.* Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Harklau, L., & Siegel, M. (2009) Immigrant youth and higher education: An overview. In M., Roberge, M. Siegal & L. Harklau (Eds.), *Generation 1.5 in college composition.* (pp. 25-34). New York, NY: Routledge.

Harmon-Jones, E., & Mills, J. (1999). An introduction to cognitive dissonance theory and an overview of current perspectives on the theory. In E. Harmon-Jones & J. Mills (Eds.), *Cognitive Dissonance: Progress on a Pivotal Theory in Social Psychology* (pp. 3-24). Washington, D.C.: American Psychological Association.

Hawley, T. H., & Harris, T. A. (2005). Student characteristics related to persistence for first-year community college students. *Journal of College Student Retention: Research*, *7*(7), 117-142.

Heider, F. (1958). *The psychology of interpersonal relations.* New York, NY: Wiley.

Hernandez, D., Denton, N., & McCartney, S. (2006). Children in newcomer and native families. Albany, NY: *Center for Social and Demographic Analysis, The University at Albany, SUNY.*

Hodara, M. (2013). Heterogenous effects of English as a second language compared to developmental English coursework. Paper presented at AERA 2013, San Francisco, CA.

Hodara, M., Smith-Jaggars, S., & Karp, M. (2012). Improving developmental education assessment and placement: Lessons from community colleges across the country (CCRC Working Paper No. 51). New York, NY: Columbia University, Teachers College, Community College Research Center.

Holten, C. (2009) Creating an inter-departmental course for generation 1.5 ESL writers: Challenges face and lessons learned. In M., Roberge, M. Siegal & L. Harklau (Eds.), *Generation 1.5 in college composition* (pp. 170-184). New York, NY: Routledge.

Horn, L., Nevill, S., & Griffith, J. (2006). Profile of Undergraduates in US Postsecondary Education Institutions, 2003-04: With a Special Analysis of Community College Students. Statistical Analysis Report. NCES 2006-184. Washington, DC: National Center for Education Statistics, Institute of Education Sciences, U.S. Department of Education.

Hornberger, N. H. (2003). *Continua of biliteracy: An ecological framework for educational policy, research, and practice in multilingual settings*. London, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Hughes, K. L., & Scott-Clayton, J. (2011). *Assessing developmental education assessment in community colleges* (CCRC Working Paper No. 19, Assessment of Evidence Series). New York, NY: Columbia University, Teachers College, Community College Research Center.

Jia, G., Aaronson, D., & Wu, Y. (2002). Long-term language attainment of bilingual immigrants: Predictive variables and language group differences. *Applied Psycholinguistics*, *23*(4) 599–621. doi:10.1017/S0142716402004058

Johnson, R. & Onwuegbuzie, A. (2004). Mixed methods research: A research paradigm whose time has come. *Educational Research, 33*(7), 14-26.

Kane, M. T. (1992). An argument-based approach to validity. *Psychological Bulletin, 112*(3), 527-535. doi:10.1037//0033-2909.112.3.527

Kaufman, L. & Rousseeuw, P. (1990). *Finding groups in data: An introduction to cluster analysis.* New York, NY: Wiley-Interscience Publication.

Kibler, A. K., Bunch, G. C., & Endris, A. K. (2011). Community college practices for U.S.-educated language-minority students: A resource-oriented framework. *Bilingual Research Journal*, *34*(2), 201-222.

Lew, J. W., Chang, J. C., & Wang, W. (2005). The overlooked minority: Asian Pacific American students at the community colleges. *Community College Review, 33*(2), 64-84.

Leung, C, Harris, R. & Rampton, B. (1997). The idealized native speaker, reified ethnicities, and classroom realities. *TESOL Quarterly,31*(3), 543-60.

Lincoln, Y. & Guba, E. (1985). Naturalistic inquiry. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Llosa, L., & Bunch, G. (2011). What's in a test? ESL and English placement tests in California's community colleges and implications for US-educated language minority students. Retrieved from http://escholarship.org/uc/item/5qt5s496.pdf.

Locust, W. (2007). *The demographics: Who's in the cohort?* Presentation to the College Board's Task Force on Admissions in the 21st century. As cited in College Board (Ed.), *Winning the skills race and strengthening America's middle class: An action agenda for community colleges*. New York, NY: The College Board, Center for Innovative Thought, National Commission on Community Colleges. Retrieved from http://professionals.collegeboard.com/profdownload/winning_the_skills_race.pdf

Louie, V. (2005). Immigrant newcomer populations, ESEA, and the pipeline to college: Current considerations and future lines of inquiry. *Review of Research in Education*, *29*(1), 69–105.

Louie, V. (2009) The education of the 1.5 generation from an international migration framework: Demographics, diversity and difference. In M. Roberge, , M. Siegal, & L.Harklau, (Eds.), *Generation 1.5 in college composition*(pp. 35-49). New York, NY: Routledge.

Marian, V., Blumenfeld, H., & Kaushanskaya, M. (2007). The language experience and proficiency questionnaire (LEAP-Q): Assessing language profiles in bilinguals and multilinguals. *Journal of Speech, Language & Hearing Research*, *50*(4), 940–967.

Marshall, S. (2009). Re-becoming ESL: Multilingual university students and a deficit identity. *Language and Education, 24*(1), 41-56.

Martin-Jones, M. (2007). Bilingualism, education, and the regulation of access to language resources. In M. Heller(Ed.), *Bilingualism: A social approach* (pp.161-182). London, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.

Matsuda, P. & Matsuda, A. (2009). The erasure of resident ESL writers. In M., Roberge, M. Siegal & L. Harklau (Eds.), *Generation 1.5 in college composition* (pp. 50–64). New York, NY: Routledge.

McNamara, T. (2007). *Language testing: The social dimension.* Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.

Merriam, S. B. (2009). *Qualitative research: A guide to design and implementation.* San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Messick, S. (1989). Meaning and values in test validation: The science and ethics of assessment. *Educational Researcher*, *18*(2), 5–11.

Mills, C. and Gale, T. (2007) Researching social inequalities: A Bourdieuan methodology. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, *20*(4), 433-447.

Mott-Smith, J. A. (2009). Responding to high-stakes writing assessment: A case study of five generation 1.5 learners. In M. Roberge, M. Siegal & L. Harklau (Eds.), *Generation 1.5 in college composition*(pp. 120-134). New York, NY: Routledge.

Nero, S. J. (2005). Language, identities, and ESL pedagogy. *Language and Education*, *19*(3), 194–211.

Nora, A. & Garcia, V. (2001). The role of perceptions of remediation on the persistence of developmental students in higher education. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American educational research association, Chicago, IL.

Norusis, M. (2008). *SPSS 16.0 guide to data analysis* (2nd ed.). Upper Saddle River, NJ, USA: Prentice Hall Press.

Onwuegbuzie, A. J., & Leech, N. L. (2005). On becoming a pragmatic researcher: The importance of combining quantitative and qualitative research methodologies. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, *8*(5), 375-387.

Oropeza, M. V., Varghese, M. M., & Kanno, Y. (2010). Linguistic minority students in higher education: Using, resisting, and negotiating multiple labels. *Equity & Excellence in Education*, *43*(2), 216–231. doi:10.1080/10665681003666304

Pascarella, E. T., & Terenzini, P. T. (2005). *How college affects students: A third decade of research.*San Francusco, CA: Jossey-Bass. Retrieved from http://www.openisbn.org/download/0787910449.pdf

Passel, J.S. (2011). Demography of immigrant youth: Past, present and future. *Future of Children 21*(1), 19-41.

Patthey, G., Thomas-Spiegel, J., & Dillon, P. (2009). Educational pathways of generation 1.5 students in community college writing courses. In M., Roberge, M. Siegal & L. Harklau (Eds.), *Generation 1.5 in college composition* (pp. 135-149). New York, NY: Routledge.

Pavlenko, A., & Blackledge, A. (2004). *Negotiation of identities in multilingual contexts* (Vol. 45). Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Peirce, B. N. (1994). Language learning, social identity, and immigrant women. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages. *Report: ED373582.* Retrieved from http://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED373582.pdf

Perna, L. W. (2006). Studying college choice: A proposed conceptual model. In J. C. Smart (Ed.), *Higher education: Handbook of theory and research* (Vol. 21, pp. 91–157). New York, NY: Springer.

Perry, M. Bahr, P.R., Rosin, M., &Woodward, K.M. (2010). Course-taking patterns, policies, and practices in developmental education in the California community colleges. Mountain View, CA: EdSource. Retrieved from http://www.edsource.org/issresearch communitycollege.html

Plano Clark, V. L., & Creswell, J. W. (2011). *Designing and conducting mixed methods research*. Thousand Oaks, CA : Sage Publications.

Primary Research Group. (2008). *Survey of assessment practices in higher education.* New York, NY: Primary Research Group. Retrieved from http://primaryresearch.com/view_product.php?report_id=389

Provasnik, S., & Planty, M. (2008). Community colleges: Special supplement to the condition of education 2008. Statistical Analysis Report. NCES 2008-033. Washington, DC: National Center for Education Statistics, Institute of Education Sciences, U.S. Department of Education. Retrieved from http://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED502349.pdf

Rampton, B. (1990). Displacing the 'native speaker': Expertise, affiliation and inheritance. *ELT Journal, 44*(2), 97-101.

Reindl, T. (2007). *Hitting home: Quality, cost and access challenges confronting higher education today.* Boston, MA: Jobs for the Future and Lumina Foundation for Education. Retrieved from http://www.jff.org/Documents/HittingHome.pdf.

Roberge, M. (2002). California's generation 1.5 immigrants: What experiences, characteristics, and needs do they bring to our English classes? *CATESOL Journal, 14*(1), 107-129.

Roberge (2009) A teacher's perspective on generation 1.5. In M., Roberge, M. Siegal & L. Harklau (Eds.), *Generation 1.5 in college composition.* New York, NY: Routledge.

Roberge, M., Siegal, M., & Harklau, L. (Eds.). (2009). *Generation 1.5 in college composition: Teaching academic writing to U.S.-educated learners of ESL.* Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Rumbaut, R. G. (2004). Ages, life stages, and generational cohorts: Decomposing the immigrant first and second generations in the United States. *International Migration Review*, *38*(3), 1160-1205.

Rumbaut, R. G., Cornelius, W. A., et al. (1995). *California's immigrant children: Theory, research, and implications for educational policy*. San Diego, CA: Center for US-Mexican Studies, University of California, San Diego.

Rysiewicz, J. (2008) Cognitive profiles of (un)successful FL learners: A cluster analytical study. *The Modern Language Journal, 92*(1), 87-99.

Safran, S. & Visher, M. (2010). Case studies of three community colleges: The policy and practice of assessing and placing students in developmental education courses. National Center for Postsecondary Research. Retrieved from http://www.mdrc.org/sites/default/files/full_54.pdf

Salas, S. (2008). Roberta; or, the ambiguities: Tough love and high stakes assessment in a two-year college in North Georgia. *Journal of Basic Writing, 27*(2), 5-28.

Salas, S., Portes, R., D'Amico, M., & Rios-Aguilar, C. (2011). Generación 1.5: A cultural historical agenda for research at the 2-year college. *Community College Review, 39*(2),121- 135

Schleppegrell, M. J. (2004). The language of schooling: A functional linguistics perspective. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Scott-Clayton, J. (2012). Do high-stakes Placement exams predict college success? CCRC Working Paper No. 41. *Community College Research Center, Columbia University*. Retrieved from http://ezproxy.library.nyu.edu:3827/?id=ED529866

Selinker, L. (1972). Interlanguage. *IRAL. 10*(1-4), 209-232.

Shohamy, E. (1998). Critical language testing and beyond. *Studies in Educational Evaluation*, *24*(4), 331–345.

Shohamy, E. (2001). *The power of tests: A critical perspective on the uses of language tests.* London, UK: Pearson.

Shohamy, E. (2011). Assessing multilingual Competencies: Adopting Construct Valid Assessment Policies. *The Modern Language Journal*, *95*(3), 418–429. doi:10.1111/j.1540-4781.2011.01210.x

Smith-Jaggers, S. & Hodara, M. (2011). The opposing forces that shape developmental education: Assessment, placement and progression at CUNY Community Colleges. New York, NY: Community College Research Center. Retrieved from http://ccrc.tc.columbia.edu/Publication.asp?UID=974

Solórzano, D. G., Rivas, M., & Velez, V. (2005). Community college as a pathway to Chicana/o doctorate production. Los Angeles, CA: UCLA Chicano Studies Research Center. Retrieved from http://www.eric.ed.gov:80/PDFS/ED493402.pdf

Song, B. (2006). Failure in a college ESL course: Perspectives of instructors and students. *Community College Journal of Research and Practice*, *30*(5-6), 417–431.

Strauss, A. & Corbin, J. (1990). *Basics of qualitative research: Techniques and procedures for developing grounded research.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Strauss, A., & Corbin, J. (1998). Basics of qualitative research: Grounded theory procedures and techniques (2nd ed.). Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.

Steele, C. M., & Aronson, J. (1995). Stereotype threat and the intellectual test performance of African Americans. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 69*(5), 797-811.

Suárez-Orozco, C. (2004). Formulating identity in a globalized world. In M. Suárez-Orozco, & D. B. Qin-Hilliard (Eds.). *Globalization: Culture and education in the new millennium* (pp. 173-202). Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press.

Suárez-Orozco, C., Gaytán, F.X., & Kim, H.Y. (2010). Facing the challenges of educating Latino immigrant origin students. In S. McHale, A. Booth, & N. Landale (Eds.), *Growing up Hispanic: Health and development of children of Immigrants* (pp. 189 – 240). Washington, D.C.: The Urban Institute

Suárez-Orozco, C., Suárez-Orozco, M. M., & Todorova, I. (2008). *Learning a new land: Immigrant students in American society.* Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press/Harvard University Press.

Suárez-Orozco, M. (2001). Globalization, immigration, and education. *Harvard Educational Review, 71*(3): 345–365.

Szelenyi, K. & Chang, J.C. (2002). Educating immigrants: The community college role. *Community College Review, 30*(2), 55-73.

Tabachnick, B. G., & Fidell, L. S. (2012). Using multivariate statistics. Upper Saddle River, NJ Pearson.

Teranishi, R., & Briscoe, K. (2006). Social capital and the racial stratification of college opportunity. In J.C. Smart (ed.) *Higher education: Handbook of theory and research, Vol. XXI.* (pp. 591–614). New York, NY: Springer.

Teranishi, R., Suárez-Orozco, C., & Suárez-Orozco, M. (2011). Immigrants in community colleges. *Future of Children 21*(1), 153–169.

Thonus, T. (2003). Serving generation 1.5 learners in the university writing center. *TESOLJournal, 12*(1), 17-24.

Tinto, V. (1997a). Classrooms as communities. *Journal of Higher Education*, *68*(6), 599–623.

Tinto, V. (1997b). Colleges as communities: Taking research on student persistence seriously. *The Review of Higher Education*, *21*(2), 167–177.

Turner, V. (1969). *The Ritual Process: Structure and anti-structure.* Chicago, IL: Transaction Publishers.

Valdes, G. (1992). Bilingual minorities and language issues in writing: Toward profession-wide responses to a new challenge. *Written Communication*, *9*(1), 85-136.

Valdes, G. & Figueroa, R. (1994). Bilingualism and testing: A special case of bias. Westport, CT: Ablex Publishing.

Venezia, A., Bracco, K., & Nodine, T. (2010). A one shot deal? Students' perceptions of assessment and course placement at California Community Colleges. San Francisco, CA: WestEd. Retrieved from http://www.wested.org/online_pubs /OneShotDeal.pdf

Wattendorf, E., & Festman, J. (2008). Images of the multilingual brain: The effect of age of second language acquisition. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*, *28*, 3–24.

Wimer, S., & Kelley, H. H. (1982). An investigation of the dimensions of causal attribution. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 43*(6), 1142–1162. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.43.6.1142.

Wirt, J., Rooney, P., Hussar, B., Choy, S., Provasnik, S., & Hampden-Thompson, G. (2005). The Condition of Education 2005. NCES 2005-094. Washington, DC: National Center for Education Statistics, Institute of Education Sciences, U.S. Department of Education.

Yamamori, K., Isoda, T., Hiromori, T., & Oxford, R.L. (2003). Using cluster analysis to uncover L2 learner differences in strategy use, will to learn, and achievement over time. *International Review of Applied Linguistics in Language Teaching, 41*(4)*,* 381-410.

Zhao, C. & Kuh, G. (2004). Adding value: Student communities and student engagement. *Research in Higher Education, 45*(2), 115-138.