

The Context for Marginal Secondary ESL Programs: Contributing Factors and The Need for Further Research

Mark A. Grey

With as much as one-third of the nation's population growth during the 1980s attributed to immigration, the challenges facing America's public schools are tremendous, particularly for those enrolling limited English proficient (LEP) students. These challenges have and will continue to include establishment of secondary English as a second language (ESL) programs to accommodate these

Mark A. Grey, PhD, is an assistant professor of Anthropology in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at the University of Northern Iowa in Cedar Falls, Iowa.

students' educational needs. These programs, like all programs which deal with exceptional populations, are developed within the social and economic conditions and expectations of local communities and the larger society, as well as within the setting of the school itself. These conditions for program development and operations, combined with expectations for the appropriate role of schools, form a context within which the programs either establish themselves as integral parts of school life, or are given another, possibly marginal, status.

Concepts of Marginality

Robert Park (1928) first considered immigrants as marginal people in his essay "Human Migration and Marginal Man." However, Stonequist (1937) developed this notion more fully in his classic *The Marginal Man*. Stonequist defined marginal people as those who are coupled between two (or more) different cultures. Stonequist emphasizes that not only are these cultures different, but antagonistic as well. The marginal man struggles to find an identity between these two worlds. He is, therefore,

poised in psychological uncertainty between two (or more) social worlds; reflecting in his soul the discords and harmonies, repulsions and attractions of these worlds, one of which is often "dominant" over the other; within which membership is implicitly if not explicitly based upon birth or ancestry (race or nationality); and where exclusion removes the individual from a system of group relations. (Stonequist, 1937, p. 8)

Stonequist's primary concepts of marginal immigrants have been extended in a variety of ways, although Golden (1987) has asserted that no one since has acquired the depth of Stonequist's understanding of the marginal situation. Billson (1988) has pointed out that despite the variety of interpretations of marginality that have emerged since Stonequist's work, there has been a tendency to consider marginality as a universal concept. Billson submits, however, that the "term's lack of precision has led to confusion and disparate usage" (1988, p. 183). Billson has classified the variety of ways in which marginality has been used into three general types: (a) cultural marginality, (b) social role marginality, and (c) structural marginality (1988, P. 184-185). All three of these types of marginality are relevant to consideration of marginal immigrant education programs.

Cultural marginality points to "the processes of cross-cultural contact and assimilation...[which] usually stems from a hierarchical valuation of two cultures in which an individual participates, so that relations between the two are commonly defined in terms of acceptance or rejection, belonging or isolation,

in-group or out-group" (Billson, 1988, p. 184).

Social role marginality "is the product of failure to belong to a positive reference group" (1988, p. 184). Among those considered with this status are women entering certain professions (Aisenberg & Harrington, 1988; Bowker & Cox, 1982), adolescents (Wittermans & Krause, 1964; Newcomb, 1955), amateurs (Stebbins, 1979), chiropractors (Wardwell, 1952) and female executives (Buono & Kamm 1983). Immigrant students may suffer from this type of marginality as well, particularly in terms of their lack of participation in officially sanctioned school activities such as sports which will be discussed below.

The third type, structural marginality, "refers to the political, social and economic powerlessness of certain disenfranchised and/or disadvantaged segments within societies" (Billson, 1988, p. 185). In this sense, the "marginal man" idea "has been cross-fertilized with conflict perspectives on oppression and exploitation to create contemporary conceptualizations of structural marginality" (Billson, 1988, p. 185).

Golden (1989) has pointed out that manifestations of structural marginality can be found at the micro level: "Organizations and institutions by their nature tend to exclude people and bring about the alienation of human beings from one another" (1989, p. 5). In particular, Golden notes that educational institutions "can also be used to discriminate against and segregate people" through ability groups and use of teaching methods and tests that favor one group over another (1989, p. 5). Clearly ESL programs can be used to discriminate against and segregate immigrant students which contributes to their negative cultural and social status. Therefore, what must be determined are the various factors which may influence the marginal status of secondary ESL programs.

The Essay

This essay takes as its point of departure the view that although examples may exist of secondary ESL programs that hold genuinely integrated roles in their respective schools, a number of factors exist to create a context within which ESL programs may be isolated from mainstream school processes and are, in fact, given a marginal status. This essay outlines some of these factors involved in the creation of a social and economic context for marginal ESL programs in American public schools.

Despite the considerable attention that has been given to immigrants as marginal within American society, whether schools themselves contribute to a marginal status for recent immigrant students has not been readily addressed.

Nor has the question of whether educational programs designed to meet the needs of LEP immigrant students are themselves marginal been considered.

While the segregation or fragmentation of LEP immigrant students and their educational programs has been noted elsewhere (cf. Gibson, 1988; Fradd & Weismantel, 1989; National Coalition of Advocates for Students, 1988), these programs generally have not been considered in terms of having a marginal status. However, in a recent article concerning relations between immigrant and other students in Garden City High School in Garden City, Kansas (Grey, 1990), I demonstrated that the school's ESL program—while an accommodation for the educational needs of immigrant students—was largely isolated from mainstream school life and that the social and economic context within which the program operated exacerbated divisions already found among students due to differences in cultural background and language (Grey, 1990).

Although certain factors specific to Garden City High and the surrounding community were influential, other factors contributed to this context for marginality that is found throughout our society. In the following discussion, six of these factors are outlined in hopes of provoking discussion concerning the degree to which other ESL programs are marginal within public schools and to consider those common elements that form a context for their marginal positions. Also, a challenge is issued to research the relative influence of these factors in other schools and among different student populations.

Factor #1: Lack Of Previous Experience

Secondary ESL programs may be characterized by a lack of previous experience on the part of both teachers and administrators. The number of certified ESL teaching staff has not kept pace with the growing numbers of ESL programs, and to make up for this shortfall, school districts often go to great lengths to recruit ESL instructional staff, even sending representatives to recruit teachers from the home countries of immigrant students. Other new ESL teachers are often pulled from other programs that may or may not be related to ESL or bilingual instruction. For example, if available, ESL teachers are often taken from elementary bilingual programs. More often, however, new teachers may be pulled from mainstream classes to adapt their regular curriculum or teaching expertise to an ESL classroom. These teachers may hold a genuine interest in working with LEP students—thus their willingness to change programs—but their lack of experience in dealing with these types of students often leads to poor or inappropriate instruction. Not only do students suffer from inadequate instruction, but the reputation of the program suffers when students

are not well prepared to advance academically.

An absence of requirements or opportunities for certification in ESL education in many states also contributes to poor instruction and ambivalent feelings towards ESL programs. While all other teaching and counseling positions in the school require certification, a lack of similar requirements for ESL faculty may work to bring the legitimacy of the program into question. This situation is compounded by a lack of official certification criteria of ESL instruction in many states.

Building and district administrators often lack experience in the development and evaluation of ESL programs. Although a genuine interest and concern for the ESL program may be held by school administrators, these programs and their unique problems are often dealt with inadequately or left unaddressed altogether because administrators may be at a loss to know the best approach, and program personnel are left to make do with their own devices.

Given a lack of experience in the development and continuation of secondary ESL programs, these programs are often initiated as experiments in the school setting. These experiments, however, lack two essential characteristics of scientific research, and the results of these ESL programs can be devastating.

First, there is little or no control factor involved. A lack of previous experience, an inability or lack of interest in gathering information about other school districts' experiences, or both, lead to an ESL program formed without any theoretical or experiential basis for appropriate development.

Second, the goals and objectives for ESL programs and their students are usually unwritten—if established at all—allowing for any given number of interpretations. One important example of inadequately developed ESL program direction is the terms under which ESL students are graduated from the sheltered environment of the ESL program and enter mainstream classes. In particular, what proficiency in English or other academic subjects should be required before ESL students are allowed to enroll in the same courses as English-proficient students? Associated with this is the degree of English proficiency required of immigrant students before they are allowed to graduate with a high school diploma. In Garden City High School, for example, ESL students were allowed to graduate with a regular diploma with English proficiencies at or below the third grade level. Why should a mainstream teacher help LEP immigrant students develop their English abilities if they are given the same diploma without proficiency in English as students who have native ability?

Certainly in Garden City High, many mainstream teachers were willing to participate more fully in the academic achievements of LEP immigrant students, but without a clearly defined direction for the ESL program and its students,

many felt their services were not necessarily needed or important (Grey, 1989, 1990). With no clearly defined and readily known understanding of goals and objectives for ESL students—for example, in terms of their English proficiency—no one in the school could be sure how or if more academic interaction should take place between mainstream teachers and LEP students.

Factor #2: Assimilation As A One-Way Process

The term assimilation is often incorrectly used to describe inter-ethnic interaction, or mutual acculturation, for those who lack a better term in discussing an absence of interaction among different student groups in schools. Assimilation, however, is a one-way process in which the outsider is expected to change in order to become part of the dominant culture. In this sense, perhaps the most appropriate definition of assimilation is “to absorb as one’s own.” The LEP immigrant student is forced to change, not the school as an institution or the American teachers and students.

Notions of appropriate acculturation are important in consideration of whether immigrant students—and their educational programs—are marginal. Gordon (1964) submitted “that Americans approve of *cultural* assimilation but [do] not want *social* assimilation” (quoted in Golden, 1989, p. 8). In this sense, Americans *want* immigrants to be marginal to some extent. “Many Americans will never accept them fully, no matter how acculturated they are...this is a deplorable situation which could very well foster and nurture the negative marginal characteristics described in the literature” (Golden, 1989, p. 8).

This pattern of required assimilation can be illustrated with two examples. First, ESL students are expected to leave the ESL program and to move into the mainstream. The mainstream and its students, on the other hand, usually do little or no probing into the confines of ESL classrooms. The primary exception is the occasional peer buddy program that links ESL students with a mainstream buddy to help the student get used to the school environment. Here, again, however, the emphasis is placed upon a contact the buddy can provide with the mainstream world, not necessarily so the mainstream student can establish contact with the ESL scene.

Second, another indication of the requirement that LEP immigrant students change in order to become part of the mainstream can be found in a comparison of the status of ESL students to that of foreign exchange students. While immigrant students usually appear without forewarning, exchange students are invited into the school environment, and their presence is encouraged by the

community and school administrators. These foreign exchange students are brought into the school to provide mainstream students with glimpses of another culture, and interaction between established-resident students and exchange students is openly encouraged. This is no doubt influenced in many cases by the fact that exchange students are usually members of the middle or elite classes in their home countries, and immigrants are representative of poor or working classes.

While exchange students are encouraged to learn about American culture and participate in such typically American activities as sports or the school's homecoming royalty competition—as was the case in Garden City High (Grey 1990)—they are encouraged to remain culturally unique. In contrast, immigrant students and their unique cultural and life experiences may be largely ignored by the mainstream. Indeed, one of the great tragedies in secondary education today is the unwillingness of school teachers and administrators to acknowledge the courage and pain so many immigrant students have endured in order to simply be in a position to enroll in the school that so many mainstream students take for granted. LEP immigrant students, unlike the invited exchange students, are not encouraged to stay culturally unique, but are expected to assimilate into American life. In these terms, exchange students are encouraged to stay culturally unique in part because their length of stay is set and predictable. Immigrant students, however, may come and go at any time given the unique mobility patterns found among many of these populations. A lack of consistency in their enrollment patterns also contributes to their marginal status as students. Continued enrollment is often interpreted as a sign of students' seriousness about their studies and particularly their willingness to learn English.

In terms of assimilation and the ESL programs themselves, Spener (1988) has described the increasingly assimilationist mode of federal regulations for ESL programs. Spener considers the current controversy surrounding the appropriate education of immigrant students in the context of the maintenance of relatively limited economic opportunities for LEP immigrant minorities. And yet, he writes “in spite of all the limitations on the mobility of immigrants within the United States, the goal of almost any educational policy directed toward them will be assimilationist in some measure” (Spener, 1988, p. 146).

Federal education policies developed during the Reagan administration, and to a large extent carried on thus far by the Bush administration, have worked to strengthen the increasingly assimilationist mode of transitional bilingual education (TBE) programs. As Spener has pointed out,

Reagan's Department of Education has vigorously attacked TBE programs because, it is claimed, they hinder non-English-speaking students'

acquisition of English and keep them separate from mainstream students for too long. (Spener, 1980, p. 150)

The Reagan administration's stance on bilingual education was carried to policy by William Bennett, then Secretary of Education. His new regulations governing the expenditure of funds for bilingual education sought "to discourage the use of languages other than English in instruction and to encourage the early 'mainstreaming' of students out of bilingual programs" (Spener, 1988, p. 150). The use of native-language components in TBE programs was meant "not to provide for children's overall academic success, but rather, to foster the acquisition of English" (Spener, 1988, p. 150). Learning English, then, as the primary goal for TBE programs—"and the one criterion used to evaluate its success or failure"—is thus associated with what Spener refers to as "a badge of American identity." Spener rightfully points out, however, that "the insights gained from sociological and linguistic investigation seem to show that this goal [of hurried English acquisition] serves the interest of society at the expense of the needs of language-minority students" (1988, p. 151).

Factor #3: Lack Of Empathy

Another important factor in the maintenance of marginal status for ESL programs is a lack of empathy for newly arrived immigrants in American society. Usually, only those teachers and administrators who have visited or lived in a foreign culture and experienced for themselves difficulties with submersion into an alien language and culture can readily relate with the experience of immigrant ESL students arriving in American culture. Much like shy party-goers who are rescued from their quiet place by those who had themselves undergone feelings of shyness in social situations, only those relatively few (if any) teachers or administrators in the school who have travelled or lived abroad can empathize with the plight of immigrant students personally.

This point is made particularly clear by Laura Carey (1989) in her commentary "On Alienation and the ESL Student," Carey, an ESL instructor, states that her experience as an American alone in Barcelona for one year was invaluable in terms of her abilities to relate to her ESL students back home. She arrived in Spain with no ability to speak Spanish and attempted to learn the language much as LEP immigrant students do in the United States. Despite her attempts to learn Spanish, however, she had difficulties:

I couldn't for the life of me picture myself in a social situation: the gawky

American who says everything in the present tense, the woman with the vacant or puzzled look on her face, who can come, go, have, or be but can't walk, run, or laugh for lack of the appropriate verbs. What if they asked me a question? What if someone told a funny joke, and I didn't laugh? What if it were a racist joke, and I did laugh? And worse of all, what if I reached out to people, did my best to be warm and make a friend or two, and they turned away from me, embarrassed or impatient? What then? (Carey, 1989, p. 74)

Her profound experience of alienation in another culture led her to consider her own ESL students differently upon her return to the United States. "In Spain I saw myself become a hypocrite. My wealth and my security, even thousands of miles from home, were insulting me" (Carey, 1989, p. 75). For most of those who have not had this type of experience, however, it is particularly difficult to be sensitive to the many strains life as a new-arrival immigrant in our society creates.

Factor #4: The Myth Of The Melting Pot

One of the most prominent myths perpetuated by American culture is that of the melting pot society. Many Americans have and continue to take a good deal of pride in this notion that American society—and what made it a great nation—is the product of many different people from many different cultures melting together to form one people bound by the common opportunities our land has to offer. The term melting pot itself was popularized by a play by Israel Zangwill of that name which debuted in New York in 1908 at the height of European emigration into the United States. The play "ran for months on Broadway, and its title was seized upon as a concise evocation of a profoundly significant American fact" (Kopan, 1974).

While certain dreams for opportunity continue to be shared among Americans and those who have recently emigrated to the United States, history, and more recent research on ethnic relations, indicates that the most significant fact about the melting pot is that it did not take place. Instead, as Andrew Kopan has speculated, the positive

response to "The Melting Pot" [in 1908] was as much one of relief as of affirmation, more a matter of reassurance that what had already taken place would turn out all right than encouragement to carry on in the same direction (Kopan, 1974, p. 46)

The melting pot metaphor is commonly used in schools, particularly in situations where members of different ethnic groups and resident status come together voluntarily where they had not previously. The principal of Garden

City High School used this very term when describing a volleyball match that included mainstream and immigrant students. Language was not mentioned as a factor in their previous (or subsequent) lack of interaction. The melting pot metaphor was introduced, rather, in a survey of the participants' national origins and race. For the purposes of his argument, even local, established-resident Hispanic students were referred to as "Mexican." While some of these students may in fact have a recent background in Mexico, they are generally not considered in terms of a national background if they participate in more mainstream activities.

The prevalence of the Melting Pot notion, however, reinforces assimilationist attitudes towards secondary ESL programs. If American society is characterized by the tremendous melting together of different peoples, then immigrant students must necessarily seek to melt into the dominant society as well. The school as a model and reflection of the dominant culture will be unlikely to change in order to incorporate the cultural diversity represented among immigrant students. The school is preferred as a melting pot institution; it is not meant to diversify but rather to maintain the status quo.

Factor #5: Implications Of The English Only Movement

One direct contradiction to the notion that the United States is a melting pot is the recent English only movement. At first glance, English only seems to perpetuate the melting pot metaphor. Certainly, it is argued, a citizenry speaking one language keeps the nation strong. But as Bermudez (1989) rightfully points out, consideration of the acceptance of multicultural multilingual programs in our society as "forces that imperil the future of our country" (Hayakawa, 1987, p. 36) "is the result of an ethnocentric interpretation of cultural equilibrium which threatens our leadership status in the international arena" (Bermudez, 1989, p. 34).

Despite the apparent link between making English the official language and the maintenance of the melting pot myth, the English-only movement contradicts the melting pot notion in one important way. Central to the melting pot ideal is that melting into one society was a *voluntary act undertaken by its many participants*. If the melting pot process was and continues to be viable, then this voluntary participation would continue. Implementation of English as the official, and subsequently, only legal language, *forces* all people into moving closer to fulfilling the expectations of mainstream culture.

Several authors have pointed out the English only movement is a reaction to the fears of recent immigration into the United States experienced just as it was,

ironically, during the very same period during which the Melting Pot notion was gaining wide acceptance—the early 1900s. Chen and Henderson have shown that like recent apprehension about increased immigration from Mexico and Asia, the English-only movement bears great similarity to the racist nativism movement that arose in response to the wave of immigration from southern and eastern Europe between 1890 and 1914 (Chen & Henderson, 1986). In contrast to those earlier immigrants from western and northern Europe “who mingled quickly with native-born Americans and became assimilated, “ the ‘new’ immigrants from Italy, Russia, Hungary and other countries were less intelligent, less willing to learn English and did not intend to settle permanently in the United States” (Chen & Henderson, 1986). As a result, the first laws requiring English literacy for work and naturalization were enacted.

Recent fears of immigrants that have led to the English-only movement have also led to fears of the formation of “language ghettos,” communities full of those who refuse to accept English as a common bond of the American people. Many proponents of English only point to the periodic efforts of the French Canadian population of Quebec to secede from Canada as an example of what might happen if the use of other languages and the numbers of those who speak them in, for example, the Southwest region of the United States, are allowed to grow unfettered.

Clearly, the English-only movement has affected efforts at ESL education. Transitional Bilingual Education with extensive native language components has been deemed less appropriate by those who argue for English only. On the other hand, the English-only movement enforces arguments for programs of immersion, and, in particular, the sink-or-swim approach of submersion. Indeed, ESL education in these schemes is used to promote the rapid development of LEP students’ acquisition of English and subsequent loss of proficiency in their native language.

Factor #6: Continuing Need For A Labor “Underclass”

Our economy maintains a number of jobs in so-called undesirable occupations that few Americans aspire to fill. Examples of this type of work include meatpacking, asbestos removal, migrant farm work, janitor work, and dish washing. Traditionally, many of these jobs are held by LEP immigrants and other, largely uneducated populations in our society who are unable to find other types of work due to their lack of English skills or limited literacy in basic academic skills. Because few reasonable well-educated middle-class Americans desire to hold employment of this type, employers such as meatpackers find

themselves looking for labor in the traditional sources mentioned, as well as in previously untapped segments of the population, in particular, minority women.

The recruitment of LEP immigrants to fill jobs disdained by most Americans has taken place at least since the turn of the century, as described by Upton Sinclair in *The Jungle*. This pattern remains largely the same, although the changing demographic nature of recent immigrants has meant increased recruitment efforts among Southeast Asian refugees. All of these industries also share a high degree of turnover forcing management to constantly seek new sources of labor.

Recruiters for these industries rely upon the existence of a LEP class of people who, because they lack sufficient English proficiency, find it difficult to qualify for other types of employment. Given this need for an underclass of potential labor, the role of adequate ESL instruction in the demise of this labor source becomes clear. Although largely of a philosophical nature—like most of the factors discussed here—resistance to ESL education programs in communities is often based on a need for people to fill jobs that go unwanted by most members of the English proficient population who are an educated majority population. Inadequate ESL programs help maintain a labor underclass by not properly preparing LEP students to advance their educational careers. As Spener makes clear,

Educational policy can serve to reinforce caste distinctions in the society by providing, more or less intentionally, non-White people with an inferior education. In doing so, the educational system plays a role in creating a pool of adults who are “qualified” to be economically exploited, unemployed, or underemployed. (Spener, 1988, p. 149-150)

Well-developed ESL programs, on the other hand, allow immigrant students the opportunity to eventually gain access to further education and more desirable forms of employment.

The Need for Further Research

The potential marginal status of secondary ESL programs can be attributed to a number of factors, some of which have been outlined here. Further research must be undertaken to determine the extent to which the factors considered here—and others—influence the status of secondary ESL programs throughout the country. A number of questions remain to be answered: Do any of these factors change with the enrollment of students with different ethnic or national backgrounds? Are influences of this type different in rural and urban or large and small schools? What effects do local economics have on immigrant education

policy? What are the individual manifestations of macro- and local-level influences on immigrant education programs? What distinctive—or similar—reactions to these influences are found in different schools?

Not all of these issues can be addressed institutionally. Although many of the factors discussed here emanate from sources outside the school, they contribute to the formation of the context within which policies and personal attitudes affecting the status of ESL programs are generated. More comprehensive research of these topics is necessary to develop an adequate picture of the degree to which secondary ESL programs are marginal, the factors which influence this status, and to develop an appropriate course of action to improve their status and thus the quality of immigrant education.

References

- Ainsenberg, Nadya, & Harrington, Mona (1988). *Women in Academe: Outsiders in the Sacred Grove*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press.
- Bermudez, Andrea B. (1989). Examining educational barriers to Hispanic education. *The Journal of Educational Issues of Language Minority Students*, 4, 31-40.
- Billson, Janet Mancini (1988). No owner of soil: The concept of marginality revisited on its sixtieth birthday. *International Review of Modern Sociology*, 18 (Autumn), 183-204.
- Bowker, Lee H., & Cox, Fred M. (1982). Sociologists in schools of social work: Marginality or integration? *Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare*, 2(2), 220-232.
- Buono, Anthony F., & Kamm, Judith B. (1983). Marginality and the organizational socialization of female managers. *Human Relations*, 12, 1125-1140.
- Carey, Laura (1989). On alienation and the ESL student. *Phi Delta Kappan*, 71(1), 74-75.
- Chen, E.M., & Henderson, W. (1986). New "English-only" movement reflects old fear of immigrants. *Civil Liberties*, (358), 6.
- Fradd, Sandra H., & Weismantel, M. Jeanne (1989). *Meeting the Needs of Cultural and Linguistically Different Students: A Handbook for Educators*. Boston: College Hill Press.
- Gibson, Margaret A. (1988). *Accommodation without Assimilation: Sikh Immigrants in an American High School*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Golden, John (1989). Marginal man—Alive and well. *Teaching*, 1(2), 4-11.
- Golden, John (1987). *Acculturation, Biculturalism and Marginality: A Study of Korean-American High School Students*. Dissertation, University of Colorado-Boulder.

- Gordon, Milton M. (1964). *Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion and National Origins*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Grey, Mark A. (1990). Immigrant Students in the Heartland: Ethnic Relations in Garden City, Kansas, High School. *Urban Anthropology*, *19*(4), 409-427.
- Grey, Mark A. (1989). *The High School as an Arena of Changing Ethnic Relations*. A paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Society for Applied Anthropology, Santa Fe, New Mexico.
- Hayakawa, S.I. (1987). Make English official: One common language makes our nation work. *The Executive Educator*, *2*(1), 36.
- Kopan, Andrew T. (1974) Melting Pot: Myth or reality? In G.E. Epps (Ed.), *Cultural Pluralism*, (pp.37-55). Berkeley: McCutchan Publishing.
- National Coalition of Advocates for Students (1988). *New Voices: Immigrant Students in U.S. Public Schools*. Boston: National Coalition of Advocates for Students.
- Newcomb, T.M. (1955). *Social Psychology*. London: Tavistock.
- Park, Robert (1928). Human migration and marginal man. *American Journal of Sociology*, *33*(May), 881-893.
- Spener, David (1988). Transitional bilingual education and the socialization of immigrants. *Harvard Educational Review*, *58*(2), 133-153.
- Stebbins, Robert A. (1979). *Amateurs: On the Margin between Work and Leisure*. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications.
- Stonequist, Everett V. (1937). *The Marginal Man: A Study in Personality and Culture*. New York: Scribners.
- Wardwell, Walter I. (1952). A marginal professional role: The chiropractor. *Social Forces*, *30*, 339-348.
- Wittermans, Walter I., & Kraus, Irving (1964). Structural marginality and social worth. *Sociology and Social Research*, *48*, 348-360.