

Pathways to Prosperity: Growing a Multilingual Teacher Workforce

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MULTILINGUAL PARAPROFESSIONALS

An Untapped Resource for Supporting
American Pluralism

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Contents

Introduction	2
What We Know	6
Conclusion: Looking for Solutions	10
Notes	11

INTRODUCTION

This brief marks the first in a series of publications from New America’s Dual Language Learners National Work Group. We aim to identify both the opportunities and challenges related to diversifying the language skills of American teachers and the promising policies and initiatives aimed at addressing this challenge. For more research and analysis of DLLs and education policy in the U.S., visit <http://www.newamerica.org/education-policy/dual-language-learners/>.

Nearly one in four U.S. children speaks a non-English language at home.¹ Around one in eight U.S. teachers speaks a non-English language at home.²

These two figures illustrate the approximate distance between the United States’ present—and its future. The nation’s linguistic diversity is growing steadily, particularly among the youngest learners. Fully 30 percent of Head Start participants speak a language other than English at home, compared with less than 15 percent of Americans over the age of 60.³ At least 75 percent of these young dual language learners (DLLs) are native-born U.S. citizens, and their prospects will be enormously consequential for the rest of the country.⁴

Here is why: today’s diverse cohort of American children will soon be the workers who take their teachers’ places in the labor market. These multilingual kids are the taxpayers of tomorrow

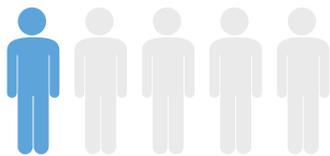
Dual Language Learners (DLLs)

A dual language learner (DLL) is a child between the ages of zero and eight years old who is in the process of learning English in addition to his or her native language(s). This student may or may not be enrolled in a school where instruction is conducted in both languages.

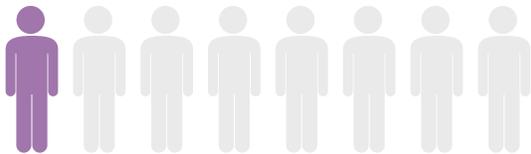
Who in the U.S. Speaks a Non-English Language at Home?⁶



More than **one-fifth** of **students**



Around **one-fifth** of **paraprofessionals/teacher assistants**



Around **one-eighth** of **PreK-12 teachers**

who will be responsible for supporting their (mostly monolingual) teachers' retirement through Medicare, Social Security, and other programs. Today's students will be the country's voters, homebuyers, and veterans.⁵ Their path to professional success—and the country's path to continued prosperity—depends on how well our schools prepare them to succeed. Fortunately, these students bring many assets to school with them—such as their valuable, growing proficiency in their home languages.

What can educators and policymakers do in the present to foster DLLs' success in the future? Recent research has shown that those students enrolled in multilingual instructional programs—

dual immersion, transitional bilingual education, or other models—outperform peers enrolled in English-only programs.⁷ First, those in multilingual programs generally do as well or better as those in English-only programs when it comes to English acquisition and academic achievement.⁸ Second, DLLs in multilingual programs reliably have stronger language competencies in their home languages, compared with peers enrolled in English-only programs.⁹ Third, multilingual instruction is not just good for DLLs who speak a non-English language at home; the best versions of these programs help native English-speaking children learn another language as well. Unsurprisingly, these “two-way” dual immersion programs are extremely popular with families who speak English at home.¹⁰

But as good as instructional language diversity might be for DLLs, it is no simple matter to switch large numbers of classrooms from monolingual (“English-only”) to multilingual instruction (sometimes called “English Plus”). It is essentially impossible to expand access to multilingual instruction without training and hiring more multilingual teachers. As noted above, just one in eight PreK-12 teachers speaks a non-English language at home.¹¹ Over half of states (and half of major urban districts) report shortages of bilingual or English as a Second Language teachers.¹²

The United States needs more multilingual adults to become teachers to best serve multilingual students' needs.

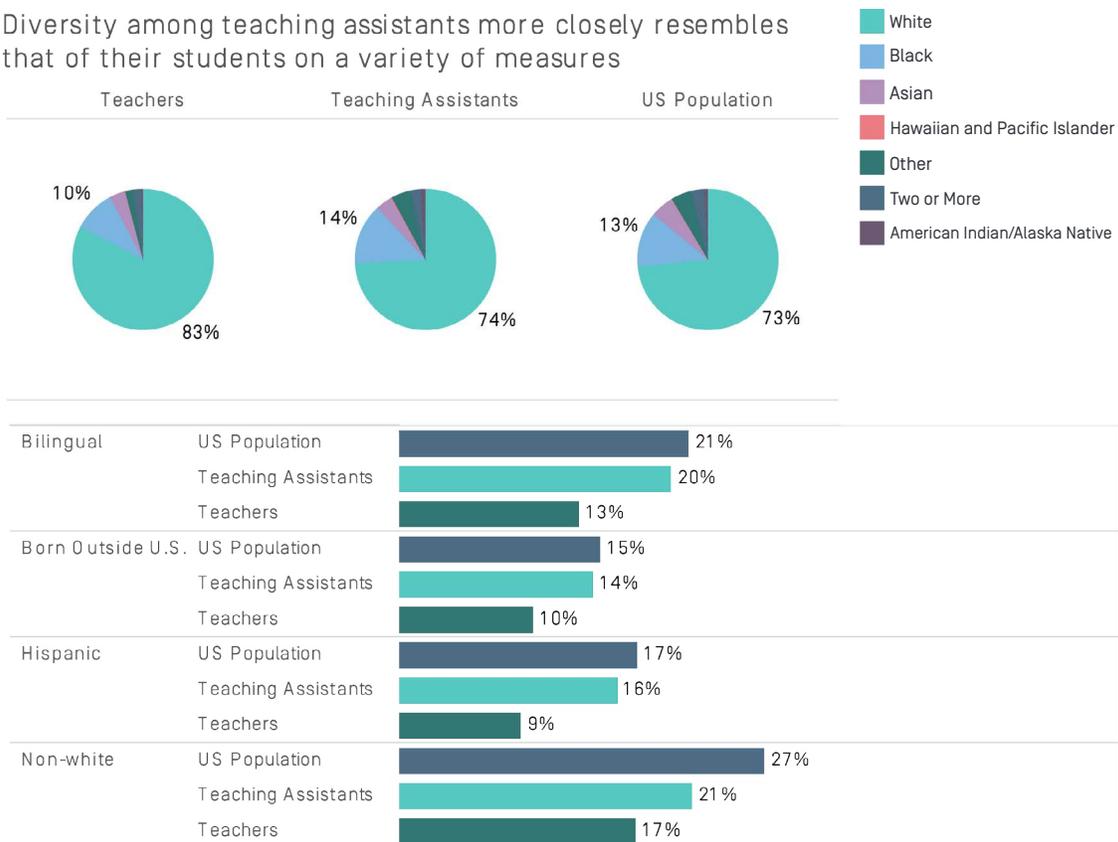
The overwhelmingly monolingual language profile of the teaching force means that American schools are similarly English-dominant. In short, the U.S. needs more multilingual adults to become teachers to best serve multilingual students' needs.

Many schools already have multilingual educators in their buildings; they are just not leading instruction. Census data from the American Community Survey indicate that approximately one in five U.S. paraprofessionals (termed “teacher assistants” in the ACS) speaks a non-English language at home ¹³ (see: **“Teachers, Teaching Assistants, and the U.S. Population”** below). These paraprofessionals frequently have the linguistic and cultural competencies their schools need, as well as considerable instructional and educational experience. That is, they often possess a great many of the requisite skills and much of the critical knowledge to serve as high-quality, multilingual lead teachers. If schools can get more of them to the front of their classrooms, they can considerably improve how young DLLs are served.

The professional distance between paraprofessionals and teacher licensure may be less than many policymakers think. Lehman College professor Maria Victoria Rodriguez explains the provenance of this position in U.S. schools: “in the 1950s, ... a shortage of certified teachers and parents’ efforts to develop community-based educational services for children and adults with disabilities created a need to hire teacher assistants.”¹⁴ Over the next several decades, the position evolved from a limited support role into something quite different. Paraprofessionals now support targeted instruction for small groups of students, mediate intercultural and multilingual interactions with students and families, and—crucially—provide students with key instructional support in non-English languages.¹⁵

Teachers, Teaching Assistants, and the U.S. Population

Diversity among teaching assistants more closely resembles that of their students on a variety of measures



Note: Adapted from “Paraprofessionals Could Help Solve Bilingual Teacher Shortages,” by Kaylan Connally and Kim Dancy.

Unfortunately, states, districts, and schools rarely have policies in place to take full advantage of these educators' abilities. Indeed, many districts with large populations of multilingual paraprofessionals still bemoan their shortages of credentialed bilingual teachers and spend considerable resources to bring in educators from abroad on short-term visas.¹⁶ This approach is both confusing and inefficient. With demand for multilingual instruction—and thus, for multilingual teachers—extremely high across the country, policymakers should explore all available pools of human capital in education. Many multilingual paraprofessionals have the language abilities, educational expertise, and professional interest to become fully-licensed lead teachers.

Capitalizing on the considerable skills of these paraprofessionals will not be a simple matter of matching every multilingual adult to a classroom with multilingual children. Challenges abound. Paraprofessionals frequently have limited formal educational credentialing and receive correspondingly low wages. As a result, it can be difficult for them to complete all of their state's teacher licensure requirements. Some may struggle to finance necessary coursework as part of obtaining additional higher education credentials. Others

may lack key language or literacy skills necessary for passing state licensure exams in English. Fortunately, many of these hurdles are within policymakers' control and/or can be addressed through targeted alternative teacher certification programs.

Over the next two years, New America's Dual Language Learners National Work Group will undertake a series of research projects aimed at identifying various policies that are effective at getting more multilingual paraprofessionals to full teacher certification in the U.S. First, the Work Group will solicit input from multilingual paraprofessionals in communities across the country to discover the obstacles preventing them from becoming lead teachers. Armed with this information, we will analyze the policies shaping the language profile of the PreK–3rd Grade educator workforce. Later work will spotlight current local, state, and federal efforts to diversify teachers' language competencies.

Data and research on this particular topic are limited. This introductory brief outlines what we know about multilingual paraprofessionals' abilities, career trajectories, and obstacles to advancement in the U.S. education system.

Many multilingual paraprofessionals have the language abilities, educational expertise, and professional interest to become fully-licensed lead teachers.

WHAT WE KNOW

Bureaucratic Obstacles

Multilingual paraprofessionals often serve as primary linguistic and cultural connectors between students, teachers, and families, and directly support classroom instruction for multilingual students. Though these valuable individuals could help alleviate the country's multilingual teaching shortage, those who are interested in becoming licensed face a host of overarching bureaucratic obstacles.

First, elementary school teachers are required to possess at least a bachelor's degree, and many states also require prospective teaching candidates to earn a master's degree.¹⁷ Only one in five multilingual paraprofessionals has at least a BA.¹⁸

While multilingual paraprofessionals may want to earn additional credentials to become fully-licensed teachers—and enroll in institutions of higher education to do so—they often face bureaucratic barriers in the process. For instance, the structure of colleges and universities can make it difficult for paraprofessionals to pursue additional courses or credentials that fit their needs and schedules. These individuals are often working, non-traditional students and have difficulty attending courses only offered on campus or during the school day.¹⁹ To make matters worse, once enrolled, they report difficulty navigating university systems. This

challenge manifests itself at the most basic levels: some paraprofessionals struggle to find their course grades or learn which courses can count towards their desired degree.²⁰ They also report challenges in securing time with student support staff due to limited service hours, and when they do secure such time, the services can be of limited utility.²¹

Second, in addition to bureaucracy in higher education, multilingual paraprofessionals often face formidable state, district, and school-level bureaucratic barriers to becoming lead teachers. For example, those who have already obtained a degree abroad must go through the process of getting foreign credentials recognized in the U.S.²² Many states and districts do not make this process clear, so multilingual paraprofessionals often lack guidance on or resources for completing this on their own. What is more, multilingual paraprofessionals must navigate complex teacher certification and licensure requirements that can vary considerably by state.²³

Third, while multilingual paraprofessionals may have supportive district leaders, principals, and/or teachers who encourage them to pursue teacher certification, such support can break down when their skills are constantly in demand at their schools.²⁴ That is, being a primary linguistic and cultural connector can be both a blessing and a curse: multilingual paraprofessionals often face

conflicting messages from their employers and colleagues, and feel pressured to remain in their current positions as a result.²⁵

Finally, any effort to provide alternate pathways to teacher licensure for paraprofessionals must come to grips with widespread variations in how they are treated in schools. Not all paraprofessionals have the same responsibilities. States and districts differ in how they define their scope of work, particularly as it relates to supporting instruction.²⁶ This in turn can lead to variation in how principals and teachers use these individuals in schools.²⁷ Some paraprofessionals may be used to support instruction substantially more than their counterparts in other districts, in schools within the same district, and even in classrooms within the same school. To make matters worse, districts often lack a centralized system for managing the work of paraprofessionals, and teachers and principals often lack training on how to deploy them most effectively.

The lack of standardized instructional roles and responsibilities translates into a workforce with heterogeneous skills. Paraprofessionals unsurprisingly face inconsistent training themselves and their contributions are not always recognized. They also face low and stagnant salaries, poor benefits, unpredictable performance standards, and a lack of career advancement opportunities linked to such standards.²⁸ While some states have programs to incentivize districts to create paraprofessional career ladders, changes in program funding and status can limit their impact and sustainability.²⁹

Upshot: Paraprofessionals often face unstable, low-wage employment with complex, non-standard expectations. Policymakers interested in building alternative pathways to harness these educators' high rates of multilingualism as fully-licensed lead teachers must 1) take into account ways that current bureaucratic rules undervalue their myriad talents, skills, and experience, and 2) develop a clear view of what their districts' and/or states' paraprofessionals still need to learn to be effective teachers.

Financial Obstacles

According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the median salary for the 1.2 million paraprofessionals in the U.S. was less than \$25,000 in 2014.³⁰ That salary is about half of the median salary of an elementary teacher (\$53,760 in 2014), and close to the federal poverty level for a family of four.³¹

And unlike classroom teachers, paraprofessionals' wages are not tied to their years of education, experience, or effectiveness in the classroom.³² Census data reveal that multilingual paraprofessionals' earnings are relatively flat across education levels.³³ While median annual salaries for American workers increase with each advanced degree (i.e., from \$21,177 for those with less than a high school diploma to \$71,830 for those with graduate education beyond a bachelor's degree), multilingual paraprofessionals' earnings range from \$18,152 to just \$24,202, even for those with post-graduate education.³⁴

The low wages of paraprofessionals can be a primary barrier to obtaining the academic credentials necessary to become a teacher.³⁵ Many simply cannot afford the cost of tuition, even before weighing the possible costs of quitting their current jobs to become full-time students or to complete student-teaching requirements.³⁶ Some multilingual paraprofessionals are their families' primary, or sole, source of income.³⁷ As such, they must weigh additional considerations when making professional decisions that require them to rebalance how they spend their time, money, and/or energy.³⁸

Consider: in 2015, the average annual in-state tuition at a public four-year university was \$9,410.³⁹ These costs are even higher at for-profit institutions (\$15,610) and private nonprofit four-year universities (\$32,405). And the expenses incurred en route to teacher licensure do not stop there. Before paraprofessionals with credentials from other countries can determine which additional coursework they will need to complete in the U.S., they usually must pay to have their transcripts

evaluated by an approved agency, which can cost upwards of \$200. Licensing exams, such as the PRAXIS, can cost anywhere between \$120 to \$300. Other costs include fees for applying for licensure, required background checks, and obtaining college transcripts.⁴⁰

Several states have programs that provide scholarships for paraprofessionals who wish to become fully-licensed teachers, but many of these programs have been left unfunded in recent years.⁴¹ Many states and districts have also developed “Grow Your Own” (GYO) programs designed to provide paraprofessionals and other school-based staff with the opportunity to become licensed teachers.⁴² GYO programs often provide tuition assistance and some provide teacher candidates with a stipend to help cover living expenses. In Illinois, GYO teacher candidates finance their education through loan forgiveness programs that eliminate loans after they teach in low-income schools for at least five years. They also receive stipends to cover the cost of child care, transportation and student teaching.⁴³

The Minneapolis Residency Program (MRP) was launched by Minneapolis Public Schools in 2015 to help current employees, including paraprofessionals, earn their elementary education licenses.⁴⁴ To address potential financial barriers, the district worked with the University of Minnesota-Twin Cities to secure a reduced tuition rate of \$15,000 and provide students with help applying for financial aid.⁴⁵ For the program’s first year, the university was able to secure full scholarships for the 25 candidates selected for the program. Residents of the program earn a salary of \$24,900 and are eligible for benefits while in the program.

These financial supports are essential to ensuring that paraprofessionals will be able to access and succeed in teacher pathway programs.⁴⁶ A 2013 study of the Los Angeles Universal Preschool’s Child Development Workforce Initiative, which provided support to early childhood workers and others to obtain associate degrees and/or transfer to bachelor’s degree programs, found that “the ability

to secure adequate financing for school played a major role in determining student success.”⁴⁷ Students who had to work full time in order to support their families often took just one or two classes per semester, which made them ineligible for some types of financial aid. Additionally, the study found that “three-fifths of dis-enrolled students reported that finances had played a role in their decision to leave school” and many of those who persisted through the AA program were uncertain of how they would pay for their BA degrees.⁴⁸

Upshot: Low and stagnant wages for paraprofessionals make it challenging to finance the additional credentials and education needed to become fully-licensed teachers. Local policymakers must take these financial realities into consideration when designing programs to enhance the credentials of paraprofessionals. It will be nearly impossible to build a cadre of multilingual educators without the financial supports necessary to help paraprofessionals take the risk of pursuing a degree.

Linguistic Obstacles

Nearly 20 percent of paraprofessionals in the U.S. speak a non-English language at home, double the percentage of lead teachers.⁴⁹ While multilingual paraprofessionals’ native language competencies are critically useful instructional resources, most states’ teacher licensure systems are not designed to value them. Some paraprofessionals may have met most of their states’ requirements for licensure, but find that their English language abilities are an obstacle. This does not mean that these educators cannot speak English. Indeed, census data suggest that multilingual paraprofessionals are more likely than the average multilingual American to report they speak English well or very well.⁵⁰

Even though many schools and districts need these educators to teach primarily (or exclusively) in their native languages, states generally require them to acquire their teaching licenses primarily in English.

For example, in most states, teacher candidates must pass at least one certification assessment in English (such as the Praxis I and II, or the National Evaluation Series tests). Some may need to pass a separate exam demonstrating proficiency in reading, writing, and speaking in English. Even for multilingual paraprofessionals who have strong speaking and listening skills in English, the written literacy portions of these exams can present serious challenges.⁵¹

Other common requirements can also be obstacles to licensure for multilingual paraprofessionals. For instance, they may have limited access to professional development opportunities that would advance their skills, knowledge, and careers, because those are commonly offered exclusively in English. Furthermore, completing additional high-level requirements may require them to find time and resources for remedial coursework to improve their English proficiency.

Upshot: The U.S. has a substantial shortage of multilingual teachers, but most licensure rules are designed to advance teacher candidates who speak, read, and write only in English. While policymakers should be cautious about removing or weakening key licensure requirements, they can significantly expand their multilingual teacher pool by allowing linguistically diverse educators to demonstrate their skills and knowledge in their native languages.

Academic Obstacles

There is growing demand to raise the qualifications and diversity of the teaching workforce, particularly for those working with students in the early years.⁵² However, the career pathways for linguistically diverse teacher candidates are often limited and difficult to navigate. Paraprofessionals who want to become lead teachers experience unique academic challenges. This is especially true for those who have limited education. According to census data, nearly 27 percent of multilingual paraprofessionals have just a high school diploma and nearly 12 percent lack even that credential.⁵³

To become a fully-licensed lead teacher in early elementary classrooms, candidates must obtain a bachelor's degree, which often must include specific coursework, depending on state licensure requirements.⁵⁴

Multilingual paraprofessionals working to become fully-licensed teachers face many of the same academic barriers that non-traditional students encounter, such as the lack of flexible scheduling in higher education settings and the need for more remediation. These challenges can often be exacerbated for those who may have trouble accessing the academic language of course materials, communicating effectively with professors, and transferring credits or credentials earned from other colleges in the U.S. or from their home countries.⁵⁵ In addition, intermittent enrollment in college courses—often due to work requirements, family obligations, or financial difficulties—can contribute to gaps in required coursework for graduation and teacher licensure.⁵⁶

A 2004 case study of a career ladder program in Colorado aimed at preparing paraprofessionals to become fully-licensed teachers found that after the first two years, all program participants had earned their associate degree and maintained a GPA of at least 3.0.⁵⁷ The program's success was attributed to multiple built-in supports including flexible course scheduling and grouping participants into cohorts to limit isolation and foster collaboration. Academic barriers were alleviated through tutoring; developmental English, reading, and math courses; English as a Second Language classes; and academic advising to help participants learn how to communicate with professors and navigate the college environment.

Upshot: Multilingual paraprofessionals pursuing teacher certification often need additional academic supports due to their need for flexible scheduling, additional English language development, and course (or degree) credit reciprocity. Policymakers should incentivize higher education institutions to create clear pathways with additional supports along the way for multilingual teacher candidates.

CONCLUSION: LOOKING FOR SOLUTIONS

Over the next several decades, schools in the U.S. will be the site of a major collision between 1) the system's longstanding monolingualism and 2) the economic imperative of meeting the educational needs of the country's large and growing population of multilingual children. The first seems an immovable object, the second an irresistible force. How should the education system react?

While the social, cultural, political, demographic, and economic stakes in resolving this challenge are high, the country's response is largely within policymakers' control. That is, while these millions of children *will* make up a large share of the future workforce, there is nothing inevitable about the English-only character of U.S. schools. Research is clear that these dual language learners will be better prepared for personal success if we support their linguistic and academic development with multilingual instruction. They will be stronger in English, stronger in their home languages, and more academically proficient. Further, their native language abilities will be assets in, and for, the national economy. Put simply: policies that expand access to multilingual instruction are investments in a stronger, wealthier, more plural America.

To reach that brighter future, schools require a multilingual education workforce in the present. The country's many multilingual paraprofessionals can help accelerate this process by becoming fully-

licensed teachers. Some communities are already jumping to seize this opportunity. Communities as diverse as Houston (TX), Portland (OR), Austin (MN), Chicago (IL), Seattle (WA), Boston (MA), and others are working with state and local policymakers to remove obstacles preventing multilingual paraprofessionals from becoming lead teachers. These initiatives, frequently grouped under the category of "Grow Your Own" programs, vary considerably by community. Some require changes to statewide teacher licensure rules. Others are built within existing alternative teacher certification programs and policies. Some begin with educators who already have bachelor's degrees, while others group paraprofessionals into cohorts that begin at a similar level of educational attainment and progress together towards the credentialing they need to advance professionally.

Schools need more linguistically diverse teachers. Current teacher preparation pipelines fall far short of meeting demand for teachers with these abilities. Furthermore, current licensure policies are not designed to make it easy for schools to find creative ways to close the gap between the supply of and demand for multilingual teachers. Policymakers should explore all available options for expanding multilingual human capital in education. The talents and linguistic diversity of America's paraprofessionals make them an obvious target for public investment.

Notes

¹ “Children Who Speak a Language Other Than English at Home,” Census 2002–2013 American Community Survey. Accessed April 1, 2016 via Kids Count Data Center, <http://datacenter.kidscount.org/data/tables/81-children-who-speak-a-language-other-than-english-at-home?loc=1&loct=1#detailed/1/any/false/869,36,868,867,133/any/396,397>.

² New America analysis of U.S. Census Bureau “Summary File.” 2014 American Community Survey. U.S. Census Bureau’s American Community Survey Office, 2014, <http://ftp2.census.gov/>; Robert Kominski, Hyon Shin, and Karen Marotz, “Language Needs of School-Age Children,” presentation at Annual Meeting of the Population Association of America, New Orleans, LA, April 2008, <https://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:CQ5TzZmCJ2IJ:www.census.gov/hhes/socdemo/language/data/acs/Language-Needs-of-School-Age-Children-PAA-2008.doc+&cd=1&hl=en&ct=clnk&gl=us>.

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⁴ Jessica Chao, Jen Schenkel, and Laurie Olsen, *Educating English Language Learners: Grantmaking Strategies for Closing America’s Other Achievement Gap* (Portland, OR: Grantmakers for Education, April 2013), 6, http://edfund.org/sites/default/files/Educating%20English%20Language%20Learners_April%202013.pdf; Linda Espinosa, *Early Education for Dual Language Learners: Promoting School Readiness and Early School Success* (Washington, DC: Migration Policy Institute, November 2013), 4; Donald J. Hernandez, Ruby Takanishi, and Karen G. Marotz, “Life Circumstances and Public Policies for Young Children in Immigrant Families,” *Early Childhood Research Quarterly* 24 (2009): 492.

⁵ For a detailed analysis of these demographic trends, see Dowell Myers, *Immigrants and Boomers* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2007).

⁶ “Children Who Speak a Language Other Than English at Home,” Census 2002–2013 American Community Survey. Accessed April 1, 2016 via Kids Count Data

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⁷ David J. Francis, Nonie Lesaux, and Diane August, “Language of Instruction,” in *Developing Literacy in Second-Language Learners: Report of the National Literacy Panel on Language-Minority Children and Youth*, ed. Diane August and Timothy Shanahan (Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2006), 397; cf. Diane August and Timothy Shanahan, *Developing Literacy in Second-Language Learners: Report of the National Literacy Panel on Language-Minority Children and Youth: Executive Summary* (Washington, DC: Center for Applied Linguistics, 2006), 5, <http://www.bilingualeducation.org/pdfs/PROP2272.pdf>.

⁸ Janie Tankard Carnock, “Interview: New Research Links Dual Immersion to Reading Score Gains,” *EdCentral* (blog), New America, December 14, 2015, <http://www.edcentral.org/slater-dual-immersion/>; “Study of Dual-Language Immersion in the Portland Public Schools, Year 4 Briefing” (Washington, DC: American Councils for International Education, November 2015), https://res.cloudinary.com/bdy4ger4/image/upload/v1446848442/DLI_Year_4_Summary_Nov2015v3_1_jwny3e.pdf; Wayne P. Thomas and Virginia P. Collier, *A National Study of School Effectiveness for Language Minority Students’ Long-Term Academic Achievement* (Santa Clara, CA: Center for Research on Education, Diversity & Excellence, University of California-Santa Cruz, 2002), 10; Rachel A. Valentino and Sean F. Reardon, “Effectiveness of Four Instructional Programs Designed to Serve English Language Learners: Variation by Ethnicity and Initial English Proficiency,” *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis* 37, no. 4 (April 2015): 612–637; Ilana M. Umansky and Sean F. Reardon,

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¹⁷ Note: Credentialing requirements for pre-K teachers vary considerably by location, though there is a considerable push in the field to require BAs for lead teachers. Cf. LaRue Allen and Bridget B. Kelly, eds., *Transforming the Workforce for Children Birth Through Age 8: A Unifying Foundation* (Washington, DC: The National Academies Press, 2015), <http://www.nap.edu/read/19401/chapter/1>.

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¹⁹ Christine L. Smith, *Focus on an Untapped Classroom Resource: Helping Paraprofessionals Become Teachers* (Atlanta, GA: Southern Regional Education Board, April 2003), http://publications.sreb.org/2003/05s03_focus-paraprofessionals.pdf; data on paraprofessionals’ parental responsibilities are lacking, but research by Marcy Whitebook and others has shown considerable family-related stress on early childhood workers. Cf.

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²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Michael Genzuk and Nancy K. French, *Recruiting Paraeducators into Teacher Preparation Programs: A Remedy for the Shortage of Teachers* (Washington, DC: American Association for Colleges for Teacher Education, September 6, 2002).

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Christine L. Smith, *Focus on an Untapped Classroom Resource: Helping Paraprofessionals Become Teachers* (Atlanta, GA: Southern Regional Education Board, April 2003), http://publications.sreb.org/2003/05s03_focus-paraprofessionals.pdf; Laura Goe and Lauren Matlach, *Supercharging Student Success: Policy Levers for Helping Paraprofessionals Have a Positive Influence in the Classroom* (Washington, DC: American Institutes for Research, September 2014), http://www.gtlcenter.org/sites/default/files/Snapshot_Paraprofessional.pdf.

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