Catherine E. Walsh

Editor

EDUCATION REFORMAND SOCIAL CHANGE

MULTICULTURAL VOICES,
STRUGGLES,
AND VISIONS

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Multicultural Voices, Struggles, and Visions

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Edited by Catherine E. Walsh University of Massachusetts, Boston



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Preface

Twenty-three years ago I began my career as a teacher. My discomfort with the raced, classed, and gendered practices of most schools led me to question, to read, and to become involved in the communities of my students in ways that university courses and professors had never discussed or suggested. It was from these students and their parents that I began to understand how schools are integrally connected to the cultural, linguistic, economic, and political realities of people's daily lives.

Through my work with schools, I also began to understand that the privilege I carry in being a White educator affords me access to the system. I have interpreted this understanding of privilege and access as responsibility. I have thus come to shape and define what I do as activist educational work. It is about addressing and changing the structures, policies, and practices of schools that differentially advantage White, middle-class, native English speakers over students of color for whom English may be a second or additional language. It is also about helping people to think critically about what it is schools do and to consider more democratic, participatory, and equitable approaches. This means working inside and outside the educational institution, working alongside educators, advocates, students, and parents, and working through the so-called democratic system, including legislation and litigation.

This text is a reflection of this work. It began several years ago as a way to document and share on a wider scale the thoughts and experiences that some of the authors herein had presented at a New England conference that I had organized on issues of educational reform and social change pertaining to

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bilingual students and communities. Since then, the collection has greatly expanded to now include first-hand documentation of the voices, struggles, and visions of students, parent activists, advocates, attorneys and educators—all of whom are involved in educational and social change processes.

So much of today's daily life seems to be permeated with an ever growing conservatism, further fueled and licensed by the 1995 elections. Within the current context, educational and social change work is both more difficult and more essential. I believe this text offers a ray of hope by chronicling real-life efforts of people challenging the status quo and working to build a more participatory, equitable, and transformative future. My hope is that the commitment exemplified by many of the authors here will serve as an example and as a challenge to more actively assume the social, moral, and human responsibility that each and every one of us carries.

My thanks go to the authors for their patience in seeing this book through to its fruition and to Naomi Silverman, editor at Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, for her stalwart support.

Catherine E. Walsh

Introduction

Catherine E. Walsh

Let me give you a word on the philosophy of reform. The whole history of the progress of human liberty shows that all concessions. . . have been born of earnest struggle. The conflict has been exciting, agitating, all absorbing. . . It must do this or it does nothing. If there is no struggle there is no progress. Those who profess to favor freedom, yet depreciate agitation, are men [sic] who want crops without plowing up the ground. They want rain without thunder and lightening. They want the ocean without the awful roar of the waters. This struggle may be a moral one; or it may be a physical one; or it may be both moral and physical; but it must be a struggle. Power concedes nothing without demand. It never did and it never will. Find out just what people will submit to, and you have the exact amount of injustice and wrong which will be imposed upon them; and these will continue until they are resisted with either words or blows, or with both. The limits of tyrants are prescribed by the endurance of those whom they oppress.

-Frederick Douglas (Letter to an abolitionist associate, 1849)

If there is one thing that most people in the United States can agree on, it is that there is something drastically wrong with our education system. Agreement, however, on what the wrong is and how to fix it is much less consensual. Education reform occupies a central yet conflictive space in the current education arena.

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Since Reagan-era reports like A Nation at Risk, and government-funded task forces like Bush's "America 2000," educational reform has been a hot item with the press, legislatures, state departments of education, and local schools. Virtually every state and every school district in the nation is now undertaking or considering some type of reform. What is the meaning and substance of reform in this present-day context? Who makes this determination—in other words, who are the principle actors that shape the direction and the process? Who and what are the reforms directed toward? Who stands to benefit? Why?

Questions such as these are crucial in helping to illuminate the true intent of reform in a society where race/ethnicity, class, language, and gender continue to structure access and opportunity. In fact, as McPartland and Slavin suggested, "there is rising concern that the school reform movement may serve to widen the already substantial gap between the achievement of majority students and those for minority groups unless special steps are taken" (cited in Rivera and Zehler, 1990, p. 2). Such "special steps" are not occurring. A close examination of the substance and focus of most current, system-based and organized reforms, indicates that few prescribe radical change; the structures, policies, and practices that advantage some and disadvantage others remain overwhelmingly stable. An examination of who directs, controls, and envisions most of these reforms is similarly demonstrative. Education reform is overwhelmingly top-down, institutional rather than grassroots and community-based, and homogeneous in terms of race, class, politics, and gender.

Communitites and students of color, now the majority in urban centers and the majority who are failed by the nation's schools, are noticeably and, I believe, intentionally absent in the product and process of most of today's federal, state, and local educational reform efforts. This is because the philosophy, purpose, and act of "mainstream" educational reform in all of these contexts is not about democratic participation or social transformation, nor is it born of or even interested in earnest struggle. It is about further legitimizing the powerful through a process of reforms or compromises that, as Apple (1993) pointed out, take the concerns of the less powerful into account but are defined, decided, and designed to favor those in power. As he explained:

These compromises occur at different levels: at the level of political and ideological discourse, at the level of state policies, at the level of knowledge that is taught in schools, at the level of the daily activities of teachers and students in classrooms, and at the level of how we are to understand all of this. (p. 10)

Within this context, the actual substance of mainstream reform has come to be directed more at meeting the needs of business and industry than at

¹Exceptions are in Chicago where African American and Latino parents and community activists and organizations have played a major role in shaping the reform agenda, process, and focus (see O'Connell, 1991) and in Philadelphia with the work of the Philadelphia Schools Collaborative (see Fine, 1994).

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addressing the human and moral concerns of a culturally diverse society. For the most part, efforts are aimed at change for the sake of competitiveness; business leaders and corporate executives assume a central role in the search for educational recipes that will improve the economy (e.g., see Cuban, 1992), whereas large city school boards seek superintendents with experience in big business rather than in education. The focus of reform is directed at making schools more efficient businesses where accountability, standards, and controlled shared decision making (e.g., school-based management) establish a sense of cohesiveness and involvement that effectively mask the difference, conflict, and tensions within. When racial, cultural, and linguistic diversity are recognized, they are treated as problems that must be "managed," controlled, and, if at all possible, solved. The sad reality in all of this is that, as McLaughlin, Irby, and Langman (1994) pointed out, "those who need the most in terms of services and resources typically get the least, and what they do get often misses the target" (p. 215). As has traditionally been the case, it is the students who already have more economic and social resources who benefit the most; it is they who will be the most trained and prepared for and will have the most access to the future economy. Reform, in this sense, means little more than improving on the status guo.

Douglas' words at the beginning of this introduction, spoken at another place and time, position reform in a different way, that is, within the realms of power and oppression. In so doing, his words provide a historical framework in which to understand contemporary reform issues. Although some progress has been made from Douglas' time until now, the tumultuous struggle for liberty, equality, and justice in all aspects and institutions of daily life remains an unresolved and open battle. Educational reform as spoken about in this text is a present-day manifestation; it is a political, social, and cultural project replete with the conflicts, injustices, contradictions, and varied forms of struggle that have permeated the lives of people of color and other marginalized populations in the United States for generations. As the chapters herein make evident, schools cannot be looked on as isolated institutions, reform cannot be considered as a top-down reshuffling of the same elements, nor can the White political and cultural hegemony of this society be denied. Educational reform and social change must be interwoven. Anyon (1995) made clear how educational reform and social change are traditionally posed as opposites:

The often unacknowledged predisposition to oppose micro and macro social spheres has unduly influenced how we think about educational change. Thus, educational reform activity assumes an opposition, and therefore a qualitative difference between educational and societal change. It should be acknowledged that both kinds of change are mutually interdependent. Far-reaching social change would be influenced by changes in the educational system, and substantial educational change will be supported by structural changes in the institutional contexts from which schools emerge. (p. 67)

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Acknowledging the necessity of the educational and social change connection can help one see beyond the current educational reform rhetoric, raise critical questions about what the substance, purpose, and process of real reform should be, challenge the bureaucracies that limit change, and recognize the necessity of personal and collective involvement.

In recent years, there has been a growing body of educational literature in what is referred to as the field of critical education or pedagogy. Many of the chapters in this text reflect a grounding in critical pedagogy-oriented theories and beliefs. McLaren (1989) offered a clear overview of the theoretical and social tenets that frame this field:

Critical pedagogy is founded on the conviction that schooling for self and social empowerment is *ethically prior* to a mastery of technical skills, which are primarily tied to the logic of the marketplace. . . . In their attempts to explode the popular belief that schools are fundamentally democratic institutions, critical scholars have begun to unravel the ways in which school curricula, knowledge, and policy depend on the corporate marketplace and the fortunes of the economy. They suggest that schooling must always be analyzed as cultural and historical processes, in which select groups are positioned within asymmetrical relations of power on the basis of specific race, class, and gender groupings. . . . In short, educators within the critical tradition argue that mainstream schooling supports an inherently unjust bias resulting in the transmission and reproduction of the dominant status quo culture. (pp. 162–163)

Although radically changing educational institutions is the focus of much of the critical pedagogy literature, there are few texts that afford concrete examples of how or document actual efforts of the change process. This text helps meet this practical application need.

The real-life efforts of people making educational reform within a critical pedagogy or social change framework are the subject and focus of the volume. The specific project of the book is twofold: (a) to consider the structures, policies, and practices that shape and limit educational change, and learning and teaching; and (b) to document the collaborative and creative efforts of parents, students, educators, activists, and advocates to change them. As such, the text offers a critical framework for both conceptualizing and actualizing educational change. Its intent is to challenge the reader to act and, in so doing, to carefully consider the power, relevance, and immediacy of Douglas' message.

Unlike texts that merely talk about reform, this volume brings together the voices, struggles, and visions of racially, culturally, and linguistically diverse educators, advocates, high school students, parents, and community activists—real people doing something to change their lives and to change educational conditions, structures, policies, and practices in ways that are participatory, collaborative, democratic, and empowerment-oriented. It is the varied nature of who the authors are, the different voices they bring, and the grassroots focus

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of much of their work that makes this text both unique and powerful. As in real life, the people herein do not speak with a single voice nor do they speak only within the confines of academic discourse. Poetry and reflective prose intermingle with more traditional chapters; yet, illuminated throughout is a sense of urgency, activism, and commitment.

Although the issues and concerns of people of color are generally absent from the education reform discourse, practice, and literature, the issues, concerns, and realities of ethnic communities of color for whom English may not be the native or sole language (e.g., Latinos, Asians, Haitians, Cape Verdeans) are particularly absent. They are the central focus of this text. The intention is not to exclude other communities—in fact, alliances between these communities and African American communities are the subject of two chapters—but rather to give attention to the specific educational concerns, needs, perspectives, struggles, and experiences of these populations that are the least discussed (in positive terms) and the fastest growing.

As the chapters in this book make evident, bilingual and multicultural communities throughout the country are actively working for educational and social change. This work is, for the most part, neither recognized nor documented.

The exclusion of the realities and educational needs of Latino, Asian, Haitian, and Cape Verdean students as well as other immigrant and refugee students and students who may have been born in the United States but speak a language other than English at home is not just a recent phenomenon. It is particularly critical when we think, however, that one in seven students nationwide are now referred to as "language minority"; 41% of public school students in New York, 36% of those in Boston, and 30% in Providence, Rhode Island speak a language other than English at home. In California, such students number more than 1 million and are the majority.²

When mention of ethnically and linguistically different students does occur with regard to reform, it is only within what is generally seen by those in charge as the problematic and confined space of bilingual education. Preconceived notions about what these students need replaces any dialogue or informed attention to equitable, quality, and multicultural education. It also masks these students' place within the broad societal and political contexts in which the battle for educational equity occurs. Learning English thus becomes construed as the central and only issue; bilingualism is conceived as temporary, a deficit state in need of remediation that bilingual programs, seen as Hispanic political strongholds (e.g., see Porter, 1990), only impede. Although a different vision and understanding of bilingual education is necessary within the discourse and practice of educational reform, it is important that the educational needs of

²Statistics come from a talk given by Congressman Jack Reed at the Sixth Annual New England Superintendents' Leadership Council Summer Institute, July 1, 1994 and the Boston Public Schools.

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bilingual students and the educational participation of bilingual parents and communities not be limited to program placement or designation. In other words, Asian, Haitian, Latino, Cape Verdean, and other communities have a central role in the overall reworking of schools, in the naming of the problems, issues, and concerns that must be addressed, and in the envisioning and constructing of something different.

This text views the educational needs, concerns, and struggles of multicultural and bilingual students and communities in this broader sense. Its attention is to the general concerns of equitable education in a culturally diverse and unjust society. As a whole, it considers the following questions:

- What are the critical educational concerns in multicultural/bilingual communities and schools?
- How do these concerns manifest in specific situations?
- What are students, communities, educators, and advocates doing about these concerns and situations? What can you learn from their struggles, activism, and experiences? How can you apply this to your own context?
- What fundamental changes are needed to address the reality of culturally diverse schools and society? How can you become actively involved in this change process?

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE TEXT

The text is organized into four sections: "The Social Construction of Policy," "Collaborations for Change," "Transforming Classroom Pedagogy and Practice," and "New Conceptualizations and Visions." This organization affords a theoretical and practical framework for thinking about educational reform and social change—one that moves from the broader structural concerns that are embedded in policy, to case studies that document activism and collaborative efforts to change school, city, and state policies, to classroom-based directions and initiatives, to the construction of personal and collective visions for a more democratic, equitable, and just education—visions that can both frame a different kind of education reform and that shape a more grounded transformational practice.

An introduction to each section provides an overview of the chapters and when necessary, some background information to help the reader contextualize what follows. These introductions help make clear the connection the chapters hold, both individually and together, to the overall theme of the volume. Guiding questions to consider as you read the chapters are provided at the end of each introduction; these questions encourage reflective thought and engagement with the text and invite personal linkages and a thread of action.

As the compiler and editor of this volume, I had a reason and purpose for the book's development, focus, organization and substance, much like a movie

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maker has when he or she makes a film. The principal difference between this text and a film is that the text should not end when you have finished it. Similarly, the quality and effectiveness of the text should not be measured solely by how much you enjoyed reading the chapters herein but rather, and more importantly, by how much it engaged you intellectually and practically, in how it encouraged you to apply the content, contexts, process, and possibilities to the contexts in which you are (or could become) involved and to your own life. In order to encourage and enable this further involvement, two additional resource sections are included at the end of the volume. The material provided in these sections affords a way for you to extend your understanding on some of the issues and perspectives presented in the text and to become more actively involved. A suggested reading list offers bibliographic information on books and articles in both the theory and practice of critical pedagogy and radical educational reform, particularly from a multicultural perspective. A national network list follows that gives the names and addresses of critical pedagogy-oriented and educational activist organizations.

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I

THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF POLICY

This first section considers how and why educational policies have been problematic for students of color, particularly bilingual students in U.S. schools.

The section begins with Puerto Rican poet Martin Espada's depiction of language struggles and policies as lived in an urban high school. In its humorous but direct style, this poem provides a window into the administrative xenophobia and fear of loss of control that has accompanied changing school demographics in many school districts. The poem also raises broader questions about how school policies are made and why, by whom, based on what criteria, and in whose interest.

As Roger Rice and Catherine E. Walsh point out in chapter 1, two decades of public discussion and political activity focused on the crisis in our nation's schools have done little or nothing to address the continued disparities in educational performance between native English-speaking, White, middle-class children and children who are poor and culturally, ethnically, or linguistically different. Rice and Walsh argue that state as well as federal education reforms, in terms of both their approaches and substance, threaten to perpetuate existing educational inequities. Through a discussion of some of the sources of inequality in school performance, Rice and Walsh illustrate how cultural disconnections, teacher attitudes and curricular access, fiscal resources, and parental participation continue to serve as barriers to success for linguistic and racial minority students. They then go on to examine how the key components of systemic state and federal reform efforts—standards and tests, the measurement of teacher quality, and accountability—suggest a re-forming of more of the same; attention

Part I

to the formulation of equitable policies and practices that address the continued failure of schools for the new majority in a growing number of U.S. schools remains absent. Rice and Walsh's chapter makes clear that unless drastic changes in government occur, the struggle for a more just and equitable education and society cannot be left to policymakers and politicians. As such, the chapter provides an important framework and backdrop for the chapters in this and other sections of the book that follow.

Over the years, numerous educators, researchers, and politicians have argued that the problems and inequities in public education, particularly in urban schools, cannot be addressed without critically examining and changing the way that public education is funded. Alan Jay Rom (chapter 2) investigates school financing formulas and funding distributions and their impact on equal educational opportunity, particularly for students in bilingual education programs. Through a discussion of school financing in a number of states, Rom illustrates that current funding formulas work to support and maintain unequal education and a class system by ensuring that the funds to support public education (and, as a result, educational services and resources) are significantly greater in more highly educated and more economically well-off towns than in poorer urban areas. Further, Rom provides evidence to show that although additional educational funds are both necessary and mandated for bilingual education, many cities and towns actually spend less on bilingual students. He documents legal struggles to change the funding system to provide more equitable funding alternatives.

Language policy is a crucial concern in the design and implementation of educational programs for linguistic minority students. In chapter 3, Georgette E. Gonsalves addresses this concern in general and discusses its particular significance for Cape Verdean students, a seldom discussed group that has settled in large numbers in the Northeast, primarily in Massachusetts. Although Cape Verdeans speak Creole, education in Cape Verde continues to be in Portuguese, the language of its colonizers. The educational result of this legacy is continued high rates of illiteracy and school failure. Using the example of Boston which has the largest Cape Verdean student population in the nation and which has the oldest and most developed Cape Verdean bilingual program, Gonsalves describes how continued tensions among educators and parents around the educational use of Creole stem from internalized colonial beliefs that Creoles (including that spoken by Haitians) are somehow "substandard" and explains how, absent a clearly articulated language policy, such beliefs can negatively impact classroom instruction.

Gonsalves' chapter not only makes clear why language policy needs to be much more closely examined and considered within educational reform but also illuminates how the reality of colonialism, in its historical and present-day manifestations, must be taken into account in educational policy decisions. As such, this chapter serves as a reminder that bilingual students and bilingual communities are not monolithic.

Chapter 4 takes a critical look at the policy implications of school-community collaboration and parental and community involvement in educational reform from a perspective that has not been previously considered in any of the educational reform rhetoric or literature. Tony Baez and Eva Mack, community activists and educators from Milwaukee, argue that public school educational reform has not only failed to create a meaningful connection between schools, communities, and parents but it has also failed to give meaningful attention to the educational needs of school noncompleters, adult basic education students. Drawing from their work in Milwaukee, Baez and Mack argue that in order for educational and community transformation to occur, adult members of communities that have been relegated to a marginalized and dependent status need to become empowered with academic experiences and reflective opportunities that promote an active involvement in and a reclaiming of the institutions that have failed them. Baez and Mack maintain that by reinventing and reclaiming schools as community institutions, parents can come to connect with the educational process in ways that capacitize and empower them and advance the community. Through the establishment of what they refer to as "Community Advancement Schools for Adults"-educationally and community transformative schools in poor and minority neighborhoods that prepare adult learners (the parents of school-aged children) to be active participants and leaders ("knowledge workers") in community development and educational reform-Baez and Mack offer a concrete way to shape, connect, and direct adult education and K-12 policy and reform and make clear the fact that educational, community, and social transformation are interrelated.

The last chapter in this section details the challenge students of color, particularly Latinos face in the U.S. educational system. The author, Beatriz McConnie Zapater, has a long history of community-based organization work with Puerto Rican/Latino youth and adults; the chapter emanates a belief, shared by many other authors in this text, that educational reform must involve community responses and solutions.

Using Boston as a case study example, McConnie Zapater chronicles the sad reality of urban schooling for Latinos and names both the barriers—racism, economics, and bureaucracy—and their practical school-based manifestations that prevent these students from realizing their full potential in public schools and in higher education. Although these barriers may, as McConnie Zapater points out, seem insurmountable, community responses and recommendations that have evolved in Boston as well as in other parts of the country afford a guide for examining and redirecting practice in order to provide a quality, equitable education for all students. The 16 recommendations detailed here provide an excellent entry into the collaborative and community-based struggles for educational reform in the section that follows.

As you read the varied policy-related chapters here, you may want to consider the following questions:

- How is educational policy formulated? Who makes the decisions? Whose interest do these policies support and represent?
- What is the relationship between educational policy and broader political, economic, and social concerns?
- If social justice and democracy are the aims, how should educational policy be rethought? What should be the role of educators, students, parents, and communities in this process?

The New Bathroom Policy at English High School*

Martín Espada

The boys chatter Spanish in the bathroom while the principal listens from his stall

The only word he recognizes is his own name and this constipates him

So he decides to ban Spanish in the bathrooms

Now he can relax

Nueva norma para el baño en la English High School

Los muchachos cacarean español en el baño mientras el principal de la escuela los oye desde el inodoro

La única palabra que reconoce es su propio nombre y esto le da estreñimiento

Por tanto decide prohibir el español en los baños

Ahora puede relajarse

^{*}From: "Rebellion is the Circle of a Lover's Hands" by Martín Espada, Permission to reprint from the author and Curbstone Press.

1

Equity at Risk: The Problem with State and Federal Education Reform Efforts

Roger Rice Catherine E. Walsh

In the decade since A Nation at Risk became part of the national public consciousness, it has become a widely shared article of belief that U.S. public education is in a state of unique crisis, a crisis so pervasive as to threaten the economic survival of the United States itself.

Although some have questioned whether, in fact, U.S. schools as a whole really are lagging their counterparts in the industrialized world, there is little question that the schools attended primarily by children who are poor, are of color, or of other than English home backgrounds very often do not function equally well with schools whose students are predominantly well off, predominantly White, and predominantly English-speaking (e.g., NCES, 1992; U.S. Department of Education, 1991, 1992). Whether or not there is a whole nation at risk, surely there are communities at risk.

The response to this perception of crisis in the educational system has been nearly two decades of political activity known as "educational reform." Virtually every state legislature has enacted some aspect of educational reform measures and Congress has passed into law a "systemic reform" approach that in essense synthesizes the disparate state level reforms and projects them forward for the next decade.

What is most striking about this intensely public discussion of plans for school improvement is the near absence of solutions that address the sources of disparity in educational performance between what continues to be considered as "mainstream" U.S. children (i.e., children who are native English-speaking and White) and children who are culturally, ethnically, or linguistically differ-

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ent. On its face this would seem to be illogical. If the U.S. overall educational performance is being pulled down by its difficulties in educating poor and minority children, it would seem that educational reform would demand an intense analysis of why schools particularly fail that group of children and what to do about it. Instead, the needs of those who need education reform the most are largely ignored or subsumed in overall generic process-oriented approaches to educational improvement.

In part, this stems from the nature of the education reform movement itself. Education reform could be a process initiated by parents and students at the school level (as numerous chapters in this text make evident). The operant concept of that kind of reform is "initiated by" the primary educational stakeholders according to their own perceived needs and timetable. What has come to be known as education reform is a much different sort of animal. Education reform in its most prominent forms consists of proposals by politicians at state or national levels who not only have little or no contact with schools but, worse yet, are totally divorced from the reality and needs of most students and parents. Thus, we have "education governors" or "education presidents" who push to enact proposals called *education reform*. To be sure, some of these proposals mandate so-called school-based management aspects or local planning requirements but in their top-down structural process approaches, the role of local initiative is constrained and the chance for true organic change involvement by parents and students is severely limited.

The result is that rarely does educational reform, at least in its public policy variations, seriously address widely acknowledged manifestations and sources of inequality in school performance. As a recent study by the Educational Testing Service (ETS; 1991) points out, more than a decade of reforms targeted at increasing student achievement have had no significant effect in closing the gap between the performance of Whites and students of color, particularly Latinos. Moreover, although school completion rates have improved for Whites and Blacks, they remain static for Latinos; Latino college enrollment continues to decline (De LaRosa & Maw, 1990; ETS, 1991).

INEQUALITY: IDENTIFYING SOME OF THE SOURCES

By way of illustration of some of the sources of inequality in school performance, we might consider issues around cultural disconnection between students and schools, administrator and teacher attitudes toward poor and different students and the effect of those attitudes on teaching, limited access to challenging curriculum, lack of fiscal resources enjoyed by schools attended by poor and minority students, and the practical exclusion of parents and community members from school life.

Cultural Disconnection

Cultural disconnection or cultural gap refers to the obvious fact that most schools reflect the attitudes, styles, and life understandings of the middle class, and usually (although not necessarily) of the administrators and teachers who work in them. Students who come from homes where languages other than English are the medium of communication, who share customs and beliefs unique to their cultural community and/or home countries, or who face the range of challenges posed by economic insecurity will not often find much of their family, community, or national existence reflected in the school setting. Often these students feel that school is itself foreign, alienating, and unrelated to their beliefs and concerns (e.g., see Marcelino, this volume; Walsh, this volume). Well-meaning teachers find that they cannot connect with these "different" students, indeed many may literally not be able to understand them at all. In turn, the students may reject the school setting precisely in order to maintain the sense of identity they hold outside of school. This rejection or what is increasingly referred to as resistance represents, as numerous studies have documented, a survival response to cultural disconnection and exclusion (Fine, 1987, 1990; Polite, 1994; Walsh, 1991).

Teacher Attitudes and Curricular Access

In the 1970s, researchers showed that teacher expectations of and attitudes toward students varied by perceptions of student social class and determined the instructional practices directed toward those students (e.g., Rosenthal & Jacobson, 1968). Put simply, children who were thought to be unteachable were not taught, or at least not taught much. Practices such as tracking and ability grouping have become widespread examples of this phenomena. And although it has been shown that such ability sorting denies equal education to those students who are presumed to be less teachable (e.g., see Oakes, 1985; Oakes, Orsmeth, Bell, & Camp, 1990; Slavin, 1986), these practices continue as commonplace in every state in the nation.

Linguistic minority students particularly suffer from lack of equal access to curriculum. Moreover, education for these students continues to focus excessively on English acquisition to the detriment of academics. Often, school districts do not have bilingual programs or teachers who can afford the range of course offerings available to English speakers.¹ Although "sheltered" or content

¹The growing need for bilingual teachers has also not been addressed by educational reforms. Increased course requirements for certification, the introduction of new licensing exams, and other state certification initiatives weigh heavy on language minority candidates. For a discussion, see Gandara (1994) and Murnane, Singer, Willet, Kemple, and Olsen (1991). Moreover, although one in five school-aged children are now language minority—almost 10 million students (see Waggoner, 1994)—state and university efforts to prepare bilingual teachers remain sorely lacking.

English as a second language (ESL) methodologies are sometimes employed in lieu of academic instruction with bilingual teachers, the net result can be a dumbed or slimmed down version of what mainstream students receive. So too, linguistic or other racial minority students tend to be given "basic" or "fundamental" variations of the full academic curriculum (Berman et al., 1992).

It is thus not unusual to find that in many high schools, bilingual students (as well as many other students of color) are not enrolled in algebra or calculus but in basic or practical mathematics. Access to laboratories, computers, and other technology as well as texts, supplementary resources, and library materials also tends to be severely limited. As a report by the Stanford Working Group (1993) points out, "This amounts to a two-tiered system of education, with challenging curriculum for some and mediocrity for the rest" (p. 19).

A recent California study by Minucucci and Olsen (1992) found that limited English proficient high school students have been frequently tracked into courses that not only do not yield credit for university admittance but do not even count for graduation. Walsh discovered this reality to be true in a Boston-area high school; she and her limited English-speaking son discovered at the end of a school year that the bilingual courses he had taken could not be considered for college admittance and would have to be repeated in the "mainstream" program.

Fiscal Resources

Students can also be seriously disadvantaged by the lack of adequate financial resources. Schools attended by poor students and by mostly students of color may receive only a fraction of the fiscal support enjoyed by affluent suburban school systems. For example, an analysis of per pupil expenditures of Massachusetts school systems in June 1993 found as much as a \$4,000 per pupil expenditure difference between several White, wealthy suburban towns and the city of Holyoke where almost 80% of the student body receive free or reduced lunch and 78% of the students are "minority," primarily Puerto Rican.²

In his book Savage Inequalities, Kozol (1991) painted a realistic picture of the dismal blight and the inherent financial neglect that characterizes most urban schools. Although some researchers have at times questioned whether bare measures of per pupil expenditure do themselves express any important educational quality differences (e.g., see Hanushek, 1981, 1989), there does not seem to be much serious debate that money can make a difference in providing some critical aspects of educational quality.

Inequities in financing of schools is not simply an urban versus suburban

²For an analysis of Massachusetts per pupil expenditures by district, see *Boston Globe*, June 17, 1994. A detailed analysis of how city budget cuts in Holyoke have impacted Puerto Rican students can be found in Walsh (1992).