Northeast and Islands Regional Educational
Laboratory At Brown University

The Education Alliance

A Program of The Education Alliance, Brown University

222 Richmond Street, Suite 300, Providence, RI 02903-4226
(800) 521-9550 or (401) 274-9548 Fax (401) 421-7650 HTTP://www.lab.brown.edu

Northeast and Islands
Regional Educational
Lab At Brown University

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The Knowledge Loom

Where Educators Craft Best Practices, Research & Theory into Real World Success.

How to be a Remarkable Teacher...

Recognize that students are teachers. Take time each day to reflect on your **biggest teaching challenge.** Keep a "personal learning" journal. **Have tea with a colleague to discuss student work.** Find out what your 1st graders **need to know in 10th grade.** Ask your 10th graders to reflect on something they learned in 1st grade. **Watch another teacher teach.** Make students **ask questions rather than give answers.** Stage a student "show what you know" assessment event. **Invite parents in for a teaching moment.** Give clear **examples of what is expected and smile when it happens.** Be a "critical friend" to a favorite colleague. **Use last week's student work to plan this week's lessons.** Engage your students **as collaborators with you in getting all the day's plans accomplished.** Engage in an action research project. **Frequent The Knowledge Loom.**

Visit The Knowledge Loom often to:

- learn about proven best practices
- share your own wisdom
- join a community of remarkable educators

The Knowledge Loom web resource is being developed by the LAB at Brown University with support from the U.S. Department of Education and partner organizations.

e-mail: loom@lab.brown.edu

LAB

LAB

Bilingual Education: Portraits of Success

www.lab.brown.edu/public/NABE/portraits.taf

A joint project of the LAB at Brown University, the National Association for Bilingual Education (NABE), Boston College, in collaboration with the Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Language Affairs (OBEMLA), the Center for Applied Linguistics (CAL), and the Bueno Center for Multicultural Education

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(800) 521-9550 ◆ Fax (401) 421-7650 ◆ [illegible]

LAB

Bilingual Education: Portraits of Success

www.lab.brown.edu/public/NABE/portraits.taf

Our website contains information on exemplary bilingual education programs highlighting schools which have demonstrated success in student achievement. The website provides information about the project background, selection criteria for nomination, the nomination forms, a list of the advisory board, and a bibliography for further reading and reference. [illegible]

We are always looking to create products that suit your needs. To that end, we would greatly appreciate your taking a few moments to fill out the questionnaire below.

1. Which best describes your role in education?

- ☐ teacher
- ☐ family or community member
- ☐ in-school administrator
- ☐ policymaker
- ☐ researcher
- ☐ assistance provider

2. Which of the following describes most of your activity in education?

- ☐ local
- ☐ state-wide
- ☐ regional
- ☐ national

3. In what forms are you interested in receiving information about education?

- ☐ print materials
- ☐ online resources
- ☐ presentations at my site
- ☐ presentations offsite
- ☐ audio/video tapes

4. In which state or island are you most involved in education?

- ☐ Connecticut
- ☐ New Hampshire
- ☐ New York
- ☐ Massachusettes
- ☐ Maine
- ☐ Puerto Rico
- ☐ Rhode Island
- ☐ Virgin Island
- ☐ Vermont
- ☐ other_____

5. Which current issues in education are you interested in learning more about?

- ☐ standards, assessment, and accountability
- ☐ teacher development
- ☐ school reform, innovation, and leadership
- ☐ reading, literacy, and language
- ☐ schools and communities
- ☐ technology
- ☐ equity and diversity
- ☐ legislation, policy, and funding
- ☐ other_____

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Email:_____ Date:_____

LAB

Northeast and Islands Regional Educational Laboratory

a program of
The Education Alliance
at **Brown University**

The LAB At Brown University
The Education Alliance
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Email: info@lab.brown.edu
Web: http://www.lab.brown.edu

What is the LAB at Brown University?

The Laboratory At Brown University (LAB) is one of ten federally funded educational laboratories that engage in applied research and development aimed at improving teaching and learning and promoting effective reform of America's schools. The regional laboratories ensure that those engaged in improving education at the local, state, and regional levels have access to the best available knowledge from research and practice. The LAB at Brown serves all of New England, New York, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands with research and development work pertinent to that region. The LAB makes current research available to policymakers and schools through workshops, publications, and computer media, and engages in on-going research with practitioners throughout the region.

What is our mission?

The goal of the LAB is to improve teaching and learning by advancing systemic school improvement. The LAB attempts to achieve that goal by focusing on building capacity for reform and by building strategic alliances with key members of the region's education and policymaking community. The LAB views excellence and equity as two equally important guiding principles, and places special emphasis on developing effective approaches for meeting the educational needs of linguistically and culturally diverse students.

The LAB's applied research is based on collaborative inquiry that brings stakeholders together to share and extend perspectives, insights, and understandings about effective practices and strong educational environments. The LAB's goal is to create a collegial working environment for addressing school improvement systemically and to fuel the work of stakeholders by providing access to the best knowledge available from research and practice. The LAB is also committed to supporting action research by which teachers and school staff design and conduct inquiry into issues important to their educational settings.

What are our major research initiatives?

The LAB has five major research initiatives. In each of these areas of inquiry, the LAB is conducting a number of research projects and will develop further research based on regional response to the work already underway. These initiatives are as follows:

Urban School Reform. The LAB works with schools and communities in urban settings — for example, Boston, Hartford, Providence, and New York City — to evaluate existing strategies for reform and to conduct on-site research into which reform approaches are most effective in building on the strengths of urban schools.

Professional Development for Educational Leadership. The LAB works with educators and education associations to investigate what makes for effective training and support of practitioners. The LAB's work under this initiative also supports professional development better suited to the demands of diverse educational environments and more adaptable to changes in those environments.

School Change and Community Involvement. The LAB studies what organizational capacities and kinds of community involvement are important to sustaining reform, especially in high poverty or linguistically and culturally diverse schools. Through this work the LAB seeks to understand the demands of school reform in diverse communities and to develop the abilities of schools to implement meaningful reform.

Standards, Assessment, and Instruction. The LAB conducts research and provides assistance to support state and district efforts to implement high learning standards with diverse populations. The LAB examines how new approaches to instruction and assessment can be used to improve educational practices so that all students can be brought to high levels of achievement.

Secondary School Restructuring. The LAB helps its states and territories to identify the needs of their student populations, to implement professional development programs addressed to the needs of the students, and to create effective communications between secondary schools and public institutions of higher education about how schools can meet the needs of the students they serve.

What is our specialty area?

Each of the ten educational laboratories has a "specialty area." Our LAB's is cultural and linguistic diversity. Much of the LAB's research explores how education can better address the needs of culturally and linguistically diverse populations. As part of one of its initiatives, the LAB sponsors inquiry into the ways that learning standards, portfolio assessment systems, and math and science instructional practices might be revised in order to more effectively challenge students from a variety of linguistic and cultural backgrounds. Several pieces of the LAB's work in leadership and professional development also place an emphasis on developing community and practitioner leadership in diverse educational settings.

Who are our partners?

Through creating partnerships with exemplary private and public agencies in the Northeast and Islands, as well as throughout the nation, the LAB connects schools in the region to sources of exceptional expertise. Our partners are:

Abt Associates
CAL (Center for Applied Linguistics)
CRM (Center for Resource Management)
Jobs for the Future
RMC Research, Inc.
TERC, Inc.
Superintendent's Leadership Council

Since its priorities are continually updated and refocused, the LAB will create new partnerships with nationally recognized experts in educational reform as needed.

The LAB is a Program of The Education Alliance at Brown University, and is funded by the Office of Educational Research and Improvement (OERI), U.S. Department of Education, under contract number RJ96006401.

RELnetwork

- About the REL Network
- Request Information
- REL Specialty Areas
- Contact Information
- News Archive
- REL Publications
- Search the REL Network

Welcome to the
Regional Educational Laboratory Network

REL Headline News

- AEL Coordinates Study of Rural Schools and Reform
- LSS Announces Urban Professional Development Program
- McREL Holds Conference on Curriculum, Learning and Instruction
- NCREL Looks at Issues in Technology and Education
- LAB at Brown University Distributes Diversity Inquiry Kit
- NWREL Puts School-Reform-Models Catalog Online
- PREL Hosts Literacy and Language Diversity Teleconference
- SEDL Makes Available Native-Language Resources
- SERVE Assembles Experts in Early Childhood Education
- WestEd Publishes Assessment Resources for Teachers

www.relnetwork.org

What Is The REL Network? The network of 10 Regional Educational Laboratories, serving geographic regions that span the nation, works to ensure that those involved in educational improvement at the local, state, and regional levels have access to the best available information from research and practice. This Web site is one of many ways that the network reaches out to make that information accessible. With support from the U.S. Department of Education, Office of Educational Research and Improvement (OERI), the laboratories work as vital partners with state and local educators, community members, and policymakers in using research to tackle the difficult issues of education reform and improvement. The latest news from the regional educational laboratories—products, programs, projects, findings, and more—are posted on the REL Network site. Each laboratory has a specialty area; you'll find those described. Through this Web site you can easily reach your "home" laboratory's Web site, or simultaneously search for information on all 10 laboratory Web sites.

Appalachia Educational Laboratory (AEL)
Executive Director: Dr. Allen Arnold
Region Served: Kentucky, Tennessee, Virginia, and West Virginia
Post Office Box 1348, Charleston, WV 25325-1348
(304) 347-0400, fax: (304) 347-0487
aelinfo@ael.org • www.ael.org

Laboratory for Student Success (LSS)
Executive Director: Dr. Margaret C. Wang
Region Served: Delaware, Maryland, and New Jersey
Temple University/Center for Research in Human Development and Education
933 Ritter Annex, 13th Street and Cecil B. Moore Avenue
Philadelphia, PA 19122-6091
(215) 204-3030, (800) 892-5550, fax: (215) 204-5130
lss@vm.temple.edu • www.temple.edu/departments/LSS

Mid-continent Research for Education and Learning (McREL)
Executive Director: Dr. J. Timothy Waters
Region Served: Colorado, Kansas, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, South Dakota, and Wyoming
2550 South Parker Road, Suite 500, Aurora, CO 80014-1678
(303) 337-0990 • info@mcrel.org • www.mcrel.org

Northeast and Islands Regional Educational Laboratory at Brown University (LAB at Brown University)
Executive Director: Dr. Phil Zarlengo
Region Served: Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New York, Rhode Island, Vermont, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands
222 Richmond Street, Suite 300, Providence, RI 02903-4226
(401) 274-9548, (800) 521-9550
info@lab.brown.edu • www.lab.brown.edu

Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory (NWREL)
Executive Director/CEO: Dr. Ethel Simon-McWilliams
Region Served: Alaska, Idaho, Montana, Oregon, and Washington
101 S.W. Main Street, Suite 500, Portland, OR 97204-3297
(503) 275-9500 • info@nwrel.org • www.nwrel.org

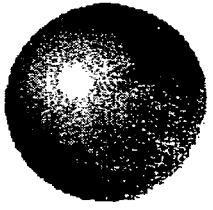
North Central Regional Educational Laboratory (NCREL)
Executive Director: Dr. Gina Burkhardt
Region Served: Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Michigan, Minnesota, Ohio, and Wisconsin
1900 Spring Road, Suite 300, Oak Brook, IL 60523-1480
(630) 571-4700 • info@ncrel.org • www.ncrel.org

Pacific Resources for Education and Learning (PREL)
Executive Director: Dr. John W. Kofel
Region Served: American Samoa, Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands, Federated States of Micronesia, Guam, Hawaii, Republic of the Marshall Islands, and the Republic of Palau
Ali'i Place, 25th Floor, 1099 Alakea Street
Honolulu, HI 96813-4513
(808) 533-6000
askprel@prel.hawaii.edu • www.prel.hawaii.edu

SERVE
Executive Director: Dr. John R. Sanders
Region Served: Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, North Carolina, and South Carolina
Post Office Box 5367, Greensboro, NC 27435
(336) 334-3211, (800) 755-3277
info@serve.org • www.serve.org

Southwest Educational Development Laboratory (SEDL)
Executive Director: Dr. Wesley A. Hoover
Region Served: Arkansas, Louisiana, New Mexico, Oklahoma, and Texas
211 East Seventh Street, Austin, TX 78701-3281
(512) 476-6861, (800) 476-6861
info@sedl.org • www.sedl.org

WestEd
Chief Executive Officer: Dr. Glen Harvey
Region Served: Arizona, California, Nevada, and Utah
730 Harrison Street, San Francisco, CA 94107-1242
(415) 565-3000 • tross@wested.org • www.wested.org



MEETING THE CHALLENGE OF EDUCATING IMMIGRANT CHILDREN

MARCELO SUÁREZ-OROZCO

CAROLA SUÁREZ-OROZCO

LONGITUDINAL IMMIGRANT STUDENT ADAPTATION PROJECT

HARVARD UNIVERSITY GRADUATE SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

The 2nd Institute on Cultural and Linguistic Diversity

Bringing It All Together: How Can Practice, Policy, and Research Advance English Language Learner Achievement?

Providence, Rhode Island

Northeast and Islands Regional Educational Laboratory

Brown University

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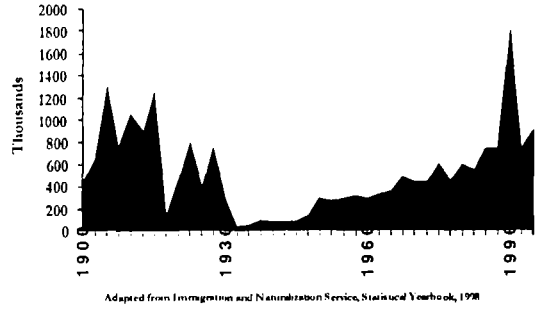
Immigrants Admitted: Fiscal Years 1990-96



Adapted from Immigration and Naturalization Service, Statistical Yearbook, 1998

REMARKABLY DIVERSE

- Economic Backgrounds
  - Some are amongst the most educated and affluent
  - Others have limited education and are working poor
- Linguistic backgrounds
  - Over 100 languages in New York Public Schools
  - Over 90 languages in Los Angeles Public Schools
- Ethnicity, Race, & Color
  - Nearly 80 % are of color

CHILDREN OF IMMIGRATION

- Immigration Research has been largely focused on Adults
- Yet, **One in Five** Children in the U.S. is the Child of an Immigrant
- Fastest Growing Sector of U.S. Child Population
- Adaptation Patterns
  - Three Pathways
    - Some Outperform Native Born
    - Some Overlap with Native Born
    - Some Achieve Below Native Born
  - Epidemiological Paradox

School Districts Face Unprecedented Changes with Few Roadmaps

- Little Research
  - Who are these children of immigrants?
  - What characteristics do they bring with them? --both in terms of strengths & risk factors
- What educational strategies are effective for which kids in what contexts?
- Research is often driven by Either/Or divisions
  - e.g., Whole Language vs. Phonetics
  - e.g., Bilingual vs. Immersions

Resources Are Stretched Thin

- Poorest districts often face greatest infusions of immigrant children
- Insufficient Classroom materials designed for English Language Learners
- Dearth of Certified Teachers adequately trained to address these children's special needs

National School Reform Measures

- One size fits all
- Not conceptualized with immigrant children in mind
- Often have serious negative consequences for immigrant children
  - e.g., Reduced Classroom Size
  - e.g., Moratorium on Social Promotions
  - e.g., High stakes Testing

Research Challenges

- Conduct robust, empirically sound, & culturally sensitive research that can guide practice
- Understand unique features of new immigrants
- Foster interdisciplinary collaborations that lead to cross-fertilization of knowledge & practice
  - Psychosocial
  - Literacy
  - Bilingual Education
  - Math
  - Science
  - Social Studies
  - Language Arts

Assessment Challenges

- Develop 'diagnostic' strategies to assess:
  - Immigration History
    - Interrupted Education *(10 to 20% have gaps of 2 or more years)*
    - Trauma
  - Academic strengths
  - Literacy skills
  - Language skills in native language
  - Appropriately identify learning disabilities

Challenge to Curriculum Development

- Recognize transient English language skills limitations
- Provide intellectually engaging & challenging materials while children are in the process of acquiring language skills
- Present information multi-modally so as to scaffold on all children's available resources
- Prepare students for the 21st Century

Challenge of Teacher Preparation

- Two Levels
  - New Teachers
  - Continuing Education
- Designed to recognize the special needs of immigrant students
- Designed to recognize the challenges of teaching diverse students
- Provide Mentoring Supports to Teachers as they acquire new skills

Challenge of Realistic Parental Involvement

- Recognize high hopes immigrant parents hold for their children's educational pathways
- Understand the variety of cultural models of parental involvement
- Involve parents when possible
- Design assignments which do not penalize those immigrant children who may not be able to draw on parental resources

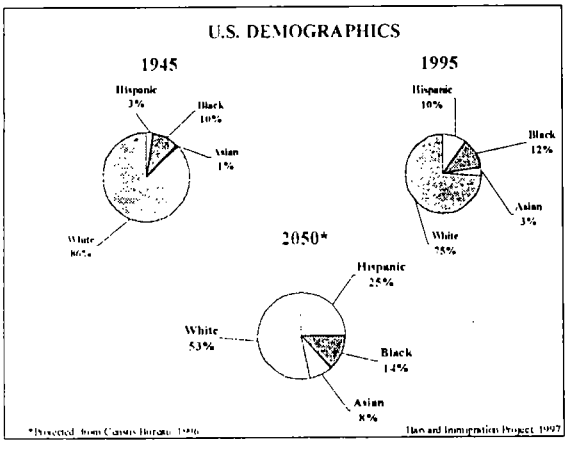
Fostering Robust Learning Communities

- Supportive Relationships
  - Between teachers and students
  - Between teachers and parents
  - Between students
- Maintain high expectations
- Build on strengths while recognizing transient linguistic limitations
- Mediate learning in a variety of ways
- Scaffold on all available linguistic and cultural resources
- Recognize diversity as a resource for learning rather than a problem to be eliminated
- Embrace immigrant children's hopes and harness their energies

SUPPLEMENTAL SLIDES [to follow]

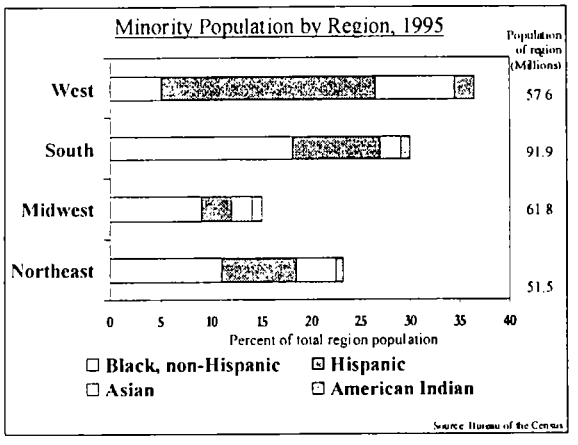
- US Demographics
- Immigration Today
- Minority Population by Region
- Percentage of Foreign Born
- States Ranked by Hispanic Population
- Mean Risk Behaviors by Immigrant Group & Generation
- Epidemiological Paradox

U.S. DEMOGRAPHICS



IMMIGRATION TODAY

- 130 Million Immigrants & Refugees Worldwide
- 20 Million admitted to the U.S. since 1965
- Since 1990 rate has intensified to about a million per annum
- Proportionally less than in the previous large wave
  - 1880-1920--nearly 14 percent
  - Currently--still under 10 percent
  - Approximately half the rate of several European countries



PERCENTAGE OF FOREIGN BORN

	1880	1900	1920	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	1998
Percentage of Foreign Born	13.3%	13.6%	13.3%	6.9%	5.4%	4.7%	6.2%	8.6%	9.3%*

*1998 Foreign Born Population = 25,208,000

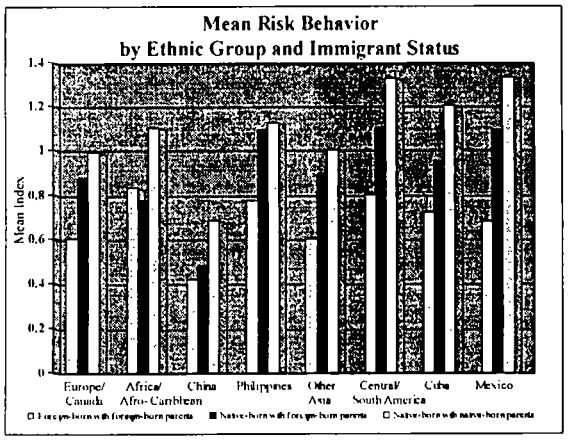
PERCENTAGE OF FOREIGN BORN BY REGION OF ORIGIN

	1880	1920	1950	1980	1990
EUROPEANS	97%	93.6%	89.3%	49.6%	25%
ASIANS	1.6%	1.7%	2.65	18%	25%
LATIN AMERICANS	1.3%	4.2%	6.3%	31%	43%
AFRICANS	0.2%	0.4%	1.8%	1.4%	7%

States Ranked By Hispanic Population

RANK	STATE	ESTIMATED POPULATION	PERCENT CHANGE SINCE 1990
1	CALIFORNIA	10,112,986	31%
2	TEXAS	5,867,835	35%
3	NEW YORK	2,624,930	18%
4	FLORIDA	2,243,441	42%
5	ILLINOIS	1,274,309	35%
6	ARIZONA	1,033,822	50%
7	NEW JERSEY	1,004,010	34%
8	NEW MEXICO	700,289	20%
9	COLORADO	577,516	36%
10	MASSACHUSETTS	377,016	31%
13	NEVADA	278,499	123%
17	GEORGIA	220,312	102%
21	NORTH CAROLINA	181,120	110%
32	NEBRASKA	72,519	96%
34	TENNESSEE	67,223	90%
36	SOUTH CAROLINA	49,817	63%
37	ARKANSAS	49,473	148%
38	ALABAMA	42,562	72%

Source: Census Bureau



- Epidemiological Paradox
  - Mental Health *[NRC Study -- Hernandez & Charney 1998]*
  - Risk Behaviors *[NRC Study -- Hernandez & Charney 1998]*
- Academic Outcomes
  - Aspirations & GPA
    - Sociological study of 5,000 highs school students in Dade County Florida & San Diego California *[Rumbaut & Portes, 1995]*
  - Schooling Behaviors, GPA, Risk Behaviors, & Mental Health
    - Psychological study of 20,000 adolescents from 9 high schools *[Steinberg, Brown, & Dornbusch 1996]*
- Canada *[Beiser, Hou, Hyman & Tousignant 1999]*

OBJECTIVES

INSTITUTE ON CULTURAL AND LINGUISTIC DIVERSITY
APRIL 2000

Create dynamic, interactive institute that:

1. **Engages participants in thinking and working together on the question "How can practice, policy and research advance English language learner student achievement?".**
2. **Enlarges participant's vision about current issues, approaches and outcomes.**
3. **Provides thoughtful, collegial consultation to the two case groups.**
4. **Fosters the development of on-going, collaborative partnerships among and between practitioners, policy makers and researchers.**

GUIDELINES : DISCUSSIONS AND DEBRIEFINGS

INSTITUTE ON CULTURAL AND LINGUISTIC DIVERSITY
APRIL 2000

All Participants:

- **Be both active listeners and active participants in discussion groups.**
- **Aim for the goal of being a "wise and generous" colleague.**
- **Be critical in your thinking and courteous in your interactions.**
- **Be creative.**
- **Be mindful of time constraints as you work in your groups.**

Group Spokespersons:

- **Be sure you are clear about what the activity and your colleagues expect you to report.**
- **Participate, but also listen carefully.**
- **Remember the difference between "report" and "repeat"; skip over points that have already been made.**
- **Be mindful of time constraints as you deliver your report.**

Facilitators/Recorders:

- **Keep the group focused on the task.**
- **Help the group monitor and manage the time allotted.**
- **Encourage participation; no one dominating, no one excluded.**
- **Summarize key points, but be cautious about "editing".**
- **Write legibly (to be read across a room).**
- **Reference each flip chart page (date, topic, group, page number).**

CASE GUIDELINES

INSTITUTE ON CULTURAL AND LINGUISTIC DIVERSITY
APRIL 2000

- **Cases, in general, are vehicles for promoting the exploration of ideas. Cases are not so much about "what to know" (facts, theories, formulas) as they are tools to help us discover "how to know".**

- **The cases selected for the Institute are vehicles, but they are also real and the case spokespersons are colleagues who have asked us to partner with them in moving their initiatives forward.**

- **In reality, the cases were (are) very complex. The written versions are intentionally abbreviated. In our discussions---just as in "real life"---we will be working without all the data we might want.**

- **There is no single "right answer" or solution for these cases . The situations they describe are rich and complex; our discussions should be equally rich and complex.**

- **Our discussions should provide opportunities to explore and weigh a variety of potentially valid approaches; we should be wise and generous and creative.**

- ***A Cautionary Word About Personal Examples:***

It is very normal and very human to rely on our personal experiences, particularly when we are trying to make sense out of something that is outside of that experience. And there is no question that providing personal examples can be helpful.

However....., for listeners, over-use of personal examples ("Well, in our research.....", or "In my school.....", or.....) begins to feel like a case that only one person has read. It's frustrating. It slows down the pace of the discussion. It can stifle energy and the lively exchange of ideas.

REFLECTIONS ON THE CASE

INSTITUTE ON CULTURAL AND LINGUISTIC DIVERSITY
APRIL 2000

1. **What do you recommend that they continue ? What are the strengths of this initiative that can/should be built upon?**

2. **What would you recommend that they begin? Where are there opportunities to enhance the initiative?**

3. **What would you recommend that they avoid? Are there pitfalls or obstacles they need to be aware of?**

4. **Who might they partner with as they move forward?**

REFLECTIONS ON THE CASE

INSTITUTE ON CULTURAL AND LINGUISTIC DIVERSITY
APRIL 2000

1. **What were the two or three key things that you took away from this case? What is memorable?**

2. **What do you think are the strengths of this initiative? What can/should they build on/enhance as they move forward?**

3. **Where are there opportunities that they may have overlooked ?**

4. **Who do they need as partners as they move forward?**

GUIDING PRINCIPLES

INSTITUTE ON CULTURAL AND LINGUISTIC DIVERSITY
APRIL 2000

What have we learned about working together across functions that can be shared with others who are concerned about the "disconnect" between research, policy and practice?

If we were to develop a set of guiding principles that would promote integration of research, policy and practice what would we propose as baseline considerations to move toward integration?

What barriers have you observed in the case studies or personal experiences that must be addressed if the "education community" and its various stakeholders are to advance English language learner's achievement?

Small Group Discussions

Institute on Cultural and Linguistic Diversity
April 2000
Biltmore Hotel, Providence, RI

Grouping	Room Assignment
Group 1	L'Apogee 17
Group 2	Mezzanine A
Group 3	Mezzanine B
Group 4	L'Apogee 18 A
Group 5	L'Apogee 18 B
Group 6	L'Apogee 1
Group 7	L'Apogee 7
Group 8	L'Apogee 2
Group 9	L'Apogee 3
Group 10	L'Apogee 4
Group 11	L'Apogee 5
Group 12	L'Apogee 6

March 29, 2000

Minority Gaps Smaller In Some Pentagon Schools

By Debra Viadero
Education Week

Baumholder, Germany

Third in a four-part series

If statistical odds really could predict academic success, Tieasha, a 12th grader at Baumholder High School, should be just barely making it. For starters, she is an African-American on her fifth school in 13 years. Neither her mother nor her stepfather finished college. And two-thirds of her schoolmates at the school—which serves the children of U.S. military personnel stationed here—come from families that qualify for price breaks on school lunches.

In many U.S. schools, those factors would be warning flags of potential failure, signaling what are widely considered leading causes of higher dropout rates and lower academic achievement among black and Hispanic students compared with their white and Asian-American peers.

Tieasha, above, a senior at Baumholder High School in Germany, says the military's schools provide a supportive environment.
(Photo by Sam Jones)

Instead, Tieasha soars. A talented basketball player who makes A's and B's on her report card, Tieasha scored a highly respectable 1250 on the SAT last year. This girl is headed for college.

In the 154 schools run by the U.S. Department of Defense on American military bases outside the United States, stories like Tieasha's are not all that hard to find. Black and Hispanic students in those schools—as well as the 70 other schools operated by the military on U.S. soil— do better than their counterparts almost anywhere in the United States on the National Assessment of Educational Progress, a key barometer of student achievement.

Diane Rose, the mother of two Baumholder students, says it helps that Army commanders involve themselves in school affairs.
(Photo by Sam Jones)

On the writing portion of the 1998 NAEP, for example, black and Hispanic 8th graders in the Pentagon's overseas schools ranked No. 1 among their counterparts taking the test in 39 states and other jurisdictions. In 4th grade writing, the minority students from the Defense Department schools topped the list of black and Hispanic achievers again. And the story was much the same for African-American 4th and 8th graders taking NAEP tests in mathematics, science, and reading.

To be sure, blacks and Hispanics in military-run schools still generally lag behind their white and Asian-American classmates, just as they do nationwide.

But the gap is smaller than it is on average in civilian schools. And such numbers suggest that the experience of the Pentagon schools in working with a diverse, highly mobile group of students may offer lessons for other American educators seeking ways of reducing the persistent and troubling shortfalls in student achievement among racial and ethnic minorities.

"If there's any place where children of color or minority kids are being successful, it would make sense for us to look at it and to understand why," said Howard L. Fuller, a former Milwaukee school superintendent and an education professor at Marquette University in Milwaukee.

On the 4th grade reading portion of NAEP, 17 test-score points separate white and black students in the overseas schools. Nationwide, in comparison, the same gap—at 32 points—is nearly twice as large. In the Kaiserslautern school district, which includes Baumholder High and 18 other schools on U.S. Army and Air Force bases in west-central Germany, some principals say there are no test-score disparities in their schools at all.

The surprise is that the Pentagon schools are able to produce better-than-average minority achievement despite some real obstacles to learning. With an average of more than a third of their 115,000 students moving to new schools each year, the Defense Department schools have mobility rates rivaling those of many urban systems. And—of particular concern in a district such as this that is close to international hot spots—huge numbers of military families effectively become single-parent homes for months at a time on a regular basis.

The Baumholder Military Community, a sprawling complex set amid rugged farmlands and vineyards east of the Mosel River, is home to 5,000 military personnel and their families.

From here, Army brigades might deploy to Bosnia, Kosovo, or Albania. What's more, at least half the parents of students in the Kaiserslautern district receive low enough salaries that their children qualify for federal free or reduced-price lunches. If

the military can keep minority students performing at higher-than-average levels, some observers have begun to say, civilian schools might be able to do the same.

"I believe one of the big factors is that we have tended to look at all students in our expectations for them," said Ray Tolleson, the interim director of the Department of Defense Education Activity, which oversees Pentagon schools in the United States and abroad.

'Place of Duty'

Defense Department schools, to be sure, have certain advantages. For starters, the Pentagon has a longer history than many school districts in educating a diverse student population. The Defense Department's overseas schools have been formally integrated since just after World War II. Now, Hispanic, African-American, and biracial children make up 39 percent of the enrollment in the military's schools abroad and 45 percent of the students in its domestic schools.

> Another reason cuts across racial and ethnic lines: Educators in military-run schools can rely on the military culture and infrastructure for support to a degree unheard of in regular public schools.

Having trouble getting a mom or dad in for a parent-teacher conference? Call the commanding officer, and that soldier is likely to get a dressing down.

The Army, in fact, has formally notified officers and enlisted men and women that their "place of duty" at parent-conference time is in their children's classrooms.

"From a parents' point of view, it seems sort of intrusive that your boss gets involved in your personal affairs," said Diane Rose, the mother of two Baumholder High students and wife of an Army major. "But it also works because you know the commander is going to let a parent off to come to school functions."

In addition, family members who become chronic troublemakers in school or in the community can be shipped back home to the States. And parents in this 9,300-student district, the Pentagon system's largest, can recall occasions when the military made good on that threat.

Army Lt. Col. Mark McAlister, left, says the military culture creates an atmosphere where minority students can thrive.
(Photo by Sam Jones)

"I don't view it as a sword of Damocles hanging over people's heads," said Brig. Gen. Michael Maples, an Army tactical commander at Baumholder. "But it's there."

Community Support

Principals can also call on the local command to provide muscle, volunteers, technological expertise, and other help they may need to keep their schools running smoothly.

At Neubruecke Elementary School, a K-6 school just up the road from Baumholder High, the former principal turned to an Army battalion commander last year for help finding adult mentors for students. Of the 10 volunteers that Lt. Col. Mark McAlister sent from his finance battalion, none—including the lieutenant colonel himself—had children of their own at the school.

"School support is not much different than mission support in Kosovo," said Col. McAlister, clad in camouflage gear and fresh from a mission to the Balkans.

The mentors also volunteered as substitute dance partners at a father-daughter dance last spring that was held at a time when many of the school's fathers were on their way to Albania for a six-month stay. An Army commander, equipped with maps and overheads, visited the school again right after that deployment to show the students where their parents were—visits that helped quiet rampant rumors of parents "going to war."

"Everything in the Army is designed so that when a soldier is deployed somewhere, he can focus on the task at hand," noted Maj. John Miller, an Army operations officer and Neubruecke parent. "I can't have a soldier deployed somewhere worrying about whether his family's being taken care of."

Despite those advantages, the military schools must still face many of the same problems—mobile families, absent parents, scarce resources, disruptive students—as typical stateside schools. And a few extra ones.

The weeks surrounding the departures and returns of parents, for example, are typically emotionally fragile times for children, teachers said. And classroom misbehaviors tend to crop up more often during those periods.

As a self- described "inner-city Philadelphia knucklehead," Col. McAlister, an African

Pentagon Schools at a Glance

	Department of Defense Dependents Schools (overseas)	Department of Defense Domestic Elementary & Secondary Schools (U.S. territory)
Number of schools	154	70
Total Number of students	74,193	33,863
Percentage white	47%	46%
Percentage African-American	17%	25%
Percentage Hispanic	15%	6%
Percentage Asian-American	7%	15%
	8%	4%

American officer whose Army career spans 18 years, said he could well be an advertisement for the Army's expertise in fostering high minority achievement.

Figures are for either 1998-99 or 1999-00 school year.
Percentages for racial/ethnic breakdowns do not add up to 100.

The Army doesn't take a person's race or background as an excuse for poor performance, he said. And in the service, he added, overt demonstrations of racial prejudice are dealt with harshly.

"I was a 20-year-old second lieutenant, and the Army looked at me and handed me 50 soldiers and said, 'You're responsible for their care and well-being,'" the colonel said. "No one ever said, 'You're a minority' or 'You're from the inner city.' You'd be amazed at how often people live up to what's expected of them."

Darryl Levin, a 3rd grade teacher at Neubruecke, has similarly high expectations for his students, half of whom are members of minorities and many of whom are from low-income families. "I expect every single one of my kids to go to college and get a professional job," said Mr. Levin.

Systemwide, more than three-quarters of seniors go on to higher education once they graduate—well above the 67 percent of U.S. high school graduates overall who go directly to college. If a military career is their choice, postsecondary education is required in order to move up the ranks.

"You're looking at an organization that rewards educational success immediately and equates it to higher rank and more money," Col. McAlister said. "Part of that has to have an effect."

'More Supportive'

Tieasha, the Baumholder High senior—Pentagon policy prohibits disclosing the full names of children in its schools abroad—also says school success is a natural byproduct of growing up as an Army brat. With frequent moves a fact of life, military children learn quickly to adjust to new settings and new faces. At Baumholder, 39 percent of Tieasha's schoolmates, in fact, will change schools this year.

In the classroom as well as the lunchroom, the school mixes black, white, Hispanic, Asian-American, and Native American students. The children of generals learn and play alongside those of privates.

"Everybody's in the same situation you are, so they help you out a bit," Tieasha said. "As soon as you come to the school, people talk to you. They know what it's like for you."

High student mobility is often cited in the United States—especially in urban schools—as a contributing factor to poor student achievement.

Recognizing the potential problems, the Department of Defense schools standardized their curricula in 1994 so that a student moving from Fort Knox in Kentucky can expect to see the same textbooks in a classroom in Aviano, Italy, or Mannheim, Germany. The Pentagon has commissioned a study to explore further ways to ease secondary school students' frequent transitions.

Here in the Kaiserslautern district, schools also offer special programs for students who are struggling academically or just underachieving— just as many civilian schools do.

Reading Recovery, a widely used program from the States that is aimed at giving one-on-one reading instruction to 1st graders, operates in every elementary school here. Older students whose achievement lags can get guidance, tutoring in needed study skills, and the push they need to take college-placement courses through Advancement Via Individual Determination, or AVID—a national program that is noteworthy for its success with minority students.

The Defense Department school system has also raised its graduation requirements and eliminated basic courses at the high school level. Now all students in Pentagon-run high schools must, for example, take two years of a foreign language, three years of science, and complete coursework in algebra and geometry.

The single biggest predictor of college success, a growing number of studies show, is whether students take academically challenging courses in high school.

"The curricular content might be more meaningful to our kids because they see the link," said Archie W. Bates, Kaiserslautern's superintendent. "If you speak of Asia in class, well many of our kids have been to Asia."

Baumholder High students routinely take field trips to Paris, London, and Brussels.

But it also helps that teachers— many of whom are military spouses or have attended Pentagon schools themselves—

Part 1 "Unmet Promise: Raising Minority Achievement," *March 15, 2000* : Despite decades of attention, gaps in the achievement of minority students remain one of the most pressing problems in education.

Part 2 "Lags in Minority Achievement Defy Traditional Explanations," *March 22, 2000* : Why do the achievement gaps persist? Some blame it on teachers; others say too much TV. In a Korean-American community, parents take no chances when it comes to their children's education.

Part 3 *March 29, 2000* : Schools run by the U.S. Department of Defense for children of military families may offer lessons on how to raise the achievement of low-income minority students.

Part 4 *April 5, 2000* : There are no sure answers, but some experts say better teaching, smaller classes, the right schoolwide improvement program, and fairer allocation of resources can shrink achievement gaps. A Houston-area district has some answers of its own.

Coverage of urban education is supported in part by a grant from the George Gund Foundation.

understand what students are going through, too, according to Tieasha.

Nationwide, a growing body of research suggests that minority students—particularly those in big city schools—typically get the least experienced and most poorly qualified teachers.

The Pentagon schools benefit from a teaching force that is more educated and more experienced than most. In the Kaiserslautern district, 74 percent of teachers have master's degrees or better. Just as many have been on the job for more than a decade.

Teachers' longevity is explained in part by the downsizing of the military. With bases closing around the world, the teachers who still have jobs in the system are those who have been there the longest. But teachers here said they also stick around because they like the work.

"This is la-la land compared to the states," said Dominick Calabria, Baumholder's principal.

The allure of life abroad keeps many teachers happy, and even this rural district, spanning rugged hills, forests, farms, and small towns in west-central Germany, is only a 50- mile drive from France and Luxembourg. Bigger German cities, such as Frankfurt and Bonn, are even closer.

Teachers earn salaries roughly comparable to those of their counterparts in large school systems back home. For example, a teacher who holds a master's degree and who figures about midway on the Pentagon's complicated, 18-step pay schedule can earn about $41,000 a year. Overseas teachers also get an allowance that pays three-quarters of their housing costs.

Mr. Levin's room at Neubruecke rivals that of any well-off suburban school in the states. He has Internet access, six computers, a closed-circuit television and VCR, a movie screen, and an overhead projector.

The Defense Department spends an average of $8,579 per pupil on its overseas schools—24 percent more than the national average. But, since military schools are not allowed to accept grants or federal Title I funds—pots of money that a lot of districts don't count in their per-pupil figures—it's hard to tell whether that number is as generous as it sounds. Affluent suburban systems, such as Shaker Heights, Ohio, in comparison, spend more than $10,000 per pupil.

Smaller Classes

Students wait for buses at Baumholder High School in Baumholder, Germany, one of the schools run by the U.S. Department of Defense for children of military personnel. *(Photo by Sam Jones)*

More important than the bottom line, though, is that the money is equitably distributed.

"There are no disparities between schools," said Mary Thompson, a 4th grade teacher at Sembach Elementary-Middle School at Sembach Air Base about 60miles from Baumholder. "We don't have the inner-city and suburban schools."

And, while small schools and classrooms are not the rule throughout the Pentagon system, Kaiserslautern has a fair share of both. Baumholder, like many of the high schools in the system, has only 395 students. Military personnel typically retire before their children reach high school.

Neubruecke Elementary has 235 pupils, while Sembach enrolls nearly 800.

Class sizes vary, too—so much so that figures showing average class sizes have little meaning. At Neubruecke, Mr. Levin has 28 3rd graders this year. Still, he finds the time to send home weekly newsletters as well as daily progress reports on every single student.

"Because of the progress reports, I get things back saying something like, 'In three weeks, Dad's going to be gone for about four months. Let me know if there are any problems.'"

But, if the schools are small so is their "town" here. Parents frequently visit and volunteer in the schools. One reason is that so few of them have opportunities to work outside the home."It was my social life a lot of times because I felt joy when I did things for people here," said Kathy Snyder, the wife of an Army dentist and a parent of two children at Neubruecke.

But parents also come because they are welcome. "At the civilian school my kids went to in Texas, the most I could do for my kids was drive them there, go with them on field trips, and pick them up at the end of the school day," said Grace Johnson, a mother of seven from Sembach. "Here, I know everyone."

Even families without children turn out for basketball games and other events. "It's like everyone here is all hyped up about your future," said Shannon, a classmate of Tieasha's who is also African-American.

And, as is true in many small towns, parents say they feel their children are safe in the schools. "They don't let anyone stand on the corner or drink here," Ms. Thompson of Sembach said. "We're free to concentrate on schooling."

Worth a Look?

Some experts contend that much of the praise being heaped on Pentagon-run schools may be undeserved. Gerald W. Bracey, an education researcher and writer, notes, for example, that many conditions under which they operate cannot be

replicated in civilian schools. And, he points out, even if military families qualify for free school lunches, they still have a roof over their heads, a regular paycheck, and free medical care.

"You won't find military kids living in the conditions found in Southeast Los Angeles or Spanish Harlem," he wrote in a recent letter to education leaders.

What's more, slightly higher-than-average percentages of military parents have a high school diploma or better. When the NAEP scores for the children of like-educated families in the military and in civilian schools are compared, the overall scores on the 8th grade math, science, and reading exams are more comparable. Thus, Mr. Bracey concludes, "the magic of the military is a mirage."

Mr. Fuller of Marquette University isn't so sure. Given the limited success that U.S. schools have had in recent years in reducing the minority achievement gap, he said, the military's successes deserve a closer look. "And we should not look at it with any preconceived notions that explain away any success or suggest why it couldn't happen someplace else," he said.

On the Web

Review the curriculum taught at the Department of Defense schools.

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March 29, 2000

Dear Institute Registrant:

Thank you for planning to join us for the Institute on Cultural and Linguistic Diversity to be held April 10-12, 2000 at the Biltmore Hotel in Providence, RI. We look forward to seeing you to examine 'How Practice, Research and Policy Can Advance English Language Learner Achievement.' The enclosed materials are being sent to assist you with preparation for the Institute. **Please bring these materials with you to the Institute as additional copies will not be available.**

Your packet includes:
1. The **agenda** for the three-day program which provides highlights and the schedule for our work together
2. The **format** for the Institute which describes our intended use of case study to focus the conversations
3. **Readings:**

A. "Transforming Knowledge: Blurring the Boundaries Between Research, Policy and Practice" by Andy Hargraves, 1996
B." At-Risk But Rising: Educational Research, Practice and Policy for Students of Cultural and Linguistic Diversity" by Roland G. Tharp, 1996
C. "Unmet Promise: Raising Minority Achievement" by Robert C. Johnson and Debra Viadero, Ed Week, March 15, 2000
D. "Lags in Minority Achievement Defy Traditional Explanations" by Debra Viadero, Ed Week, March 22, 2000

4. **Case Studies:**
   A. Dalton, Georgia: A Case Study in Educational Challenges and Possibilities Created by Demographic Change
   B. Virgin Islands Selected Teachers Actualizing Action Research for Reform in Schools: A Voice of Practice
5. **Providence Visitors Guide** – a downtown map is provided on page 10 of the promotional booklet
6. Biltmore **Hotel information**
7. **Web updates** can be found by logging on :www.lab.brown.edu

We strongly recommend that you review the two case studies prior to your arrival as some of this background material may not be discussed explicitly in the presentation of the cases during the Institute, but provide facts about the cases and context for some of the discussions we will enter into.

Please note that we have incorporated the Pell Policy Seminar into our programming for Day Two of the Institute. This portion of the program will occur in Salomon Hall on the Brown campus. There will be bus service for you to and from the Pell Seminar. Also, please note that Ron Suskind, Pulitzer Prize author of *A Hope in the Unseen: An American Odyssey from the Inner City to the Ivy League* will deliver our closing keynote on Day Three of the Institute.
If you have questions, or special accommodation requests, please notify Don Bouchard at 1-800-521-9550, ext. 273 by Wednesday, April 5.

Sincerely,

Don

E. Donald Bouchard, Institute Program Committee Chair

The Education Alliance

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Fax 401/421-7650 lab@brown.edu http://www.lab.brown.edu/

Institute on Cultural and Linguistic Diversity
Bringing It All Together: How Can Practice, Policy and Research Advance English Language Learner Achievement?
Biltmore Hotel
Providence, Rhode

Institute Agenda
Monday, April 10, 2000

8:30-9:45	Registration/Coffee 2nd floor Balcony
9:45-10:15	Welcome/ Opening Statements **Garden Room** US Senator Jack Reed (D-RI) invited
10:15	Setting the Stage and Mini-keynotes: 1. Marcelo Suarez-Orozco, Professor , Co-director, Harvard Immigrant Project, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA 2. Delia Pompa, Executive Director, National Association of Bilingual Education (NABE), Washington, D.C. 3. Craig Shapiro, Teacher, DeWitt Clinton High School, Bronx, NY
10:45	Introduction of Dalton , GA Case Study- Edmund Hamann, LAB Erwin Mitchell, Attorney, Dalton, GA Maria Olivia Villareal, Universidad de Monterrey, Mexico Sheila Evans, Curriculum Coordinator, Dalton, GA Beth Arnow, ESOL Coordinator, Gwinnett County (GA) Schools Amy Haynes, Teacher, Dalton, GA
11:30	Discussion of Case Study- Jan Shubert, Facilitator
12:00	Luncheon
1:15	Guided discussions - groups of 10- location to be announced
3:00	Break
3:20	Group Debriefing with Response panel: Carola Suarez-Orozco, Co-Director Harvard Immigrant Project, Harvard University Delia Pompa, Executive Director, National Association of Bilingual Education (NABE), Washington, D.C. Craig Shapiro, Teacher, DeWitt Clinton High School, Bronx, NY Monica Sanchez-Franzone, Teacher, Groton, CT
4:20	Wrap-up – preview of next day
5:15	Reception- L'Apogee Lounge 17th floor
6:15-8:00	Dinner

Tuesday, April 11, 2000

8:15-9:00	Continental Breakfast/ Providence Arts Project- Jonny Skye – Garden Room
9:00	Reflections on Day 1/ Review Day 2 agenda Introduction of Virgin Islands Case Study – Don Bouchard, LAB Anita Plaskett, University of Virgin Islands, St. Croix, VI

	Nidia Tolentino, Bilingual Consultant, Department of Education, St. Croix, VI Paulina Ramos, Teacher, Ricardo Richards Elementary School, St. Croix, Virgin Islands Bernice Samuels, Teacher, Lockhart Elementary School, St. Thomas, Virgin Islands Ruby Simmonds, Commissioner, Virgin Islands Department of Education, St. Croix, VI
10:00	Facilitation of Case Study- Jan Shubert Small group discussions- location to be announced
11:15	Break
11:30	Debrief small group discussions
12:15	Luncheon and Speaker- Carlos Rodriguez, Senior Researcher, American Institute for Research, Washington, D.C.
1:30	Break
2:45/3:00	Buses will transport participants to Salomon Hall, Brown campus from hotel
3:30	Pell Reception- Salomon Hall, campus
4:00-6:30	4th Annual Clairborne Pell Policy Seminar (No scheduled dinner)

Wednesday, April 12, 2000

8:30-9:00	Continental Breakfast- Garden Room
9:00	Where to now? Jan Shubert, Facilitator What do we know? What have we learned? What do we need to do to promote better communication and greater integration?
9:45	Moving toward integration: Role a-like meetings with researchers, policy-makers, and practitioners
11:00	Town Hall Meeting with Response Panel: Jan Shubert Panelists: Donna Christian, Director, Center for Applied Linguistics, Washington, D.C. Craig Shapiro, Teacher, DeWitt Clinton High School, Bronx, NY Mary-Beth Fafard,Director of Programs and Services Education Alliance, Brown University
12:30	Luncheon and Speaker: Ron Suskind, Author, *A Hope in the Unseen: An American Odyssey from the Inner City to the Ivy League*
2:30	Closing/Evaluation

Format for the Institute on Cultural and Linguistic Diversity

Bringing It All Together: How Can Practice, Research and Policy Advance English Language Learner Achievement?

Questions at-large: How do we determine if adequate integration exists among practitioners, researchers and policy-makers around issues affecting English Language Learners (ELLs)? How is integration itself manifested? What barriers exist to integration among practice, research and policy? How can diverse stakeholders advocate for ELLs in ways that will advance improved achievement?

Format: The Institute will incorporate a case study method in addressing the extent to which integration exists among practice, research and policy. Participants at the institute will be invited to listen, to observe, to reflect and to discuss issues that emerge from two cases and how these address integration of practice, research and policy. Participants will be asked to actively engage in a process where they consider questions from each case study and attempt to offer their expertise in assisting the presenters of each case in further advancing ELL achievement.

The case studies will be presented in large group format with opportunity for small group discussions to debrief the presentation and the issues raised. Groups will be configured so that there are practitioners, researchers and policy-makers/implementers in each group. Practitioners, researchers and policy-makers generally do not talk with one another as collaborators and the Institute design is intended to build on sharing of perspectives and what we can learn from one another.

Days one and two will focus on the case studies and facilitation/debriefing of the presentations. Day three will feature a "role-alike" grouping to further synthesize what has been presented in the case studies, the small group discussions and then determine what needs to take place if integration is to occur to further the achievement of ELLs.

Outcomes: The LAB at Brown plans to prepare a summary document of the Institute, highlighting the nature of the discussions and recommended strategies or guiding principles for consideration which might better integrate how practitioners, researchers and policy-makers/implementers can advance ELL achievement. The LAB then plans to share this document with the broader educational community in hopes that it sparks further discussion and potential movement toward better alignment among educators and various stakeholder groups who work with or on behalf of ELLs.

Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis
Summer 1996, Vol. 18, No. 2, pp. 105–122

Transforming Knowledge: Blurring the Boundaries Between Research, Policy, and Practice[1]

Andy Hargreaves
The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education

This paper explores ways in which the boundaries between educational research, policy, and practice are being—and can further be—blurred in the postmodern age. First, it describes two paradigms of knowledge and how knowledge is used or generated by practitioners: knowledge utilization and teachers' self-generated knowledge. The distinctions between these two positions, it is argued, are much less clear cut than is commonly claimed. Indeed, I suggest, in a complex, diverse, and rapidly changing postmodern world, the boundaries between university discourse and school-level discourse about education should become more open still. The remainder of the paper exemplifies and analyzes how these different forms of knowledge and discourse in education can be transformed in productive ways. Four practical examples of such transformation drawn from my own research and development work are described. Finally, 10 principles for reinventing the nature of and relationships between knowledge creation and knowledge utilization in education are outlined.

- What use is university-based research knowledge to teachers? How can it be made more useful?
- What use is the knowledge of individual teachers, to other educators as well as themselves? How can it be made useful?

For more than 20 years, these two sets of questions have been at the heart of our efforts to understand and improve the relationship between teaching, educational research, and educational change. The first question characterizes the traditional field of knowledge utilization. It is concerned with how expert research knowledge about teaching and learning, developed in universities, can be communicated to teachers in ways that will enable and encourage them to make use of it. The second question is prompted by the concern that teachers, too, have valid professional knowledge and that ways need to be found of legitimizing it, codifying it, and making it public. This second question preoccupies and underpins the work of researchers in the fields of teachers' personal knowledge, practical knowledge, reflective practice, and teacher research.

The differences between the fields of knowledge utilization and of teachers' practical knowledge are partly epistemological; they amount to different conceptions of the nature of knowledge and what is professionally worthwhile about it. The differences are also political. The two fields make different claims about who own, define, and act as gatekeepers of what is to count as professionally worthwhile knowledge. They compete over who has the status and the right to define such knowledge.

This paper reviews the claims and contributions of these two broadly constituted fields concerned with teachers' professional knowledge. It also analyzes the implications of these two positions for understanding educational change and how to bring it about. The distinctions between the two positions, I shall argue, are much less clear cut than is often claimed. Indeed, I shall suggest, in a complex, diverse, and rapidly changing postmodern world, the borders between university discourse and school-level discourse about teachers' knowledge in particular and education more generally should become more open still.[2] Consciously creating knowl-

edge together among communities of teachers, administrators, and university researchers, I shall argue, can open up better possibilities for improving teaching, creating and disseminating really useful research, and bringing about educational change.

In the remainder of the paper, I exemplify and analyze how the boundaries that currently divide the knowledge and discourse of universities and the knowledge and discourse of schools and school systems can be traversed and transformed in productive ways. I do this by describing four research initiatives in which I am currently or have recently been involved. Then I draw some implications from these examples of border crossings between university knowledge and school-level knowledge for reinventing knowledge development and knowledge use in the postmodern age.

Paradigms of Useful Knowledge

Following Wideen, Mayer-Smith, and Moon (in press), Lytle and Cochran-Smith (1992), and others, there appear to be two broad paradigms of knowledge and its use to teachers: knowledge utilization and practical, personal, or craft knowledge.

1. Knowledge Utilization

Work on knowledge utilization in education came to prominence in the 1970s and 1980s. It emerged at a time of intense interest in developing educational innovations and curriculum packages, which were then perceived as not being adopted or implemented properly by teachers (Love, 1975). The university-based producers of knowledge, it seemed, were failing to reach, influence, or secure the commitment of classroom teachers. Research on knowledge utilization sought to establish how university-based research and development and its means of dissemination could be improved to ensure that teachers made more extensive use of it. Importantly, "knowledge utilization" literature was also among the first to address what changes needed to be made in the conditions of teaching so as to allow and encourage teachers to be more receptive to externally produced knowledge.

Epistemologically, the knowledge at stake here was usually knowledge of a particular sort. It was propositional in the sense that it offered generalized claims, statements, or prescriptions of a rational kind (Fenstermacher, 1994). These propositional forms of language, reasoning, argumentation, and proof distinguished and detached university-based research knowledge from the everyday, common sense knowledge of teachers in schools. University-based knowledge was not tailored to any one school or classroom, but transcended the many different kinds of contexts in which teachers taught. It was written in research reports, curriculum texts, and teachers' guides. This written knowledge was also public knowledge, available to all who wished to inspect it.

Politically and institutionally, the knowledge that was the subject of knowledge utilization research emanated primarily from universities or from government-sponsored research units and departments. It was the property and prerogative of accredited research experts. They could define public and professional understandings of what kinds of teaching and curriculum programs were effective. Their voices prevailed over teachers' voices in dictating the course of educational change. The propositional and generalized forms that university-based knowledge on teaching and schooling took were embedded in traditional assumptions of what constituted high-status university research and were also buttressed by university career structures, which valued generalized propositional knowledge and its publication in scholarly journals above all else.

Research on knowledge utilization itself also conformed to the canons of university-based inquiry. It was abstract, generalized, propositional, and detached from the everyday school knowledge of teachers. It identified universal factors that made knowledge utilization effective and established procedures of planned change through which the necessary knowledge could be processed. Factors leading to effective knowledge utilization included the need for knowledge to be relevant, clear, and "amenable to action images" (Fullan, 1981, p. 218), to be implemented with the assistance of support persons who had personal contact with teachers over a period of time (p. 219), and to be shared by teachers who had opportunities to interact about the knowledge they were required to implement (p. 226). However, the fundamental assumption on which these findings about effec-

tive knowledge utilization was founded went unquestioned: that the knowledge that could make teachers more effective was other people's knowledge, not their own.

Louis and Dentler (1988) and others have concluded that "top-down reform policies rarely match the varied and often unpredictable contexts in which they must be applied" (p. 35). Writing at the end of the 1980s, Louis and Dentler (1988, p. 59) pushed the knowledge utilization paradigm to its limits by advocating what they called school-focused knowledge utilization, where educators could make genuine improvements from below if they were also provided with modest outside assistance and support to attend to and act on new information made available to them from the outside, and to do this in conditions of increased exchange and discussion among their peers. Even at the limits of the knowledge utilization paradigm, though, the knowledge at issue was still other people's knowledge that educators were asked to ingest from the "outside-in" (Hunt, 1987).

2. *Teachers' Knowledge*

From the middle of the 1980s, another view of knowledge about teaching emerged. Despite many differences of approach, this field as a whole acknowledged the worth and legitimacy of teachers' knowledge and its roots in teachers' individual and collective experience. In traditional knowledge utilization theory, teachers' own knowledge was unhelpful to other educators as a way of understanding teaching because it was unsystematic (Fullan, 1981). In the newly emergent study of teachers' knowledge, however, the grounding of that knowledge in the lives of individual teachers, and the particularities of time and place within which they worked, was regarded as a source of great richness, practicality, and strength.

Epistemologically, research and writing on teachers' knowledge has focused on its personal and practical nature, has celebrated rather than dismissed its idiosyncrasies, has sometimes embraced its emotional and intuitive qualities as well as more usual rational and reflective ones, has valued rather than demeaned the narrative forms of storytelling and case examples through which teachers discuss their practice, and has generally sought to represent the wisdom of teachers' practical knowledge and experience in a full and favorable light.

Several sub-traditions make up the field of teachers' knowledge. Research on teachers' personal practical knowledge points to "the existence of teacher knowledge that is practical, experiential and shaped by a teacher's purposes and values" (Clandinin, 1986, p. 4). This approach is "designed to capture the idea of experience in a way that allows us to talk about teachers as knowledgeable and knowing persons" (Connelly & Clandinin, 1988, p. 25). The routine and situated knowledge that teachers have of curriculum materials and development, subject matter, teaching strategies, the classroom milieu, parents, and so forth are the sorts of phenomena that make up the substance of teachers' personal practical knowledge. Such knowledge can also be captured and communicated in particular forms, especially through the images (Elbaz, 1983), metaphors (Russell, Munby, Spafford, & Johnson, 1988), and stories (Connelly & Clandinin, 1988) that teachers routinely use to represent their work to themselves and others.

A second tradition of work on teachers' knowledge is concerned with clarifying and developing the knowledge base for teaching. This knowledge base, it is argued, should consist of "a codified or codifiable aggregation of knowledge, skill, understanding and technology, of ethics and disposition, of collective responsibility—as well as a means of representing it" (Shulman, 1987, p. 4). One important part of this knowledge base is what Shulman (1986) calls pedagogical content knowledge: "that special amalgam of content and pedagogy that is uniquely the province of teachers, their own special form of professional understanding" (Shulman, 1987, p. 8). Pedagogical content knowledge is the knowledge of how to teach one's subject or subject matter. Its possession, it is claimed, is one key factor that distinguishes experts from novices in the classroom. Explicating this knowledge makes teachers' practical know-how and technique public. However, Sockett (1987) has argued that this conception of pedagogical content knowledge ignores almost everything that is moral, emotional, and specifically contextual in teaching, and therefore misses much that is important about teachers' knowledge in general (see also Hargreaves, 1995a).

A third tradition in the field of teachers' knowledge is that of reflective practice. The concept of the "reflective practitioner" has been pioneered by Donald Schön (1983) as a way of describing and developing skilled and thoughtful judgment in professions like teaching. "Reflection" here means thinking that is not just ivory-towered contemplation, but that is linked directly to practice (Grimmett & Erickson, 1988; Grimmett & MacKinnon, 1992). Teacher educators have not been slow to pick up the implications of Schön's work. They have shown how all teaching embodies reflection or thoughtful judgment within the actual practice of teaching itself (Pollard & Tann, 1987). They have tried to investigate how teachers might best represent and explain their practice reflectively to one another, especially between more- and less-experienced peers. Some have moved beyond the more technical aspects of reflection regarding the details of classroom judgment—that is, beyond reflection in action and reflection on action—to argue for more critical reflection about action and about the social conditions and consequences of one's actions as a teacher (e.g., Fullan & Hargreaves, 1991, pp. 67–69; Carr & Kemmis, 1983; Liston & Zeichner, 1991). Clearly, there are many purposes and ways of reflecting, not just one (Louden, 1991). But what matters throughout this literature are the emphases that all teachers reflect in some way: that teachers can articulate and share their reflections more explicitly and that teacher education, supervision, and development should be constructed in ways that make such explicit reflection more feasible and thorough.

A fourth tradition in the exploration of teachers' knowledge is that of teacher research. Lytle and Cochran-Smith (1992), two of the strongest proponents of teacher research, argue that "educators need to develop a different theory of knowledge for teaching, a different epistemology that regards inquiry by teachers themselves as a distinct and important way of knowing about teaching" (p. 447). When Tripp (1993, p. 14) asked the teachers he taught to keep journals and to generate critical incidents from them, he found that the problems teachers generated as inquirers were very different from the problems normally generated by university researchers. The questions that concerned teachers were

> whether students copying from each other was good or not, if it mattered that friendships changed so often, why students told so many tales on each other, the extent to which what happened before school affected formal learning, why students so often seemed to ignore instructions, and why teachers seemed to have to repeat things so often. (Tripp, 1993, p. 14)

For Lytle and Cochran-Smith (1992, p. 448) "what is worth knowing about teaching includes what teachers, who are researchers in their own classrooms, can know through their own systematic inquiry." Such sentiments are echoed more generally throughout the rapidly growing literature of teacher research (e.g., Elliott, 1990; Rudduck, 1985; Oja & Smulyan, 1989).

These orientations within the teacher research community express a set of political and institutional preoccupations that run throughout the field of teachers' knowledge more generally. These concern who knows, who has the right to know, and who can define what is publicly known and worth knowing about teaching. Clandinin's (1986) text on teacher images sought to counter "the general stance that teachers do not possess a body of knowledge unique to their profession." Tripp (1993) confesses to the dawning realization of his seduction by the academy when he reflects that

> for the first time... since I had left school teaching to become a university academic, my interests were now vested in answering questions which were primarily if not solely of interest to educational researchers, questions which were generally quite as unrelated to those of my inservice teachers as were those of that teacher to his students. (p. 15)

Many advocates of teacher research and teachers' knowledge more generally are at least skeptical and sometimes scathing of the institutionalized power and pretensions of the academy to claim to know what teaching is or even to speak for teachers about what they are supposed to know. They challenge the rights of university researchers to have "the privileged way to know about teaching" (Lytle & Cochran-Smith, 1992, p. 450). However, an irony of some of the work on teachers' knowledge, especially on pedagogical content knowledge, is that it amounts to the academy capturing and reclaiming only those fragments of teachers' knowledge that can be

codified and systematized in a scientific way. This justifies the pursuit of professional status by organized teachers (Hargreaves, 1995a) (those who possess the knowledge base), the self-interested maintenance of teacher education by university professors (Labaree, 1992) (those who pass it on), and the continuing credibility of educational researchers (who make it and themselves legitimate). Even teacher research itself is not entirely immune to this irony of being recolonized by the academy, for some versions of it claim legitimacy for teachers' knowledge by urging teachers to use the customary academic tools of systematic inquiry, rather than recognizing that teachers' knowledge has valued and distinctive forms of its own.

University researchers are caught up in epistemological worlds of generalization and abstract theory. According to Elliott (1991, pp. 45–46), from the teacher's perspective, this world "is simply the product of power exercised through the mastery of a specialized body of techniques. It negates their professional culture which defines teaching competence as a matter of intuitive craft knowledge, tacitly acquired through experience." University researchers search for context-transcendent generalizations; teachers, for particulars that will affect their own situation. University researchers are energized by questioning and problems; teachers, by action and solutions. University researchers are also embedded in careers guided by the paper achievements of scientific publication, whereas teachers' careers are guided more by practical and interpersonal achievements with students and colleagues. The two positions can be summarized as in Table 1.

Blurring the Boundaries

These two views of teachers' knowledge seem to represent two different epistemological and institutional worlds, each alien to the other. Closer inspection, however, reveals that the boundaries separating the two domains are not nearly so clearly drawn as first seems to be the case.

For one thing, even the most ardent advocates of teachers' practical knowledge recognize that the teachers they study also possess formal theoretical knowledge from university training and professional development experiences that can become part of their wider practical knowledge (e.g., Clandinin, 1986). Moreover, on those occasions when formal teacher preparation does manage to be integrated more successfully with practical teaching experiences, the images that teachers carry with them into their classrooms and that guide their teaching are not just generic images of teaching-as-rescue or classroom-as-home, as some of the early literature on practical knowledge suggested (Elbaz, 1983; Clandinin, 1986). Teachers' images may also spring directly from the formal learnings of teacher education itself. Hargreaves and Jacka (1995), for example, document the case of a new teacher whose guiding images included "cooperation," an image she had acquired from an inspirational advocate of cooperative learning in her teacher education program. More generally, writers like Lytle and Cochran-Smith (1992) concede that alongside teacher research, there is also "a rich body of information generated by university researchers that ought to inform the practice of teaching" (p. 449). Wideen, Mayer-Smith, and Moon (in press) describe a school's teachers who shared a strong collaborative culture and a collective commitment to continuous improvement. These teachers sought out all kinds of knowledge to help improve their own school, including knowledge acquired through professional reading and the otherwise often maligned "one-shot" workshops. Over time, Wideen, Mayer-Smith, and Moon (in press) conclude, in the information-rich environment that their case-study school provided, "it was difficult to distinguish between the influence of formal knowledge and personal practical knowledge in promoting the change, as over time, they blended together." There are some kinds of school culture, it seems, where teachers are able to develop constructive and critical relationships to university-based knowledge that they can then integrate with their own practical knowledge and apply effectively within their own contexts (Hultmann & Horberg, 1995).

The postmodern information age is blurring these boundaries between teachers' knowledge and university-based knowledge even more. Computer technology and the availability of instant information are annihilating space and the boundaries it creates in the postmodern world (Harvey, 1989; Hargreaves, 1994, 1995b). The social geography of professional knowledge is undergoing a profound reconfiguration. Schools and universities are no longer locked in separate, insulated spaces.

TABLE I

	Knowledge utilization	Teachers' knowledge
Epistemology	generalized	context-specific
	codifiable	difficult to codify
	rational	also moral and emotional
	public	private or interpersonal
	written	oral
	explicit	tacit
	theoretical	practical
	question-oriented	solution-oriented
	propositional in form	metaphorical, narrative, story-based in form
Politics	located in universities and government-funded institutes	located in schools and classrooms
	property of academic experts	property of school practitioners
	high status	low status
	career recognition based on published achievement	career recognition based on interpersonal achievement

Literature on professional development indicates that one of the most valuable forms of learning for teachers is the learning they get by interacting with colleagues (Little, 1990), including colleagues in other schools. With the advent of electronic and satellite communication, teachers' colleagues need not be restricted primarily to those with whom they can have face-to-face interaction in their own school space. Nor, when they want to connect with colleagues from other institutions, need teachers rely on the power-brokers of school system administration or university course teaching to bring them together on certificated courses or in-service professional development days. Teachers and teachers' organizations are now able to create their own electronically assisted professional development networks. Lytle and Cochran-Smith (1992) describe the creation of powerful teacher-research networks in the United States. Lieberman (1993) lists a wide array of professional development networks for teachers that have flourished in recent years. And in Canada, Bascia (1994) describes the Creating Cultures of Change project, funded by the Ontario Ministry of Education and coordinated by the Ontario Teachers' Federation, where many thousands of teachers are able to get on-line assistance with practical problems, acquire "insider" gossip about upcoming policies, learn about recent or upcoming professional development workshops, locate colleagues who are experimenting with similar innovations, and so on.

Distance learning, again developed with the assistance of computer technology, is also beginning to challenge some of the traditional patterns of post-graduate study and certification for teachers. It is challenging the long-standing residential requirements for graduate study, which have hitherto bound teachers to the closed and cloistered spaces of university life for prolonged periods of contemplation. It also disturbs the linear time sequences of courses and programs that have comprised conventional university provision. Postmodern forms of free trade are now extending to cross-border interchangeability of professional certification and the international right to provide it (not least between Canada and the United States). There is a more competitive marketplace for professional credentials. These can certainly threaten rigor and standards (Calvert & Kuehn, 1993). But they are also forcing institutions such as my own to provide more modular, part-time, flexible, and part-residential courses that students can integrate more effectively with their ongoing professional obligations. Such postmodern patterns of course provision do not merely allow teachers and administrators to integrate work and study in a practical sense. They also encourage concurrent integration of university-based propositional knowledge and teacher-based practical knowledge instead of their being ordered sequentially.

In some cases, as in England, distance learning is used to establish innovative forms of teacher preparation, where student teachers spend most of their time at home or in school placements and where university-generated course materials are mediated through trained mentors who work with students in the field. Such developments are part of a wider trend I have written about elsewhere—to break down the modernistic spatial segregation between schools and universities. These segregations of space and status have marginalized faculties of education from the centers of knowledge in the university and from the busy hub of practice in schools (Hargreaves, 1995b). In many industrialized countries, initial teacher education is becoming deinstitutionalized, dispersed through space, uprooted from the university, and spread across schools. This can be seen in the movement of greater proportions of teacher preparation to schools themselves (Rudduck, 1990), in the establishment of alternate programs of teacher certification that are based in schools for teachers from underrepresented "minority" groups (Stoddart, 1991), and even in the transfer of budgetary responsibility for teacher preparation from universities to individual schools (Barton, Barrett, Whitty, Miles, & Furlong, 1994). At their worst, these developments threaten a retreat to crude, unreflective, utilitarian models of teacher preparation that encourage the unquestioning acquisition of practical knowledge as mere technique. But they also mark a new spatial terrain that challenges the status and hegemony of university expertise. It is on this new postmodern spatial terrain that the claims to develop and disseminate professional knowledge, and to integrate it effectively with practice, must now be won.

In the postmodern world, the free flow of information means that spatial distinctions between "inside" and "outside" are collapsing. Schools and other organizations are no longer clearly bounded systems. In fact, the very metaphors of "system" and of "organization" may no longer be appropriate for describing what people do and how they do it together in a rapidly changing, spatially dispersed social world (Clegg, 1990; Morgan, 1993).

Our postmodern conditions of technological sophistication, market competition, and spatial flexibility are therefore already bringing about changes in the definition, acquisition, and integration of professional knowledge in education—changes that are starting to reconfigure the relationships between professors and teachers, universities and schools in the development and dissemination of professional knowledge.

Cases of Cross-Border Knowledge Creation

I now want to describe some initiatives in research and publication in which I have been personally involved that, in small ways, illustrate and embody embryonic postmodern principles for knowledge development and utilization across the borders that have normally divided universities from schools. None of these examples describe full-blown collaborative research with teachers in the classic sense. Collaborative research between school teachers and university researchers is often advocated as a way of bridging theoretical knowledge and practical concerns in education, as a way of empowering teachers to be democratic participants and not merely objects of research, and as a way of guarding the ethical rights of teachers not to be exploited or demeaned by the ways in which researchers represent them. However, collaborative research with teachers does not suit all people and all purposes. In a critique of the literature of teacher research, Hammersley (1993) notes that teachers are not the only audience for educational research, nor are they the only ones with a strong interest in it. He also observes that many teachers are not always concerned about what they ought to be concerned about (e.g., the effects of ability grouping), that the unfamiliar and fresh perspective of a non-teacher outsider can be as valuable as that of an experienced and committed teacher insider, and that if we want to professionalize teaching, "we should be concerned with raising the status of teaching as an activity directly, rather than seeking to do so by appeal to the status of research" and by redefining the role of teachers to include commitment to research (Hammersley, 1993, p. 439). Moreover, re-inventing teachers as smaller replicas of our researcher selves may not suit the purposes of many teachers—who may want to "do" more than to "inquire"—and may not suit their wider life obligations and time commitments either. So we must search for other practical strategies to cross the knowledge borders of teaching and research that complement those of collaborative research. Four such examples are described below.

1. What's Worth Fighting For? Working Together For Your School: Collaboration Through Writing and Publication

In the late 1980s, my colleague Michael Fullan and I were approached by the Ontario Public School Teachers' Federation in Canada, one of the province's five teacher unions, to write a monograph for it on the relationship between teacher development and educational change in schools. This was eventually titled *What's Worth Fighting For?: Working Together For Your School* (Fullan & Hargreaves, 1991). The federation had already commissioned and marketed a previous monograph from Fullan on the school principalship that had been in press for approximately a year (Fullan, 1988). As Fullan and I began to develop our ideas for the substance of the monograph, the federation established some ground rules they thought necessary so that wide parts of their membership and other teachers would read it. It had to be short—not more than three or four succinct chapters—and able to be read by teachers who are hard pressed for time in one or two evenings. And it had to be accessible: clearly written, stocked with quotable and memorable phrases, and unencumbered by an excess of academic references. The Federation strongly influenced the form and the discourse of our monograph. Here, the practical knowledge of teacher union staff was significantly shaping how (though not what) we academics would write and how we would mediate our ideas to an audience whose needs our collaborators understood without losing the richness and integrity of what we had to communicate.

We planned a framework for the monograph that was then discussed and approved by the Federation's executive committee. Over many months, we drafted our text. Our aim was to write critical and cutting-edge work within a more popular discourse than the one to which we were accustomed. We drew on practical experiences and retold teacher stories that had emerged in our wider research. We drew on research to develop a position about teachers and change, knowing that morally and politically we sometimes extended beyond the strict boundaries of our evidence in doing so. The result was a critical and controversial text that was also accessible. In a Federation Executive meeting deliberating on the monograph's approval, one member wondered whether it was "too far ahead of its time." But the Federation gave its trust and shared our risk and, in editorial feedback, asked us to make changes only of clarity and style, not changes of substance.

The monograph was not published by a conventional book publisher. The Federation already publishes its own glossy, magazine-style newsletter and other associated publications. By taking responsibility for the monograph, it was able to complete publishing and printing in two months—much less than the time spent by almost all other publishers. There were also dissemination and marketing advantages to this strategy. An administrative assistant was hired to take orders and to package and distribute the monographs. The monograph was widely advertised through Federation publications and mailings. Provincial and regional conferences were organized to launch it. A professional development training package was prepared in association with it, and a group of trainers participated in professional development programs to learn how to mediate the material. Michael Fullan and I also actively committed to a wide program of workshops and speeches across Canada and beyond in connection with the monograph and its themes.

Adoption rates were encouraging (although we have only anecdotal evidence on other aspects of implementation). Over 30,000 copies were sold in two years. The book has been separately distributed in the United States and Australia, co-published in the United Kingdom, and translated into Norwegian, Spanish, and Chinese. A second edition has been published in the United States (Fullan & Hargreaves, 1996). We have been told in many places that the monograph has helped place school culture and teacher development at the center of educational change agendas.

To sum up: Federation staff were involved at the outset with how the monograph was conceived, especially in discourse and form. In turn, we had access to a highly influential teachers' organization and its associated networks as a vehicle for disseminating critical ideas about teacher development and school change to tens of thousands of teachers, face to face in workshops and in print through the text. By using postmodern formats of dissemination through newsletters and networks rather than using modernistic forms of distribution through conventional pub-

lishers and bookstores, our monograph also enjoyed rapid and widespread dissemination to many teachers who do not always readily participate in further educational study or engage with educational inquiry and research. Our own academic knowledge and research expertise infused the monograph with the critical content and intellectual integrity that we wished to communicate, but it was Federation staff who drew on their practical knowledge and expertise in soliciting the monograph, shaping its form, and steering its dissemination.

2. Beyond Transitions: Collaborative Frameworks for Development and Research

A second initiative involves a project I am undertaking collaboratively with Lorna Earl, the research director of a large neighboring school district. In it, we have been interviewing a total of 32 Grade 7 and 8 teachers and their principals from 16 schools in 4 school districts. (In the second phase of the research, we will be undertaking classroom observations with a subsample of this group.) These teachers have been identified as having a "serious and sustained" commitment to implementing various aspects of the Ontario Ministry of Education's reforms in the transition years (Grades 7, 8, and 9). The particular aspects of the reforms we are investigating are newly devised common curriculum outcomes, initiatives to create an integrated curriculum, and alternative forms of student assessment. This is a challenging array of reform requirements. We want to see what sense teachers committed to their success make of them, how far they are able to incorporate them into their classroom practice, what it is about their school environment that helps or hinders them in doing this, and to what extent these teachers' lives and careers are typical of other teachers outside our sample or are exceptional in some way.

Our purpose is not to study and portray exemplary teachers and schools, to place these teachers on pedestals above everyone else. Such a strategy leads at best to voyeuristic fascination and, at worst, to shame and guilt among those who feel that the exemplars of excellence are impossible to emulate in their own circumstances of imperfection. What we want to understand and portray, rather, is what sense the reforms make and how well the reforms fare even among those committed to them. We want to see if they are, in principle, workable, if they hang together, and what they look like when they do.

The study participants are not just objects of research inquiry here. We have organized three half-days so that teachers in the study can meet one another, discuss their work together, and actively develop a collective sense of what meanings and possibilities the reforms hold for them. The project teachers themselves have helped determine the agendas for meetings. In this sense, we have been endeavoring to connect the purposes of research and inquiry for a wider audience of researchers and policymakers to purposes of development and involvement for the teachers included in the study. Interestingly, in the individual interviews we have undertaken for this study, teachers have repeatedly commented that their reason for participating in this study was the opportunity it would give them to interact with similarly inclined colleagues from other schools. Our focus group meetings have been occasions for us to collect research knowledge, but also for the teachers to develop their practical knowledge together as well.

The prior existence of two institutional collaborations is important for facilitating these links between data collection and professional development in the design of the project. First, the project schools are all located in the four districts that comprise The Learning Consortium, along with the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education and the Faculty of Education at the University of Toronto. This Consortium has been established to create experiences of professional development and exchange of mutual benefit to all the partners. Locating the project in the Consortium will provide feedback to the districts on their policies and practices in Grades 7, 8, and 9. In return, the connection with the Consortium has secured a small amount of funding from it to cover some of the costs of teacher release time so teachers can leave school to meet their colleagues through the project. The Consortium will also provide an important avenue for disseminating the results of the project once they are known. Such prior institutionalized collaborations provide structured settings and relationships where researchers' knowledge and teachers' practical knowledge can connect and interact. The symbiotic relationship between the two kinds of knowledge comes about not through individual initiative or personal collab-

oration, but through structured opportunities and expectations created by the institutional collaboration.

Second, working with an experienced school board research officer who directs the research department for one of the Consortium school districts brings other benefits of collaboration. She is responsible for data collection in her own district, is able to draw on her own support staff to do so, and is collecting data of direct relevance to policy developments in that district. At the same time, her connection with an organization of school district research officers in the province has created another opportunity. This organization has received some Ministry funding to study the implementation of transition years' reforms in the province and, through connections with my research partner and discussion with our team, has decided to mount a "shadow" study in other districts, using our instruments, hence widening the scope, generalizability, and potential impact and dissemination of our own study's findings.

The design of this project is demonstrating the benefits of ongoing individual and institutional collaborations that precede and parallel specific projects. Institutionalized connections between teachers' practical knowledge and academic research knowledge stimulate and provide a preexisting context of collaboration for new projects, rather than such collaboration having to be contrived after the project has been initially designed by academics in isolation. Such individual and institutional collaborations can combine effort and expertise, enhance resources, maximize practical relevance, and improve possibilities for dissemination.

3. Postmodern Policy Development in a School District: Integrating Development and Research

A third project emerged from an approach initiated by the director of one of Canada's largest school districts, the North York Board of Education. On the basis of her direct knowledge of my writing, my presentations to teachers and administrators in the field (including several within her own district), and a relationship of mutual professional understanding that had developed slowly over several years, I was invited to bring my research and development expertise to the district in some way. I met with members of the director's administrative team on several occasions to explore areas of concern for the district that might also be of interest to me. One area was language learning, a policy priority in the board (where over 50% of the schools' students were categorized as English-as-a-second-language and over 70 languages were spoken). This area was the focus of increasing public pressure and accountability across the board and the province and one where there had been a record of long-standing activity and success at elementary and middle school levels, but less so at the secondary school level. A second area of focus was the perceived need for restructuring the curriculum and organization of secondary schools to accommodate provincially legislated changes in ability grouping, common curriculum outcomes, and alternative forms of assessment.

In discussion, I suggested a process of policy development in language learning that would ultimately also assist the purposes of secondary school restructuring. This process is not a linear one of development followed by implementation, nor a cyclical one of development-implementation-review, followed by another cycle of the same. It is a policy process designed to include many of the system's teachers in its continuing creation and recreation so as to secure their input and commitment. The policy process is also meant to fit highly variable local circumstances of different school structures, language mixes, and so forth.

What does involving teachers in change mean when the teachers number over 4,000 and are spread across an entire system? How can cultural rhetoric about involvement be squared with the structural and political realities of complex systems? Our project has tried to address this challenging vision of a system-wide change process for language policy development—not a written and completed language policy, nor even the one-off development of a policy, but a process of continuous policy development for and dialogue about language learning. What we have been struggling with here is a new conception of policy and the involvement of teachers in it. We have tried to move from a position where teachers are implementors or tools of other people's policies to a position where they realize policies, making them their own. Indeed, we have worked hard to eliminate "implementation" from our vocabulary.

Our long-term goal is to create a complex network of teachers who engage in dialogue around the principles of language learning, the sharing of good practices, exhibitions of classroom work, and inquiry into case-study portrayals of language learning. We are endeavoring to create a policy process that is not a line or cycle, but a postmodern "moving mosaic" of teacher discussion and development groups, shifting and overlapping, moving people, issues, ideas, and activities vigorously around the system.

Our reasons for moving toward this reconceptualization of policy development are that it makes more sense for as many policy decisions as possible to be determined at the immediate level, where people will have to realize them (Corson, 1990). In a complex, uncertain, and highly variable world, planned change that follows systematic cycles of development, implementation, and review is too inflexible and bureaucratic to respond to local perceptions, needs, and circumstances (Louis, 1994). Moreover, detailed documents that freeze policies in text become outdated and overtaken even as they are being written by changing communities, new technologies, fresh legislation, research insights, and unanticipated problems (Darling-Hammond, 1995). Written policies are also problematic in that, like all written texts, they are interpreted differently by those who read them. Passed through the prisms of teachers' purposes and perceptions, the black and white texts of educational policy become scattered into an infinite array of colors and shades of interpretation. No written policy can be clear or literal enough to secure real consensus. Policy is therefore best secured not through the sole medium of written administrative texts, but through communities of people within and across schools who create policies, talk about them, process them, inquire into them, and reformulate them, bearing in mind the circumstances and the children they know best.

One research component of this initiative has been the construction of 19 mini case portrayals in sites where interesting and broadly positive developments in language learning practice have been taking place. These portrayals will provide one set of items around which teachers can dialogue within the system. The design of the case studies has been undertaken with administrative staff and the research department in the school district, then revised and refined through planning meetings with a group of teachers and administrators in each school. Drawing on the practical knowledge of district and school staff about the kinds of materials classroom teachers might be prepared to discuss, these collaborations led to the creation of case formats that were brief snapshots of practice rather than protracted descriptions of entire programs or schools. Also, advice from district staff led to texts that were compact collages of narrative description of commentary interspersed with journal entries, interview quotations, and examples of children's work, rather than continuous, uninterrupted narratives of the kind that more usually characterize academic writing. In terms of the substance of the cases, district staff initially wanted only positively exemplary practices to be portrayed, but our insistence on documenting "interesting" practices, whether positive or not, threw up some provocative portrayals that were so effective in stimulating dialogue that district and school staff were persuaded to adopt them. The interaction between practitioner knowledge and research knowledge was, in this respect, genuinely reciprocal.

Opening up a further area of integration between theory and practice, the research teams have included five doctoral students undertaking a course with me on Field Studies in Educational Administration. This course is designed to bring together research experience, scholarly literature, and applied work in the field of policy and practice. Class times are flexible, have included case-study visits, and, in some cases, have been held in the district office with administrative and research staff. Case drafts have constituted student assignments. Student assignment deadlines have been synchronized with project deadlines for producing case materials. This integration has enabled the production of the case portrayals to be swift and timely. Qualitative case study often takes many months—even years—to collect, transcribe, analyze, and report. By the time it is processed, it is of little use to research participants. These cases were planned and negotiated in January, conducted in February and March, negotiated and edited through communication with the relevant school staff in March and April, and written up by May so that final packages of materials could be produced over the summer months in time for their use by North York teach-

ers in the fall. Clear, workable formats; synchronized deadlines; close collaborative relationships between the research team and staff within the district and its schools; and the tightly integrated nature of the graduate program are the things that facilitated this swift turnaround.

To sum up: this collaborative initiative has evolved from my continuing relationships with senior administrators and from a continuing presence as a writer, presenter, consultant, and workshop leader in the field. It is not a contrived collaboration composed for the first time on paper, but one that has evolved from continuing relationships among people genuinely interested in connecting theoretical to practical work across the university-school system divide. It is an initiative that tries to involve teachers in more dialogue and reflection as a routine part of their work. It is one that began from development, then extended into research as support for that development. It is also an initiative that facilitates sought-after integrations between published research, research training, and practical field connection in graduate work.

4. Professional Actions and Cultures of Teaching (PACT)

A fourth project has much less obviously "applied" purposes. Indeed, its origins are in many respects academically self-serving in a deliberate and explicit way. Professional Actions and Cultures of Teaching (PACT) is an eight-country network of experienced researchers on teacher professionalism and teacher cultures where participants have been able to present and discuss their work, dialogue around key issues in the field, and create new individual and collaborative research projects together. It began as a professional community exclusively for experienced university researchers wanting to exchange ideas at a high conceptual level among specialists in scholarly traditions. Products have so far been of a conventional academic kind—scholarly papers and a book (Goodson & Hargreaves, 1996). There have been no pretensions to connect with practicing teachers nor with policy. We do not regret this. Our purpose has been to nurture and invigorate our own professional community. Just as teachers sometimes need to discuss their work together, or administrators need to engage in dialogue around their own special concerns, university researchers also have a need for professional community. Not all research and practice needs to be integrated and connected for everyone all the time.

However, connections to practice have not been completely absent. Funding to support our first meeting was provided by the Ontario Public School Teachers' Federation, in part, on the basis of a record of successful collaborative work with it in the past. Funding for our meeting in April 1995 in London, England, was provided by a teacher education institute; three unions for schoolteachers, head teachers, and university teachers, respectively; and by *The Times* newspaper through its educational supplement. The connection here is not merely a financial one. In exchange for funding our meeting, the speakers in our group comprised the bulk of the program for an important national conference titled "U.K. Education Reform—What Next?" that also included the shadow secretary of state. Shortened versions of these speeches were published in an eight-page pullout of *The Times* educational supplement, which goes to virtually every school in England and Wales. The nature of the audiences our network members addressed here, orally and in print, also exerted an important backwash effect on the content of the papers and on the accessibility of their style and form of presentation. The success of the conference in England has led the University of Oslo to offer continued funding for the research network in exchange for the network's members agreeing to contribute to a similar conference for practitioners and policymakers on educational reform, this time in Norway, at a future date. Therefore, although the starting point for PACT has been strictly scholarly, it is clear that the emergent implications for policy and practice and how we address them have also been considerable.

Summary

Not all collaborative initiatives in knowledge production and dissemination, therefore, need to commence in a collaborative way. Collaboration between university researchers and other educators does not need to be perpetual and ubiquitous to bring about more effective knowledge generation and utilization in education. But what does matter is that whether it begins with policy development, with pure research, or with a combination of the two, our wider work is embedded in a continuing set of relationships and activities

that straddle the university/school and researcher/teacher/administrator divides. It is these ongoing relationships and activities at the interpersonal and institutional levels that hold out the best promise for improving and extending the professional knowledge of all educators over time; there is no one best method of collaboration or integration that is meant to fit everyone.

Postmodern Principles of Professional Knowledge Generation and Utilization

I have described two approaches to knowledge utilization and generation that are less tightly insulated from one another than is often claimed. I have suggested that distinctions between university knowledge and teacher knowledge are becoming, and should become, even more blurred in the postmodern world. Four cases—rooted in my own experience—of research, development, and writing projects that blur these boundaries in different ways have been described. From these cases, it is now possible to sketch a tentative set of principles for knowledge development and utilization in the postmodern age.

1. Diversify what are to count as legitimate forms of knowledge about teaching and education. There is no one best method, no singularly superior way to gather or to represent such knowledge. In a postmodern world that is encountering a crisis of representation (Lyotard, 1984), we should embrace multiple forms of representation (Eisner, 1993) as legitimate ways of displaying and communicating what we know. In a more visually inclined and non-rational world, policymakers will communicate their messages more aesthetically and effectively if they move beyond abstract argument and positivistic forms of proof to embrace stories, narratives, cases, videos, and vignettes within their work as well. Educational research, which is already granting increasing acceptance to qualitative forms of research and representation, might also widen what it counts as legitimate academic and even thesis presentation to include video, story, fictional writing, or a collage of different forms that challenges the linearity of traditional academic forms. Diversifying the forms of legitimate knowledge will multiply the points of possible aesthetic, emotional, or intellectual connection between schoolteachers and university researchers as users and creators of educational knowledge. It will bring together practical knowledge and research knowledge by redefining research knowledge itself.

2. Broaden the forms of discourse through which research knowledge is presented. Do not cling to one single writing and speaking style, hoping it will meet all purposes. Experiment in writing for different purposes with different audiences. The scholarly community likes all references and contiguous work to be scrupulously itemized. The teaching community does not. Writing and speaking for different audiences in different genres should therefore be practiced if we are to capture the interest and understanding of all educators. This means that not only are clarity and simplicity of prose called for on some occasions, but also emotional arousal and aesthetic attractiveness through evocative examples, metaphor and analogy, and the general seduction of literary play. Developing these skills should be a key professional obligation in the postmodern educational world.

3. Seek integration of intent across the range and life span of one's activities as an educator, rather than perfect praxis within one or all of those activities. Integration of theory and practice, of different kinds of knowledge should be a matter of continuing effort and ultimate intent across our activities rather than something built into the conceptualization of every activity from the outset. Projects may begin from practical, field-related concerns or from esoteric, theoretical ones of academic inquiry. They may be instigated by professors or by policymakers and school practitioners. The temptation to make all staff development school-based or all research collaborative would be a foolish one to indulge. To incorporate integration between theory and practice in all research work from the outset would be a stilted contrivance. Recognizing the diverse forms that professional knowledge can take and seeking integration between them over time is what matters most.

4. Widen what it means to be a teacher to include skill and practice in systematic inquiry. For Lawrence Stenhouse (1975), systematic inquiry was essential for becoming an "extended professional" as a teacher. The skills of systematic inquiry and their relevance to on-the-job professional learning should be a key component of teacher preparation, an on-going obligation in teachers' continuing professional development, and something that the working conditions of

schooling (particularly those that affect teachers' time to meet with other teachers) should be redesigned to encourage (Lytle & Cochran-Smith, 1992). If systematic inquiry becomes a more integral part of the professional culture of teaching, it will encourage and empower teachers to identify and resolve more of their own school-level problems and create points of engagement and understanding in relation to university-generated educational research. Systematic inquiry should not, of course, be a skill that teachers practice all the time. Work demands, life commitments, and other priorities will often preclude it. But it is a skill that will be necessary at particular times, for particular purposes. So teachers must at least be prepared with the capacity, given the opportunity, to use it.

5. Redesign educational policy processes so that teachers can become agents of policy realization, more than conduits of policy implementation. Teachers will find it hard to be systematic inquirers in contexts where they are merely tools of the purposes of others. Moving more policy to the level of the school and supporting interactions among teachers within and between their schools will stimulate the need for systematic inquiry and for engagement with university research. The conditions for teacher research and for collaboration among colleagues of the kind that foster intelligent interaction with university research are vitally connected to the experiences teachers have of educational policy. Where policy and research are laid-on and teachers are its users, such conditions do not exist. Where policy is actively created and produced by teachers themselves, they do.

6. Widen what it means to be a university professor or researcher in education to include practical and policy work with other educational audiences and constituencies. The best way to disseminate educational research is to be disseminating it already. Although this sounds tautologous, it means that pre-existing engagements and commitments to presentations and workshops with teachers and administrators in the field provide places where newly emergent work can be presented as it arises. In this way, the dissemination of new work can be effortlessly inserted into a pre-existing web of engagements and relationships. To have and to meet such commitments means redefining them as a central, not a peripheral, part of one's work.

7. Redefine academic careers in ways that align them with the more diverse definitions of knowledge, its dissemination, and its use in education. Accommodating extensive field obligations is unlikely to be effective in more than a few exceptional cases unless academic careers are structured in ways that recognize such work, otherwise these commitments will be treated as additional and peripheral. The promotion structures of university departments normally revolve around quality and productivity of scholarly work in the conventional sense. They are modern or pre-modern in their singular recognition of scholastic endeavor. My own institution has a threefold mission of research, teaching, and field development and has a tenure and promotion structure that reflects this—promotion being attainable through demonstrated excellence in areas other than scholarly work where the candidate desires (e.g., teaching and field development), although competence in scholarship must be demonstrated as well. Exchanging field responsibilities for teaching responsibilities and incorporating multiple criteria into promotion structures so as to align with the multiple missions of university professorship in applied fields are two ways in which academic work and academic careers can be redefined productively in education.

8. Create award-bearing course structures that transcend space and time. Move away from being the modernistic, monopolistic university provider to whom teachers must come for residential learning toward employing distance learning and other means for creating courses that use space and time more flexibly in accumulatable modules and credits of work. These enable teachers to engage with research in ways that can integrate more flexibly with their lives and careers. They also enable the work of teachers and of university professors in joint professional development or school improvement initiatives to be granted academic credit and award-bearing status for student achievement and recognition of professorial teaching loads alike.

9. Provide policy funding and logistical support for establishing teacher networks of professional development and teacher-generated research. This gives teachers the status and encouragement to generate their own shared knowledge and to engage critically and collec-

tively with knowledge generated elsewhere. It makes teachers more equal partners in the knowledge generation and utilization process.

10. Establish and support school system/university partnerships and other "bridging cultures" that can connect these two worlds. Bridging organizations brings together the worlds of teaching and research and schools and universities along with their interests and assumptions (Watson & Fullan, 1992). It is on the borders of our work, where we can explore different cultures and assumptions, that the most interesting and innovative things can often be achieved (Giroux, 1992). Bridging organizations can meet joint interests of the participants in professional development and research. The cultures that such new organizations create can also act as "ginger groups," pushing back the boundaries of practice and inquiry within their members' host institutions.

Conclusion

The postmodern order is challenging the certitude of science and the sacrosanct nature of its procedures. Giddens (1991) and others have noted that with the collapse of such certainty, we are all thrown back on our reflective resources of knowledge, judgment, and morality to act capably in our world (Taylor, 1991). In this postmodern world, many forms of knowledge are emerging as worthwhile and legitimate in ways that challenge the epistemological superiority of the academic establishment. Strong school cultures and vibrant professional development networks create conditions where teachers can share their own practical knowledge and have independent access to other knowledge from elsewhere. As these patterns of networking and collaboration gather strength in the postmodern world, the intellectual hegemony of universities to control credentialed knowledge will be challenged. It is, therefore, time for those in universities who are concerned with the theory and practice of knowledge utilization to recognize and engage with these diverse forms of knowledge and their representation and to work intelligently with those who are their bearers. If the 10 postmodern principles of knowledge utilization and generation I have outlined have any force and validity at all, they have implications not only for how we might redefine our individual intellectual endeavors, but also for how we should redesign our educational institutions, the commitments and career structures that comprise them, and the claims to knowledge and expertise that define their missions.

Those who design and disseminate educational policy in legislatures and school districts are not exempt from these implications. Traditional patterns of policy development and implementation—what Darling-Hammond (1995) calls "old paradigm" policy—provide poor support for critical interaction and collaboration between school practice and university research. "Old paradigm" policy is hierarchical. It lodges design and development responsibility within a political or administrative elite (with greater or lesser degrees of "consultation"). It requires teachers to "implement" (be the tools of) system policies, rather than develop their own. Research knowledge is seen as something for teachers to apply and the system to implement, rather than as something teachers can engage with and critique, using their own base of practical knowledge as a valid resource. "Old paradigm" policy, Darling-Hammond argues, has a poor record of educational success. Instead, she argues that we

> must find ways to build the capacity of local actors to make good decisions on behalf of their unique students and communities to support their development of knowledge about good practices, their ability to analyze and respond to problems and needs, and their incentives for being collectively responsive and responsible to the children and communities they serve. (1995, p. 160)

However, the reality of educational policy in almost all areas, Darling-Hammond laments, is that "menus of reform tactics, overwhelm (such) authentic inquiry" among teachers themselves (1995, p. 161). "New paradigm" policy is not indifferent or laissez-faire. Its distinctive role, rather, is to establish broad educational principles and create middle-level organizational frameworks, such as professional learning networks, local professional communities, teacher dialogue groups, and school system/university partnerships that facilitate authentic inquiry among teachers themselves and support them to develop the collective strength to interact constructively, yet also critically and assertively, with the scholarly world of university research (Giddens, 1995).

This paper has not argued for diluting research, nor has it insisted that all educational research be collaborative or applied. What matters, rather, is that the knowledge that might transform teaching and learning in positive ways should itself be transformed in how it gets produced and disseminated. The purpose of this paper has been to try and set out some examples and principles of how these transformations might be achieved.

Notes

[1]An earlier version of this paper was presented to an invitational seminar titled "When School Meets Science," sponsored by the Swedish National State Agency of Education and coordinated by the Dalarna Research Institute, Sweden, in January 1995.

[2]Although the characteristics of postmodernity and, indeed, claims regarding the emergence of a distinctively new postmodern age at all are hotly contested within social theory, many writers agree that at the heart of the social transformation that many nations are now experiencing is the globalization of trade, currency exchange, and other economic activity and the globalization of information, communication, and technology. Some of the consequences of these patterns of globalization include accelerating change as information circulates more rapidly and transactions occur more swiftly, compression of time and space because of the speed of information flow and the irrelevance of geography as a barrier to it, and scientific uncertainty as rates of scientific disconfirmation of previous knowledge increase and as independent electronic access to information and knowledge challenges the claims of academics and bureaucracies to specialist expertise. I have described these characteristics of the postmodern age and their implications for schools more fully in my book *Changing Teachers, Changing Times* (Hargreaves, 1994). Other key writers on the condition of postmodernity include Harvey (1989), Giddens (1991), Taylor (1991), and Zukin (1991).

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AT-RISK BUT RISING:

Educational Research, Practice and Policy for Students of Cultural and Linguistic Diversity

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The Challenge and the Need

The linguistic and cultural diversity among students in U.S. schools is greater now than at any time since the early decades of this century. If students were distributed evenly across the nation's classrooms, every class of 30 students would include about 10 from ethnic or racial minority groups. Of these 10, about 6 would be from homes in which languages other than English are spoken; 2 to 4 of these students would have limited English proficiency (LEP), and 2 of these would be from immigrant families. Of the 6 language minority students in the class, 4 or 5 would speak Spanish as their native language, and 1 would speak an Asian language. The last child would speak one of more than 100 other languages. Of the 30 students, 10 would be poor, from neighborhoods beset by multiple problems—inadequate health, social, and cultural services; low employment opportunities; crime; drugs; and gangs.

Limited-English speakers make up more than 5% of the school-age population in 11 states (U.S. Dept. of Education, 1994b). The number of such students has risen dramatically over the past two decades. Between 1984 and 1992, while the size of the general U.S. school population remained essentially stable, the number of LEP students increased by 70% (National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education, 1995). Due to immigration and birthrates, this increase is likely to continue. By 1994, the Mexican immigrant population alone had grown to nearly 6.2 million, *a more than tenfold increase*

since 1975. During the same period, the U.S.-born population increased by less than 40% (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1975, Series C 228-295; 1994a, Table 1).

Of course our hypothetical classroom is unlikely indeed. Increasing diversity is a national pattern, but not necessarily a local phenomenon. In fact, at the local level, more schools are de facto segregated than integrated. Most schools are predominately of one linguistic, cultural, or economic group. All their students are either rural or all urban. Because the challenges facing schools vary enormously by locale, designing effective education is even more difficult. Most educational research and reform efforts are directed at developing a prescriptive "national program" reinforced by uniform teacher education programs and national standards and measurements.

But individuals and groups throughout the U.S. vary not only in language, but also in culture, attitudes, status, and economic means. Today's schools cannot expect a common language, culture, life situation, or understanding among students, or between students and teachers. In both Appalachia and in Chicago, students face poverty, family disruption, crime, violence, and illness. How can we teach them? Teachers must change their roles and expectations. Old policies no longer suffice; the core of unexamined beliefs and certainties no longer holds.

Nevertheless, parents of all backgrounds share one belief—that *education is the key to their children's future.* Many came to this country to provide their children with the educational foundation on which to build better, safer lives. A number of opinion surveys and ethnographic inquiries have confirmed that, for all our diversity, the U.S. is united in the belief that our schools are the single most important institution this nation has built (Goldenberg & Gallimore, in press).

However, despite parental aspirations and the hard work of millions of educators, too many children from minority cultural, racial, and linguistic backgrounds do not prosper in school. Many do not achieve a solid grounding in English reading and writing or in mathematics and science during elementary school. As a result, they are

inadequately prepared for the higher education or skilled employment of their parents' dreams.

Systematic assessment confirms this unhappy summary. For example, even when Spanish-speaking students—the largest single group of LEP students—are taught and tested in that language, many show low levels of literacy. First-grade Spanish speakers, even when tested in Spanish, score (on average) *lower than two thirds of their peers;* in second and third grade, still taught and tested in Spanish, they score *lower than nearly three quarters of their peers* (CTB/McGraw-Hill, 1988). When taught and tested in English, the figures are even grimmer: Eighty-five percent of Latino fourth and eighth graders read at a "basic" level or below. Over half score below "basic," meaning they can not demonstrate understanding of a text written at their grade level (Mullis, Campbell, & Farstrup, 1993). Scores for many other minority groups—including African Americans, Native Americans, Native Hawaiians, and some Caribbean and Asian immigrant groups—are equally low.

Nevertheless, there is some cause for cautious optimism. Major gains have been made recently by some minority culture and linguistic groups (RAND Report, *The Changing American Family*, 1994). Many schools are actively searching for ways to educate all their students—including those at risk from poverty, rural isolation, urban crowding, and linguistic or cultural minority backgrounds—to high academic standards. The California bilingual education program is, for the most part, a success (Krashen & Biber, 1988). Substantial progress has been made by educational researchers in defining the elements of effective teaching and schooling for all students.

But only in the past five years have we seen a concerted inquiry into the issues and problems associated with cultural and language diversity. This work allows us to take the next necessary step, which is to move toward *enactment of oresearch findings in real classrooms, whole schools, and national policy*. It is time for research and action to join.

Research and Development: Current Knowledge and Future Agenda

Current Knowledge: The Five Generic Principles for Effective Education of At-Risk Students. Innovative programs of school reform and research for diverse students tend to concentrate on specific cultural, linguistic, or ethnic populations, and on specific local communities. For many years, we at the Center have conducted such research on a variety of at-risk populations. Examples include Native Americans (Tharp, Dalton & Yamauchi, 1994; Yamauchi, 1993; Vogt, Jordan & Tharp, 1992); Korean Americans (Scarcella & Chin, 1993); Haitian Americans (Warren & Rosebery, 1995b); Latino Americans (Moll et al. 1992; Gallimore & Goldenberg, 1991); Native Hawaiians (Tharp & Gallimore, 1988; Tharp, et al., 1984; Tharp, 1982); economically disadvantaged European and Latino Americans (Azmitia et al., In press); and model school programs for a variety of mixed racial, linguistic, and cultural groups (Berman, et al., 1995). We have integrated these studies into literature reviews encompassing thousands of studies conducted worldwide. These reviews have uncovered a core list of "generic" findings that transcend specific groups, localities, or risk factors (Tharp, 1989; 1991; 1992; 1994; Garcia, 1991; Tharp, Dalton & Yamauchi, 1994; Collier, 1995).

General principles are, of course, less detailed than findings for any specific community. And no matter how valid, general recommendations must be modified to fit local circumstances (Goldenberg & Gallimore, 1994; Cazden & Mehan, 1989). The principles below do not purport to be exhaustive; rather they reflect only those findings upon which there is strong current consensus in the field. This consensus is broad enough to make these principles an organizing structure, both for continuing research and for immediate implementation into programs for at-risk children.

Principle I: Developing competence in the language and literacy of instruction is a metagoal of all instructional activities of the school day.

Language proficiency—in speaking, reading, and writing—is the royal road to high academic achievement. Whether in bilingual or monolingual programs, whether instruction is in English, Spanish, Navajo, or Chinese, language development in the language or languages being used for instruction is the first goal of teaching/learning.

The current literacy movement in cognitive and educational research is revealing the deep ties among language, thinking, values, and culture. ESL studies indicate the firm links among language development, academic achievement, and cognitive growth (Collier, 1995). Language development at all levels—informal, problem-solving, and academic—should be a metagoal for the entire school day. Language/literacy development should be fostered through use and through purposive conversation between teacher and students, rather than through drills and decontextualized rules (Berman et al., 1995; Speidel, 1987). Reading and writing must be taught both as specific curricula and within subject matters. The teaching of language expression and comprehension should also be integrated into each content area.

Language/literacy as a metagoal also applies to the specialized language genres required for the study of science, mathematics, history, art, or literature. Effective mathematics learning is based on the ability to "speak mathematics," just as the overall ability to achieve across the curriculum is dependent on mastery of the language of instruction.

The ways of using language that prevail in school discourse (such as ways of asking and answering questions, challenging claims, and using representations) are frequently unfamiliar to LEP and other at-risk students. However, their own culturally based ways of talking can be effectively linked to the language used for academic disciplines by building learning contexts that will evoke children's language strengths.

Principle II: Teaching, curriculum, and the school itself should be contextualized in the experiences, skills, and values of the community.

The second consistent recommendation of our Center and of the field of at-risk scholarship generally is for an increase in contextualized instruction. Schools typically teach rules, abstractions, and verbal descriptions, and they teach *by means of* rules, abstractions, and verbal descriptions. Schools need to assist at-risk students by providing experiences that show how rules, abstractions, and verbal descriptions are drawn from and applied to the everyday world.

Three levels of contextualization must be addressed:

- At the *pedagogical* level it is necessary to establish patterns of participation and speech that are drawn from family and community life and bridge to the sociolinguistic conventions of school participation (Au, 1981; Erickson & Mohatt, 1982; Tharp & Gallimore, 1988).
- At the second, or *curriculum* level, cultural materials and skills are the media by which the goals of literacy, numeracy, and science are contextualized. Drawing on personal, community-based experiences as the foundation for developing school skills (e. g., Wyatt, 1978-79) affords students opportunities to apply skills acquired in both home and school contexts.
- At the third or *policy* level, the school itself is contextualized. Effective school-based learning is a social process that affects and is affected by the entire community. "More long-lasting progress has been achieved with children whose learning has been explored, modified, and shaped in collaboration with their parents and communities."

All three levels of contextualization have this common premise: The high literacy goals of schools are best achieved in everyday, culturally meaningful contexts. This contextualization utilizes students' funds of knowledge and skills as a sound foundation for new knowledge. This approach fosters pride and confidence as well as greater school achievement.

Principle III: Teaching and learning occurs in joint productive activity with peers and teachers.

Learning takes place best through joint productive activity, that is, when experts and novices work together for a common product or goal—and during the activity have opportunities to converse about it (Rogoff, 1991; Moll, 1990; Tharp & Gallimore, 1988; Wertsch, 1985). In the natural (nonformal) settings of family, community, and workplace, shared ways of understanding the world are created through the development of language systems and word meanings during shared activity. Even the youngest children, as well as mature adults, develop their competencies in the context of such joint activity. Schools do not typically do it this way; there is little joint activity from which common experiences emerge, and therefore no common context that allows students to develop common systems of understanding with the teacher and with one another.

Joint activity and discourse allow the highest level of academic achievement: using formal, "schooled," or "scientific" ideas to solve the practical problems presented by the real world. The constant connection of schooled concepts and everyday concepts is basic to the process by which mature schooled thinkers understand the world. These joint activities should be shared both by students and teachers. Only if the teacher also shares the experiences can the kind of discourse take place that builds basic schooled competencies. Joint activity between teacher and students helps to *create a common context of experience within the school itself.* This is especially important when the teacher and the students are not of the same background.

Principle IV: The most effective form of teaching/learning is through the instructional conversation—a dialogue between teacher and learners

Basic thinking skills—the abilities to form, express, and exchange ideas in speech and writing—are most effectively developed through *dialogue,* through the process of questioning and sharing ideas and knowledge that happens in the *instructional conversation.*

The instructional conversation is the means by which teachers and students relate formal, schooled knowledge to the student's individual, community, and family knowledge. This concept may appear to be a paradox; "instruction" implies authority and planning, while "conversation" implies equality and responsiveness. But the instructional conversation is based on fundamentally different assumptions than traditional lessons. Teachers who use it, like parents in natural teaching, assume that the student has something to say beyond the "known answers" in the head of the adult. The adult listens carefully, makes guesses about the intended meaning, and adjusts responses to assist the student's efforts—in other words, engages in conversation (Ochs, 1982). Such conversation reveals the knowledge, skills, and values—the "culture"—of the learner, enabling the teacher to contextualize teaching to fit the learner's experience base. This individualizes instruction in the much the same way that each learner is individualized within a culture (Dalton, 1993).

In U.S. schools the instructional conversation is rare. More often teaching is through the "recitation script," in which the teacher repeatedly assigns and assesses. True dialogic teaching transforms classrooms and schools into "the community of learners" they can become "when teachers reduce the distance between themselves and their students by constructing lessons from common understandings of each others' experience and ideas" and make teaching a "warm, interpersonal and collaborative activity" (Dalton, 1989).

Principle V: Instruction must be cognitively challenging.

At-risk students, particularly those of limited Standard English proficiency, are often "forgiven" any academic challenges, on the assumption that they are of limited ability; or they are "forgiven" any genuine assessment of progress because the assessment devices don't fit. Thus both standards and feedback are weakened, with the predictable result that achievement is handicapped. While such policies may often be the result of benign motives, the effect is to deny many diverse students the basic

requirements of progress: high academic standards and meaningful assessment that allows feedback and responsive assistance.

Our research unanimously calls for instruction that is geared to the highest standards and is truly cognitively challenging. This means going beyond the standard curriculum into the exploration of the deepest possible reaches of interesting and meaningful materials. There are many ways in which cognitive complexity has been introduced into teaching of at-risk students. There is good reason to believe, for instance, that a bilingual curriculum itself provides cognitive challenges that make it superior to monolingual approach (Collier, 1995).

These five principles are related and form a comprehensive whole. The *instructional conversation* is the best method for *developing the language of instruction*, which occurs best when *contextualized* in experience, the ideal form of which is *joint productive activity*—which becomes the setting for the *instructional conversation*. Thus it becomes possible to provide instruction that is *complex and challenging*, that sets high standards, and allows students to overcome their risk factors and to achieve at those high standards.

Future Agenda: What We Need to Know Next. How will the field's research agenda advance the understanding of these issues over the next five years? The consensual, generic principles discussed above provide a basis for a 5-year research program, based on the *enactment* and *unpacking* of these basic principles.

• *Enactment Research and Development.* Research has outstripped development. That is, the research community knows far more about *what* to do than about *how* to do it. Despite the consensus on the generic principles above, their enactment is rare and occurs almost entirely in small, local "hand-crafted" programs under strong researcher/theoretician influence, or in single classrooms of individual outstanding teachers. Such programs rarely survive withdrawal of the key research or teaching personnel. Large-scale programs enacting these principles are largely unknown.

Thus the first crucial research question now facing the field is this: How can our research knowledge be enacted in scaled-up, reliable programs for large numbers of at-risk students? While the general literature on restructuring, reform, and upscaling offers some guidance, effective teaching that is attentive to linguistic and cultural characteristics of students presents significant challenges for enactment. These include challenges in teacher professional development, managerial and organizational principles, and school-community relations that hinder up-scaling even of the conventional sort. The projects of this Center are designed to uncover specific resistances and barriers to enactment and develop detailed, practical models for overcoming them.

The enactment of the principles will also make possible their refinement. Because enactment has been infrequent in real schools, it has not been possible even to test the validity of these principles definitively. No matter how confident we researchers may be, we still must put our findings to empirical tests, and this cannot be done until the principles are enacted in a wide range of real classrooms and schools.

• *Unpacking the principles.* Once we have enacted and tested the principles, we can then proceed to unpack them—that is, to see how they work internally, refine their statements, and determine their limitations. These principles are necessarily and intentionally "generic," but in all likelihood there are situations and individuals for whom they must be modified. The principles are now almost like "black boxes," and the next stage of research will be to open those boxes, to refine and deepen our understanding and our prescriptions for development.

Studies should be done, focusingon one or more of these principles, and by studying their enactments in a variety of studies, settings, and linguistic/cultural populations, we will come to better understand them. For example, researchers are in consensus about the value of teaching at-risk students in context of the family and community relationships. Our studies will examine, for example, how peer

relationships are formed; how friendship networks affect academic achievement; how grandparents and parents assist with homework; how teachers and parents can work together on curriculum reform; how informal and formal community-based organizations can work effectively with schools and families for academic achievement. At the end of the next phase of the field's research program, we should be able to make much more complex, conditional, and clear statements about effective means for familial and community contextualization. A similar process should be followed for each of the generic principles. In this way, the work of the national research community could advance research consensus and produce additional clear recommendations for reform directed at the needs of at-risk students from diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds.

Research Applications to the Nation's Broader Research Agenda. The generic principles discussed above are not applicable only to linguistically and culturally diverse students, nor only to at-risk students; such a research agenda will significantly advance the understanding of issues central to all of U.S. education. *Research in the diversity field is the foundation for research on education for all students, because only it is based on the full range of variance necessary for the widest range of applicability.* Research exploring only mainstream students, schools, teachers, and policies is actually far too narrow in scope to allow full generalization to universal principles.

This often goes unrecognized by mainstream communities of educators and policy makers. The universal need for our "generic" conditions is masked because mainstream families or communities provide their children with those conditions, so schools need not do so. Contextualized teaching, instructional conversation, joint productive activity with literate discourse, exposure to scientific, commercial, and professional language conventions—these are provided in the bedtime stories, car-pool driving, dinner-table conversations, family homework projects, little league coaching, and other activities of the middle class and prepare students for the literacy activities of

school. These sociocultural activities occur much less often in the families and communities of impoverished at-risk students. Therefore the *schools* must increase the frequency of such activities to a level of equity, basing them on sociocultural resources of the students' communities.

This situation, once understood, further emphasizes that the most fundamental discoveries about quality education are being made by studies such as those suggested here. Even though mainstream students can prosper in conventional schools, every student's academic performance can be enhanced by creating effective educational sociocultural activities in schools. Thus our "diversity" research agenda will ultimately improve education for all children.

The research program described here guides the work of the

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Unmet Promise: Raising Minority Achievement

By Robert C. Johnston and Debra Viadero
Education Week

First of a four-part series

About 3.4 million students entered kindergarten in U.S. public schools last fall, and already, at the dawn of their educational careers, researchers foresee widely different futures for them.

Whether they are white, black, Hispanic, Native American, or Asian-American will, to a large extent, predict their success in school, whether they go to college, and how much money they will earn as adults.

By 2019, when they are 24 years old, current trends indicate that the white children who are now nearing the end of their first year in school will be twice as likely as their African-American classmates, and three times as likely as Hispanics, to have a college degree.

The disparity in school performance tied to race and ethnicity, known as the achievement gap, shows up in grades, test scores, course selection, and college completion. It happens in cities and in suburbs and in rural school districts. The gaps are so pronounced that in 1996, several national tests found African-American and Hispanic 12th graders scoring at roughly the same levels in reading and math as white 8th graders.

After decades of school desegregation efforts, during which the gap between blacks and whites closed substantially, progress has stalled. At the same time, the greater diversity of the school population and the rapid growth of the Hispanic population and other ethnic groups have reshaped the problem with a more complex set of issues.

Those factors, combined with a much stronger focus on test scores in K-12 education and the erosion of affirmative action policies in university admissions, have raised the achievement-gap issue to the forefront of the national debate about schools, and created a new sense that something needs to be done.

"Closing the gap has to be a societal goal," said Raul Yzaguirre, the president of the National Council of La Raza, a Hispanic advocacy group in Washington. "To do otherwise is to admit to failure, tolerate racial differences, and give up on the very fundamental ideals of America."

The stakes are high—and not only for the millions of children whose lives will be most directly affected. For the nation as a whole, the economic and cultural implications of a continued failure to fully prepare millions of minority children for a complicated and technology-driven economy are huge.

And some experts believe the future of public education is on the line as well. At a time when American schools have committed themselves to high standards for all students, an inability to close the achievement gaps may lead parents in minority communities to lose faith in the ability of the schools to educate their children.

"This may be the last opportunity that the state and school districts have to respond and keep minority parents supportive of public schools," said Greg Mahout, the executive director of the North Carolina Justice and Community Development Center, a non-profit advocacy group for low-income people which is located in Raleigh, N.C.

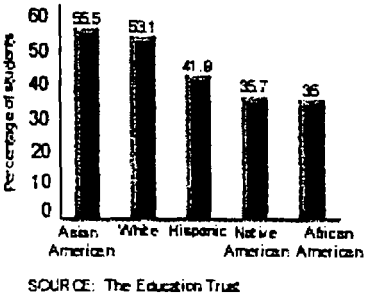
Just as African-Americans are taking a second look at traditional desegregation remedies as a way of raising the quality of education, he suggested, so too might they begin seeking tuition vouchers to leave the public schools altogether.

Societal Changes

Demographic projections have inspired much of the new concern over the achievement gap. African-Americans, Hispanics, and American Indians now account for one-third of the 54 million children in the nation's K-12 classrooms. That share, statisticians predict, will grow to two-thirds over the next 15 years.

So, too, will grow the share of minority children whose parents are poor or lack a high school diploma, according to data compiled for the College Board by the RAND Corp. in Santa Monica, Calif. For example, Hispanic children, who were 2.2 times more likely than white children to grow up in poverty a decade ago, will be 2.6 times more likely to be poor in 2015. "America is a diverse society in which educational differences have the potential to become a progressively larger source of inequality and social conflict," a national task force on minority achievement formed in 1997 by the College Board wrote in its report last fall.

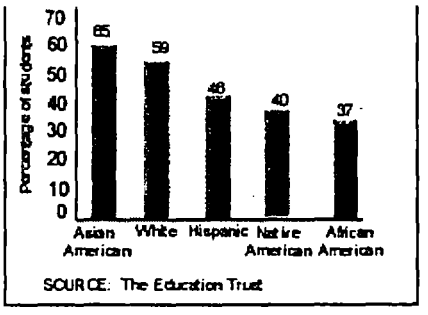
High School Graduates Completing Algebra 2 and Geometry, 1992



SOURCE: The Education Trust

Disparities in academic achievement between different racial and ethnic groups appear early. By kindergarten, minority pupils already lag behind their white classmates in early reading and math skills. The gaps widen in elementary school and then remain fixed through high

Freshmen at Four-Year Colleges Graduating Within Six Years



school, according to Meredith Phillips, a researcher at the University of California, Los Angeles and the co-editor of *The Black-White Test Score Gap* .That 1998 book concludes that blacks scored below three-quarters of their white counterparts on a whole range of standardized tests, including the 1996 National Assessment of Educational Progress tests that showed minority 12th graders scoring on par with younger white students. "For African-Americans to catch up by the time they get to high school, they're going to have to work twice as hard," Ms. Phillips said.

Even more frustrating, the gaps appear greatest at the top of the achievement spectrum. Though they make up one-third of high school seniors, African-American, Hispanic, and American Indian students accounted for only one in 10 of the 12th graders who scored at the "advanced" levels on the most recent NAEP reading, mathematics, and science tests.

There are exceptions among minority groups in their school performance. Asian-Americans constitute a disproportionate share of top students. Some evidence suggests that black students who have immigrated from Caribbean nations may do almost as well.

But the one improvement that many educators had hoped to see as more blacks and Hispanics rose to the middle class has failed to emerge: Stubborn gaps persist even in integrated, largely middle-class suburbs like Evanston, Ill., and Montclair, N.J.

"If districts like Montclair can't make a difference, then people have a right to look at alternatives," warned Michael J. Osnato, the superintendent of schools in the suburban New Jersey district of 5,930 students about 10 miles south of New York City.

Early Progress

During the 1970s and 1980s, blacks and Hispanics made strides in narrowing the academic gulf separating them from their white counterparts. From 1970, for example, when NAEP first started taking a pulse on student achievement, to the 1990s, the gap between minority and majority groups shrank by nearly half.

David Grissmer, a senior management scientist at RAND, said changes flowing from the civil rights movement, school desegregation, and the federal anti-poverty programs of the 1960s helped nudge African-Americans' scores up. While blacks in newly desegregated Southern schools racked up the largest gains in that period, test scores for Northern blacks improved, too.

"I think all of it made the nation more aware that African-American students' education was going to be taken more seriously," Mr. Grissmer said.

The improvements in minority achievement were also beginning to translate to real gains in college-going rates. National data show that African-Americans and, to a lesser degree, Hispanics, were graduating from high school and enrolling in college at rates near those of whites. Beneath the surface, however, disparities remained. For one, even though more minority students were going to college, disproportionately few of them were leaving with diplomas.

By 1988, even the test-score improvements had seemingly come to a halt, and experts are still wondering why. Explanations run the gamut from statistical anomalies attributable to changes in testing procedures to the distractions presented by the birth of "hip hop" culture.

"What we did was make progress on very rudimentary skills," said Kati Haycock, the executive director of the Education Trust, a Washington-based organization that promotes high academic standards for all students. "By the 1980s, that stretch had literally maxed out, and that should have been a signal for us to shift strategies."

National studies by the Education Trust and other groups show that minority students, many of whom attend poor, urban schools, get poorer-quality instruction than their white or suburban counterparts. They take fewer Advanced Placement and honors courses, have less qualified teachers, get fewer resources, and face harsher discipline when they violate school rules.

Some of the statistics are striking:

- Nearly half of New York City's teaching force in the 1997-98 school year had failed certification tests in math—compared with a little over a fifth of teachers in the surrounding suburbs and less than a quarter of the teachers throughout the rest of the state.

- Even though black students make up 23 percent of the student population in Providence, R.I., they constitute only 9 percent of students in the district's gifted and AP classes. Similar imbalances can be found in advanced classes elsewhere, including Austin, Texas; Boston; Durham, N.C.; and San Francisco.

- In San Francisco, African-American students are suspended from school in numbers more than three times their proportion of the school population.

- From birth to high school graduation, the average child in New York City will see about $25,975 less spent on his or her

education than the average child elsewhere in the state, according to a recent report by the Council of the Great City Schools, a Washington-based organization of urban districts.

"Though the discrimination may not be intentional, its persistence and pervasiveness, as measured by actual statistical impacts, amounts to a deep pattern of institutional racism in U.S. public schools," contends the Applied Research Center, an Oakland, Calif.-based organization that collected some of the statistics listed above in a study of 12 urban districts.

When teachers expect less of students, they get less—and that can skew standards from school to school. Data from the U.S. Department of Education suggest, for example, that an A student in a big-city school is achieving at about the same level as B and C students in suburban districts.

Seeking Answers

But some experts also blame a peer culture among African Americans that puts down top-notch students as "acting white."

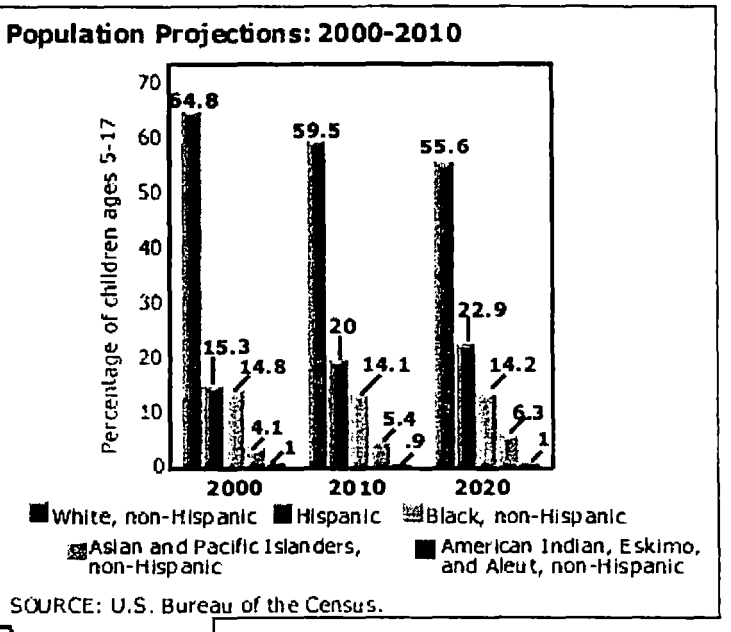
"Kids care more about the reactions of their peers than they do about the reactions of their parents or teachers, and that's real," said Terry Pollack, the chairman of the social studies department at Shaker Heights High School in Shaker Heights, Ohio, a middle-class Cleveland suburb.

Researchers also chalk up some of the differences to variations in parenting. Anecdotal evidence suggests, for example, that white parents may interact with their young children in ways that better support school success. They might, for example, ask children more questions or to justify their requests.

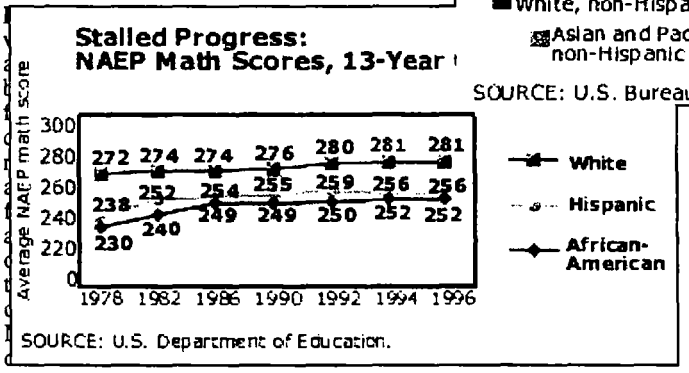
And as children get older, African-American and Hispanic parents may be less inclined to pressure them to do well in school or to push for their placement in advanced classes.

"The gap in test scores may be influenced by the level of insistence on the part of parents that children engage their studies seriously," said James Edward Harris, the president of the Montclair chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the education coordinator for the organization's New Jersey conference. "There is a level of underinvolvement of black folks at every level of the education enterprise."

There is far too little research about the various theories, however, and the bottom line is that no one knows for sure what causes the achievement gap.



SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census.



SOURCE: U.S. Department of Education.

family structure. All other things being equal, young children growing up in single-parent homes score just as high on preschool vocabulary tests as children from intact families.

And the idea that the disparities somehow stem from differences in genetic makeup, which drew widespread attention following the publication in 1994 of a book on the subject, *The Bell Curve* , is almost universally disputed by researchers in many fields.

A 'Messy' Debate

A changing political climate, however, may be opening the way for a more definitive look at the problem and ways of dealing with it. "It's going to be messy because people are going to be saying stuff that other people don't want to hear or don't want to believe," said Ronald F. Ferguson, a Harvard University economist who is studying the achievement-gap issue. "But the way to get around it is to design research projects directed unflinchingly toward answering questions about which we have different beliefs."

Efforts are under way on many fronts—from individual schools and communities to national advocacy groups and think tanks—that promise new awareness of the seemingly preordained underachievement of so many children:

• Last year, the Council of the Great City Schools formed the National Task Force on Closing Achievement Gaps. The panel's first report came out last fall and identified more than a dozen city school systems where the gaps are narrowing. But the report also faulted districts for inconsistency in tracking achievement by race, language, gender, and income.

"We must have a sense of urgency about the work we do and how we do it; otherwise, we may, without an efficacious effort, lose another generation," said Clifford B. Janey, a co-chairman of the task force and the superintendent of the Rochester, N.Y., schools.

• Concerned about the lack of minorities at upper achievement levels, the College Board's 31-member task force has released reports in the past six months that review the extent of the problem, predict performance for different racial groups, and recommend how to raise minority success in higher education. "We are finding a much higher degree of tolerance for discussion than we experienced five to 10 years ago," said Edmund W. Gordon, a Yale University professor who co-chairs that panel.

•The National Urban League kicked off the Campaign for African-American Achievement last summer. Backed by a $25 million, five-year grant from the Lilly Endowment, the campaign urges black parents and local leaders to demand high achievement as the norm for their children and schools.

"We are trying to construct a different kind of group and peer message," said Hugh B. Price, the president of the New York City-based Urban League. "We are very encouraged by the results. There seems to be much greater thirst for achievement by young people than most people realize."

•A group of 15 suburban and small-city districts, many of them in university towns with well-to-do students, have formed a coalition to study and share data on non-Asian minority achievement. The group stands out because the minority students being studied have few of the financial hardships that slow academic performance.

"It's stunning that more of us were not disaggregating the numbers to get a better feel for our kids," said Allan Alson, the superintendent of the Evanston Township high school system near Chicago, who helped start the network. "Hopefully, this creates a spirit of cooperation and urgency."

• Inspired by the suburban districts' example, 27 city districts—including Fort Wayne, Ind.; Houston; Milwaukee; and Tulsa, Okla.—have also joined forces to tackle the problems.

Success Stories

As serious interest in the achievement gap grows, the stories behind several successes are beginning to emerge.

Texas A&M University researchers say that after studying the best schools for educating blacks and Hispanics in their state, they found that solid, consistent implementation of curricular programs was more important than the programs themselves. "We have phonics and non-phonics schools, and they both do well," said Kenneth J. Meier, a liberal-arts professor at the university in College Station who worked on the studies.

Long-term leadership with high expectations is also important. "At the low end, districts give up and blame the environment," Mr. Meier said. "You never see that in good districts. Their attitude is, 'We can teach anybody to learn.'"

In U.S Department of Defense schools around the world, low-income, highly mobile minority students perform at levels that are much closer to their white peers' than in civilian-operated schools. The students in Defense Department schools, who are surrounded by a supportive military community, also significantly outperform their minority counterparts in civilian public schools.

A Washington think tank, the Heritage Foundation, scoured the nation last year before honoring seven principals of high-performing, low-income, and predominantly minority schools as part of its "No Excuses" campaign.

The principals' success was largely attributed to their having latitude in curricular and spending decisions, "tangible and unyielding goals," careful teacher recruitment, regular student assessments, and systematic parent outreach.

"Other schools don't study successful schools," said Samuel Casey Carter, a Heritage Foundation fellow who is writing a report on the study. "We must recognize and look at schools that reach and establish high levels of achievement."

If a lesson can be gleaned from such stories, it may be that reversing the trend is no accident.

Challenging the Myths

When officials of the Montgomery County, Md., schools sought to improve reading skills, they retrained principals and teachers, added a 90-minute daily reading block, and hired enough teachers to shrink reading classes to about 11 students.

The result? The proportion of black 2nd graders who were reading at grade level rose from 45 percent to 68 percent between February and June of last year. Though that figure was 10 percentage points behind the 78 percent for white students, the gap had been 17 points in February.

Aside from such inspired initiatives at the local level, it is hard to assess whether the nation as a whole is ready for a serious, sustained assault on the achievement gap. Daniel Yankelovich, a national pollster, observes that public opinion on race will be a major factor in any such effort.

While Americans are more accepting of racial and ethnic diversity, he contends that very acceptance could make them less eager to attack inequalities.

"In the past, civil rights leaders were able to play on guilt," Mr. Yankelovich argued. "As people become more accepting, they don't feel guilty. Guilt is no longer operative."

Instead, he and others suggest, stereotypes must be altered by educators or in the media.

"There's the mythology that all blacks have to be less intelligent than all whites," he said. "If you have stories of blacks outperforming whites, you cast doubts on the theory."

The first and biggest hurdle, he said, may be a simple conversation about the uncomfortable issue of race. "We have gone about as far as we can go without having a real dialogue with each other," Mr. Yankelovich said. "It seems we need that."

On the Web

Read "Closing the Achievement Gaps in Urban Schools: A Survey of Academic Progress and Promising Practices in the Great City Schools," October 1999.

"Closing the Achievement Gap Requires Multiple Solutions," from the Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory.

The National Alliance of Black School Educators seeks to improve the educational accomplishments of African American youth.

- **Part 1** *March 15, 2000* : Despite decades of attention, gaps in the achievement of minority students remain one of the most pressing problems in education.

Part 2 *March 22, 2000* : Why do the achievement gaps persist? Some blame it on teachers; others say parents need to be stronger advocates and cut down on TV time. In a Korean-American community, parents take no chances when it comes to their children's education.

Part 3 *March 29, 2000* : Schools run by the U.S. Department of Defense for children of military families may offer lessons on how to raise the achievement of low-income minority students.

Part 4 *April 5, 2000* : There are no sure answers, but some experts say better teaching, smaller classes, the right schoolwide improvement program, and fairer allocation of resources can shrink achievement gaps. A Houston-area district has some answers of its own.

Coverage of urban education is supported in part by a grant from the George Gund Foundation.

PHOTOS: John Jackson is one of only two African-American students in the AP physics class at Shaker Heights High School in Ohio. The district is trying to push more minority students into higher-level coursework.
—Bruce Zake

 Vol. 19, number 27, page 1,18-19

March 22, 2000

Lags in Minority Achievement Defy Traditional Explanations

By Debra Viadero
Education Week

Second in a four-part series

If the researchers studying the reasons why black and Hispanic students continue to trail non-Hispanic whites in academic achievement were pressed to say one thing for certain about their work, it might be this: The usual explanations aren't good enough.

Poverty can't explain all of the achievement gap, they would say, because grade and test-score disparities crop up even in middle-class communities with integrated schools.

And peer pressure—fears that classmates will accuse fellow minority students of "acting white" for excelling in school—won't do it either. If that were the reason, why would learning differences show up even in kindergarten—when children of every color want nothing more than to please their teachers?

"We know what the causes aren't. We know what we thought were the causes weren't as important as some other things," said Meredith Phillips, a co-editor of *The Black-White Test Score Gap* , a 1998 book on the subject. "And the traditional liberal and conservative explanations don't explain much."

The lack of knowledge is surprising since the gap has been documented since at least the 1960s. Between 1970, when the National Assessment of Educational Progress first began taking the national pulse on student achievement, and 1980, black and Hispanic students made great strides in narrowing the gulf that once separated them from their white peers. But all of that progress seemed to grind to a halt beginning in 1988. Now, African- American and Latino high school seniors on average score at the same level as non-Hispanic white 8th graders on NAEP math and reading tests.

And, most troubling of all, the disparities are greatest at the high end of the achievement spectrum—the statistical pool where the nation's future leaders swim. Failure to close the gap could ultimately mean failure on the part of American society to integrate all of its institutions from the bottom to the top.

"This whole field of looking at achievement gaps has been under-researched because it's politically so touchy," said Ronald F. Ferguson, a Harvard University economist who has studied the issue. "But by avoiding it, we've done an injustice to African-Americans and other children who might otherwise be achieving at high levels."

To some degree, that avoidance is changing now. What was once a verboten subject has become a top priority for states and school districts nationwide.

Part I "Unmet Promise: Raising Minority Achievement," *March 15, 2000* : Despite decades of attention, gaps in the achievement of minority students remain one of the most pressing problems in education.

•**Part 2** *March 22, 2000* : Why do the achievement gaps persist? Some blame it on teachers; others say parents need to be stronger advocates and cut down on TV time. In a Korean-American community, parents take no chances when it comes to their children's education.

Part 3 *March 29, 2000* : Schools run by the U.S. Department of Defense for children of military families may offer lessons on how to raise the achievement of low-income minority students.

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The change of heart has come in part because the nationwide move to institute stricter standards and related tests for students is illuminating some glaring disparities among racial and ethnic groups. Also, the backlash against the affirmative action policies that universities have used to increase minority enrollment has made test-score differences more important than ever. If minority students can't generate scores at least as high as their white counterparts', the door to higher education in several states might conceivably shut in their faces.

"I think a lot of people continued to think things were getting better," said Kati Haycock, the executive director of the Education Trust, a Washington organization that promotes high achievement for all students. "Now, we've seen 10 years of no progress and, in some subjects, a widening of the gap. There's too much evidence to ignore."

In all likelihood, no single explanation for the achievement gap will ever emerge. Experts say a multitude of factors—ranging from parenting practices to peer pressure—can influence academic achievement. The explanations advanced so far for lagging minority performance, some of which are more widely accepted than others, include:

Poverty

Even if poverty isn't the single most important cause of the minority-majority achievement gap, it's a major contributor. Data

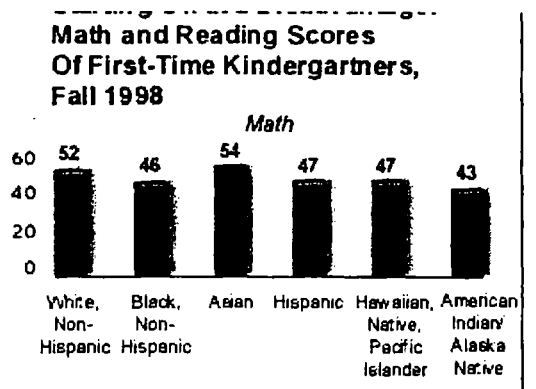
Starting Off at a Disadvantage:

compiled for the College Board showed that in 1990, Hispanic children were twice as likely as white and Asian-American children to be raised in low-income families. African-Americans were nearly three times as likely as to come from poor families.

Growing up poor often means getting inadequate health care and nutrition, having fewer educational resources in the home and in the neighborhood, and moving frequently—all factors known to depress school performance.

What's more, in schools with poverty rates of 25 percent or higher, both poor and better-off youngsters do less well academically. Growing evidence also suggests those schools get less funding than schools in more affluent communities.

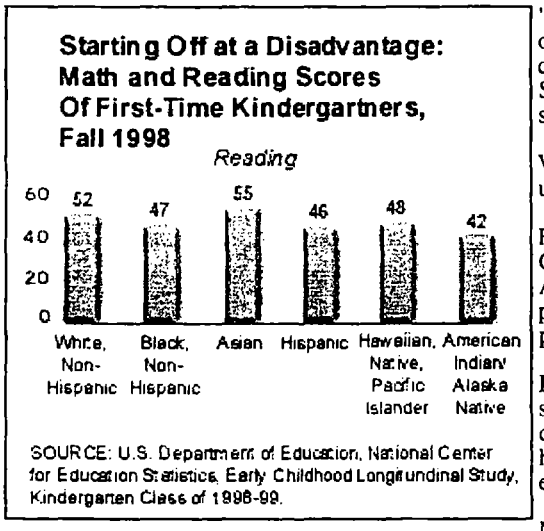
The legacy of poverty can last for generations. Even when two families have the same income levels, chances are the child from the family whose affluence began more recently is worse off educationally.



"It's not only the education of your parents," said David Grissmer, a senior management scientist in Washington for the RAND Corp., a Santa Monica, Calif.- based think tank. "It really does depend on the education of your grandparents, because wealth does accumulate over time."

Academic Coursework

Study after study has shown that disproportionately fewer African-American and Hispanic students than whites take challenging academic courses. The reasons vary. Some schools rigidly "track" students into such courses, using test scores or previous grades to winnow out those considered less able. Other schools open their tough academic courses to anyone, but minority students choose not to enroll.



"A lot of times, I think blacks are discouraged from being in honors or AP classes because they see no one else in their race in those classes," said Imani Farley, an African- American 10th grader at Shaker Heights High School in Shaker Heights, Ohio. "And sometimes, counselors don't encourage you to challenge yourself."

What's more, the menu of Advanced Placement courses in some urban schools is just not as full as it is in many suburban schools.

Four Los Angeles teenagers, for example, sued the state of California last year, claiming they had been denied equal access to AP courses. Even though they constitute nearly half the student population in California, blacks and Hispanics account for only 13 percent of AP test-takers in that state.

In answer to the problem, some districts are doing away with systems for tracking their students into higher- or lower-level coursework. But experts disagree over whether eliminating high-track classes would do minority students—or anyone else—much good.

New federal research, however, shows that the biggest factor determining whether young people earn bachelor's degrees is participation in a strong academic curriculum in high school. That means Advanced Placement courses, more than three years of English, mathematics beyond Algebra 2, and at least two years of laboratory sciences, foreign languages, and history.

"We should be trying to get more black students to take such classes, not trying to eliminate them as an option for whites, who will respond by sending their children elsewhere," Ms. Phillips and her co-editor, Christopher Jencks, write in their book.

Even more troubling to some are studies suggesting that all the courses in many poor, big-city schools serve up dumbed-down versions of the curriculum taught to students in affluent suburban schools. On national tests, one 1994 federal study found, A students in high-poverty schools scored about the same as C and D students in wealthier schools. Data from NAEP tests in reading and math also indicate that Hispanic and African-American students, compared with their white counterparts, are less likely to be taught reasoning skills and are more likely to be given worksheets—considered a low-level activity—in class.

Peer Pressure

In a widely noted 1986 study, researchers John Ogbu and Signithia Fordham described how a group of low-achieving black students in a District of Columbia high school had come to view academic success as "acting white." Since then, the phenomenon has been widely documented in racially mixed as well as all-black high schools like the one the researchers studied.

But the idea, always controversial, has more recently become the subject of even more heated debate, with some experts contending that the notion may be more of a symptom than a cause of the achievement gap.

"It sounds like a defense mechanism to me," said Roslyn Mack, the mother of two African-American students attending integrated schools in the Cleveland suburb of Shaker Heights. "It's 'because I'm not doing well, I'm going to make you feel badly because you're doing well.'"

But, Mr. Ferguson of Harvard says, even if that kind of social pressure does not create achievement gaps, it still can be an impediment to closing them up.

High Mobility

It's a well-known fact that student turnover is higher in schools with high concentrations of poor students, immigrants, or children from migrant-worker families. Obviously, it's hard for students to keep up when they move to a new school that may not even use the same textbook. One national study from 1998 suggests that moving even once between 8th and 12th grades can double a student's chances of failing to graduate on time.

But less obvious is the finding that high rates of mobility in a school can also slow the pace of instruction for students who don't move. In one 1996 study of Chicago schools with high student turnover, researchers found that by 5th grade the level of instruction in those schools was almost a year behind that of schools with more stable populations.

Teacher Quality

A growing body of research is beginning to show that students in schools with high concentrations of minority and poor students are more likely to be taught by underqualified teachers.

Those findings are emerging just as other studies are beginning to quantify the damage that an ineffective teacher can do. Research by William L. Sanders and his colleagues at the University of Tennessee suggest that the effects of three consecutive years of bad teachers can linger with students for years.

Parenting

At least half the academic gap between black and white students at the end of 12th grade is attributable to learning differences that are already present when they begin their school careers, said Ms. Phillips, who is also an assistant professor of policy studies at the University of California, Los Angeles.

In fact, the U.S. Department of Education released data last month showing that black and Hispanic kindergartners already trailed their white and Asian-American counterparts on tests of general knowledge and early reading and math skills. ("Kindergarten Study Taking Long View," Feb. 23, 2000.)

That suggests to some researchers that parenting practices could be a primary cause of those early differences.

The problem, however, is that researchers know very little about the ways in which parenting practices may—or may not—differ in early childhood.

"I suspect there are systematic differences in the degree to which parents negotiate with their children as toddlers," said Mr. Ferguson of Harvard. "Simply engaging a child in the kind of negotiation that has a child justify a request, or think through something for themselves, or do a calculation has to help."

As children grow older, black parents may also be less likely to push their children to earn better grades or take more challenging courses. In a 1996 study, researchers asked teenagers at nine high schools in Wisconsin and California: "What is the lowest grade you can get without your parents getting upset?" The answers varied by race and parents' educational levels.

Asian-American students whose parents were high school dropouts gave higher grade-level thresholds than white, black, or Hispanic students whose parents had bachelor's degrees. Black students whose parents were college graduates said their parents had grade standards similar to those of white students whose parents had never attended college.

Experts also point out that, regardless of color, middle- and upper-income parents, tend to take their children to museums more often, to hire tutors when their children are having problems in school, and to pay for test-preparation lessons for college-placement exams.

Preschool

Minority children have less access to good preschool and day-care programs. The New York City-based College Board, in its report "Reaching the Top," notes that only 63 percent of African- American and 36 percent of Hispanic parents with preschool-age youngsters enrolled their children in preschool in 1996.

Even programs such as Head Start, the popular federal preschool program for disadvantaged students, fail to reach large numbers of children who would otherwise qualify. Just as important, some evidence suggests that the preschool programs low-income students do attend tend to offer poorer-quality instruction.

'Stereotype Threat'

In the early 1990s, the Stanford University sociologist Claude M. Steele gave groups of white and black Stanford undergraduates standardized tests. He found that the black students performed worse on the tests when they were asked to identify their race. Mr. Steele theorized that the minority students scored low in those instances because they were anxious about fulfilling negative stereotypes about their own racial group, a phenomenon he tagged "stereotype threat." Once threatened, he said, minority students may go on to "disidentify" with the academic task at hand or to downplay its

importance to them.

No one has yet tested that idea in precollegiate classes, but some experts say it could explain why black students are sometimes reluctant to take advanced academic classes and why their average scores are low on some standardized tests.

The 'Summer Effect'

Students from low-income families tend to lose ground academically over the summer, compared with peers who are better off, said Karl Alexander, a sociologist at Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore.

Mr. Alexander drew his conclusion from a long-term study of 800 Baltimore students who started 1st grade in 1982. During the school year, he and his colleagues found, poor and more affluent students seemed to learn at the same rate, judging by their scores on tests given in the fall and spring.

But the wealthier students tended to keep on learning over the summer—probably because they are more likely to go to summer camp, visit libraries, or take vacations of longer distances, Mr. Alexander said. The poorer students, in contrast, would tread water academically from June to August.

Over the course of several years, Mr. Alexander points out, slight differences each fall can add up to a significant disadvantage for the lower-income children. "When you add it all together you've got an environment for some children that helps them move ahead compared with an environment for other children that's not as enriching," he said.

Teacher Expectations

Teachers are taught to believe that all children can learn, but their own experiences may sometimes tell them otherwise. As a result, experts and minority parents say that at least some teachers, exposed to low-achieving minority pupils year after year, may come to expect less of them. They might not hold them to high standards or encourage them to take more advanced classes.

"If you don't expect something, you don't search for it," Mr. Ferguson said.

Research is thin, though, on whether teacher expectations create a kind of self-fulfilling prophecy for minority students.

"My bottom-line conclusion is that teachers' perceptions, expectations, and behaviors probably do help to sustain, and perhaps even to expand, the black-white tests-core gap," writes Mr. Ferguson in *The Black-White Test Score Gap.* But, he adds, "much remains on this research agenda."

Television

During a recent visit by a reporter to Shaker Heights Middle School, students talked about the differences between white students and black students. Brandon Cornelius, a plain-spoken, African- American 8th grader, told of overhearing two sets of girls, one all-white and one all-black, talking in his school. "The white girl, she was saying, 'On weeknights, I can't watch TV at all,'" he said. "Then in the hallway, I heard two black girls talking and saying. 'Did you see what was on TV last night?' " Brandon offered an explanation for the difference: "It's like we want to know what's going on so we can be in the know a little more."

His observation is one that researchers have confirmed. A study of more than 3,000 children released last year found that black and Hispanic children spent an average of three to four hours a day watching television, compared with an average of two hours and 22 minutes a day for white children. ("Report Shows Media Play Enormous Role in Children's Lives," Nov. 24, 1999.)

Test Bias

Are standardized tests inherently biased against African-Americans and other minority groups? Possibly, experts say, but the tests deserve a smaller share of the blame than researchers once thought. The SAT, in fact, has been shown to overpredict how successful African-Americans will be in college.

"If any parent is worried about the tests being biased and then gets a chance to see what's on the tests, most would say, 'This is stuff I would like my kids to know,'" Ms. Phillips of UCLA said.

Genetics

In 1994, a fiercely debated book, *The Bell Curve* , resurrected the explosive suggestion that achievement differences among racial groups stem from genetics. Since then, the notion has been widely refuted by scholars from a range of disciplines.

"If there are genetically determined IQ differences," University of Michigan researcher Richard E. Nisbett writes in *The Black-White Test-Score Gap* , "they are too small to show up with any regularity in studies covering a wide range of populations and using a wide range of methodologies."

Even now, six years after its publication, *The Bell Curve* , written by Charles Murray and the late Richard Herrnstein, casts a shadow over public discussions on the achievement gap. The fear is that all the talk could feed harmful stereotypes about the the nation's minority populations.

That's why it's important to keep in mind that the statistics researchers use to describe the achievement-gap problem are averages, Ms. Phillips stressed. Black, Hispanic, white, and Asian-American students can be found at the highest levels of academe as well as in General Educational Development classes.

In the end, she said, "focusing on the gap is not necessarily a good thing, unless people act to reduce it." The trick, she and many other experts agree, is to figure out how.

On the Web

Read "America's Next Achievement Test: Closing the Black White Test Score Gap," by Christopher Jencks and Meredith Phillips, from *The American Prospect,* September-October 1998.

From the U.S. Department of Education: "Average Reading Proficiency By Grade, Race/Ethnicity, and Reading Proficiency Percentile: 1992 and 1994."

The National Science Foundation is particularly concerned about the achievement gap between whites and minorities in the sciences. See its overview of minority underrepresentation in the sciences, from "Science & Engineering Indicators - 1993."

PHOTOS: Students walk home earlier this year from an elementary school in a poor District of Columbia neighborhood. Experts say poverty contributes to, but is not the only factor in, the persistent low performance of children from some racial and ethnic groups.
—Benjamin Tice Smith
Rasheda Daniel and Jorge Gutierrez are two of four Los Angeles high school students who have filed a lawsuit challenging inequities in access to Advanced Placement courses in California public schools.
—Ken Hively/Los Angeles Times

Vol. 19, number 28, page 1, 18-22

Dalton, Georgia: A Case Study in the Educational Challenges and Possibilities Created by Demographic Change

Prepared for

The Institute on Cultural and Linguistic Diversity
Bringing It All Together: How Can Practice, Policy, and Research Advance English Language Learner Achievement?

April 2000
Providence, Rhode Island

by

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Changing Demographics, Changing Schools

Demographic change, increased enrollment of students from Spanish-speaking households, new challenges for professional development, louder calls by the public for educator accountability, slow declines in the enrollment of middle-class students, and the rarely spoken fear that school budgets might ultimately suffer if those declines indicate a more general reduction in the middle-class's support for local education—at the beginning of the 21st century, these phrases could describe schools and communities almost anywhere in the United States. Nonetheless, these words are intended to describe a specific locale—Dalton, Georgia—and its acute experience of the above trends during the last ten years. This short report is also intended to chronicle some of the intriguing responses that Dalton educators, community leaders, and special partners from Mexico have created over the last four years as they have confronted the ongoing challenge of how to have schools continue to shape a positive future for a fast transforming community.

Dalton is small, but rapidly growing industrial city in southern Appalachia located 90 miles northwest of Atlanta. A little over 30,000 residents live within Dalton's city limits and that boundary encloses a school district that enrolls over 5,000 students, one thousand more than in 1990. Including the populations of unincorporated surrounding Whitfield County and nearby Murray County, Dalton is the center of a region that includes approximately 100,000 inhabitants. Many of those inhabitants work in the industry that earns Dalton the title 'Carpet Capital of the World'. Poultry processing is another significant though smaller local industry. Growth and changes in employment patterns in both the carpet and poultry industries have brought thousands of Latino laborers to Dalton and, along with social trends like family reunification, have been the basis for Dalton's recent and ongoing demographic reconfiguration.[1]

To see that change as the schools have seen it, in September 1989 Dalton Public Schools enrolled 151 Hispanic students (3.9% of total enrollment), in September 1999 the tally of Hispanic students totaled 2,280 students (45.4% of total enrollment). (See the chart on the next page.) A school district survey in 1996-97 found that 59% of Dalton's Hispanic student enrollment at that point was foreign born. Though many of Dalton's current Latino students are relatively proficient in English, nearly all speak Spanish at home and many live in households where all the adults are monolingual Spanish speakers.

Starting to Respond

Though the demographic change began to become obvious in the early 1990s when three of the district's eight schools became majority Hispanic, an overt school district response was initially slow in taking shape. At several schools cultural difference became an occasional topic of study, usually at the level of ethnic food fairs, show-and-tell, and the like. Dalton did begin some ESOL classes (English to Speakers of Other Languages) in 1989-90. That program has since grown rapidly. In 1999-2000 there are 847 Dalton students enrolled in ESOL and 26.5 FTE ESOL teachers.

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[1] The terms 'Latino' and 'Hispanic' are used interchangeably here. 'Hispanic' is a more common term in Dalton and is the term used for district (as well as state) record keeping.

DALTON PUBLIC SCHOOLS
RACE/ETHNIC REPORT

YEAR	MONTH	AMERICAN INDIAN ALASKAN NATIVE		HISPANIC		ASIAN PACIFIC ISLANDER		BLACK NON-HISPANIC		WHITE NON-HISPANIC		MULTI-RACIAL		TOTALS
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
1999-00	9th													
	1st	47	0.94%	2280	45.44%	108	2.15%	511	10.18%	2041	40.67%	31	0.62%	5018
1998-99	9th	12	0.25%	2029	42.41%	99	2.07%	485	10.14%	2104	43.90%	55	1.15%	4784
	1st	14	0.29%	1992	41.55%	89	1.86%	507	10.58%	2136	44.56%	56	1.17%	4794
1997-98	9th	8	0.17%	1730	37.26%	96	2.07%	516	11.11%	2244	48.33%	49	1.06%	4643
	1st	10	0.22%	1680	36.73%	81	1.76%	528	11.49%	2244	48.83%	45	0.98%	4596
1996-97	9TH	7	0.15	1523	33.27	90	1.96	519	11.33	2405	52.54	33	0.72	4577
	1ST	8	0.17	1512	33.04	83	1.81	514	11.23	2420	52.88	39	0.85	4576
1995-96	9TH	8	0.18	1243	28.12	79	1.78	532	12.03	2526	57.14	32	0.72	4420
	1ST	12	0.27	1178	26.77	77	1.75	523	11.88	2580	58.63	30	0.68	4400
1994-95	9TH	11	0.26	965	23.09	85	2.03	526	12.58	2573	61.56	19	0.45	4179
	1ST	17	0.40	902	21.26	77	1.81	557	13.13	2674	63.03	15	0.35	4242
1993-94	9TH	25	0.61	685	16.93	66	1.63	546	13.50	2714	67.11	8	0.19	4044
	1ST	25	0.63	591	14.94	57	1.44	534	13.50	2739	69.25	9	0.22	3955
1992-93	9TH	12	0.30	432	11.10	60	1.54	535	13.75	2846	73.18	4	0.10	3889
	1ST	12	0.31	300	8.06	62	1.60	529	13.72	2865	74.36	5	0.12	3853
1991-92	9TH	12	0.31	307	8.13	47	1.24	526	13.93	2879	76.24	5	0.13	3776
	1ST	18	0.46	296	7.60	54	1.39	545	14.01	2972	76.40	5	0.12	3890
1990-91	9TH	8	0.24	237	6.32	63	1.68	520	13.87	2916	77.82	3	0.08	3747
	1ST	9	0.23	220	5.71	59	1.53	518	13.45	3042	78.99	3	0.07	3851
1989-90	9TH	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
	1ST	17	0.44	151	3.89	42	1.08	527	13.60	3131	80.78	8	0.20	3876
89-90 / 99-00		30	176.47%	2129	1409.93%	66	157.14%	-16	-3.04%	-1090	-34.81%	23	287.50%	1142
89-90 / 99-00														29.46%

N = Number of students
N/A = Not Available
wbw/jc

Data are from System and School Attendance Reports

PRINTED ON 9/15/99

In the mid-1990s one school initiated some more dramatic programs. With the encouragement of her principal (who had just finished a dissertation on the professional development needs of schools newly challenged by cultural and linguistic diversity), one Dalton elementary school teacher—**Amy Haynes**—began a pilot two-way immersion program in her classroom in 1995-96.[2] In the mid-1990s a former district administrator also began attending conferences of the National Association of Bilingual Education and other similar events hoping to attract bilingual and bicultural teacher candidates to Dalton, but those forays brought in few such teachers.[3]

When a few community leaders, led by attorney **Erwin Mitchell**, approached the retiring Superintendent in the Spring of 1996 to ask him what the district's plan was to accommodate the newcomers, the outgoing Superintendent conceded that there was no 'plan'. However, the Superintendent added that, given the Hispanic community's increasingly apparent permanency, such a plan needed to be assembled and that external input would be welcome. **Mr. Mitchell** hardly needed an invitation as he had already visited several of Dalton's most demographically transformed elementary school classrooms. He had encountered there teachers and paraprofessionals frustrated by the "communication gap" caused by (according to initial diagnosis) their students' lack of proficiency in English and their own lack of proficiency in Spanish.

During the Summer of 1996 **Mr. Mitchell** began what became a steady habit of sending letters to state education leaders and university officials inquiring about teacher training prospects, sources of bilingual educators, and possible financial resources that could help Dalton. Though these letters and later ones generated a few responses, including words of encouragement from **Beth Arnow**, then Coordinator of ESOL, Migrant Education, and Title VII programs at the Georgia Department of Education, they identified few nearby sources of educators, training, or other aid. In September 1996, as local school administrators, including the new Superintendent and **Sheila Evans**—Dalton's Assistant Superintendant for Curriculum/Instruction—agreed with **Mr. Mitchell** and sought assistance for readying the school district for its continuing change, there seemed to be little regionally available to support Dalton's local galvinizing for action.

Then, through the fortuitous intervention of one of Dalton's leading carpet executives who had a Mexican business partner with ties to the Universidad de Monterrey, **Mr. Mitchell** obtained the name of a sociologist at the Universidad de Monterrey who, it was proposed, might help Dalton understand some of its challenges and develop strategies for their resolution. Incongruous as it might first seem for a Georgia school district to look a thousand miles away for advice and support from experts at a Mexican university, in December 1996, **Erwin Mitchell, Sheila Evans**, the new Superintendent, the dissertation-writing principal (from **Amy Haynes'** school) and a Dalton school board member all flew to Monterrey Mexico to outline goals and possibilities for a proposed partnership between the school district and the Mexican university. The name given to the emergent partnership was the Georgia Project. One of the initial Mexican negotiators was **Maria Olivia ('Marioly') Villareal**.

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[2] Names in bold are the names of the educators, scholars, and community activists with ties to Dalton who will be present at the 2nd Institute on Cultural and Linguistic Diversity on April 10, 2000.

[3] According to a recent report by the General Accounting Office (1999:7), a 1993 study found that 80% of U.S. school districts reported difficulty in recruiting bilingual teachers and 53% had difficulty finding trained ESL teachers. Dalton Public Schools' struggles were hardly exceptional.

In March 1997, at a ceremony at Dalton High School, the Georgia Project was formally signed into being as a four component initiative that was to include: (1) the placement of Universidad de Monterrey-trained bilingual teachers in Dalton classrooms, (2) the creation of a month-long summer training institute for Dalton teachers in Monterrey Mexico, (3) the creation of a bilingual curriculum, and (4) the enactment of a complex applied research project that itself included a Hispanic community needs assessment and the initiation of a local Hispanic leadership group. While all four of the priorities were initially palatable to the Dalton school board, the district's central administration, and the *ad hoc* group of carpet industry executives and other leaders who initially oversaw the Dalton end of the Georgia Project, only the teacher exchange was a priority originally identified by those from Dalton. The remaining three components had been suggested by Georgia Project partners at the Universidad de Monterrey.

Because visa complications delayed the beginning of the Mexican teacher exchange to Dalton, the first Georgia Project initiatives underway were the 1997 summer teacher training institute and the Universidad de Monterrey-led Dalton Hispanic community needs assessment. Both began in June 1997. **Marioly Villareal** was one of three Universidad de Monterrey sociologists who came to Dalton to conduct that needs assessment and thus became one of the co-authors of the first report ever written about the community and educational aspirations, frustrations, and circumstances of Dalton's new Latino residents. **Ms. Villareal's** work included extensive interviews with Latino parents in Dalton. She subsequently returned to Dalton on several occasions to continue research efforts, to help oversee a November 1997 Latino leadership conference that led to the establishment of Dalton's first Latino advocacy organization, and to join the Universidad de Monterrey's Bilingual Curriculum Coordinator in providing support to the Monterrey teachers working in Dalton classrooms.

The Georgia Project marked the first substantial effort, other than the ESOL program, for which Dalton Public Schools both sought and received substantial supplementary resources to help accommodate the costs of the ongoing newcomer influx. Initial funding for the Georgia Project largely relied on external monies, rather than a reallocation of the school district's original budget. In February 1997, **Sheila Evans** initiated a successful effort to obtain federal Title VII funds for "Systemwide Bilingual Education".[4] Her effort yielded $500,000 to be disbursed over a five-year period. In April 1997, **Erwin Mitchell** successfully lobbied Dalton's City Council to earmark a portion of a utilities windfall for the Georgia Project. The city promised the Georgia Project $750,000 to be disbursed over a three-year period. Several local private business leaders also pitched in providing charter flights, frequent flier vouchers, free rentals, and other in-kind supports worth thousands of dollars.

What Challenges? What Needs? What Possibilities? What Solutions?

Though there had been a little negative public reaction to the Georgia Project—some anti-immigration picketers had assembled outside the City Council meeting that approved the $750,000 city grant to the project—the two more typical local responses in 1997 were great excitement or nonchalance. Excitement characterized those

[4] Ms. Evans hired Ted Hamann, now at Brown University and the author of this case study, to be the lead author of the Title VII grant proposal. That was Dr. Hamann's entrée into Dalton schools for his dissertation research. His dissertation focused on the creation and initial implementation of the Georgia Project.

who had been able to mobilize so much so quickly, while nonchalance describes the response of many Daltonians, both educators and members of the general public, who were unaware or only vaguely aware of the new project's existence. As the Georgia Project was converted from an idea into a well-funded, multifaceted initiative, its future seemed bright, but the comprehensiveness of its proposed action plan hid the fact that project initiators, project implementers, and various portions of the general public all had different specific ideas regarding the particularities of the challenges Dalton faced because of its demographic change. They similarly differed in their visions for how those challenges should be resolved. Was professional development the main challenge for the Georgia Project or other Dalton school initiatives? Was the biggest need an emergency temporary teacher exchange which could bring bilingual, bicultural teachers from the Universidad de Monterrey to Dalton? Was the biggest need a research need—a need for clearer understanding of the dynamics of the newcomer community and of the newcomers' backgrounds, aspirations, circumstances, and self-identified problems?

According to local newspaper stories, during the Summer of 1997, the crux of the Georgia Project was professional development. For the 24 Georgia educators who spent one month of the Summer of 1997 in Monterrey, Mexico attending an exhilarating and exhausting summer institute, the Georgia Project was a wonderful vehicle through which to learn more about the background and cultural contexts from which a growing portion of their students and those students' parents came. It was a chance to obtain Mexican curricular materials and to discuss pedagogical challenges and strategies. It was a chance to learn some Spanish. And it was a powerful demonstration of the school district's belief in the importance of their professional development. However, despite this first cohort's enthusiastic response, the high per educator cost, the unfeasibility for many educators of being away from family for a month during the summer, and the lack of any coordinated mechanism to carry over enthusiasm from the first summer meant that the number of participants in the 1998 Summer Institute fell to twelve, and in 1999 half of the Summer Institute was conducted at Dalton State College with only two weeks in Mexico.

While as of this writing an agreement for summer training still exists between the Georgia Project, Dalton State College, and the Universidad de Monterrey, the emergency teacher exchange is the Georgia Project's most successful component, with 13 Monterrey teachers presently serving as paraprofessionals in Dalton schools.[5] Dalton Public Schools are not, however, relying on this as the only means to assure communication with newcomer students. The ESOL program continues to grow. Efforts to recruit bilingual/bicultural teachers and paraprofessionals from domestic sources continue. And Dalton Public Schools have initiated a one-year 'immersion academy' at which newcomer students are given a chance to acclimate to the curriculum and organization of Dalton schools.

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[5] Given their professional training, the status of the Monterrey teachers as 'paraprofessionals' in Georgia continues to be awkward, but the state of Georgia does not presently recognize Mexican credentials as valid for a teaching license, though an intriguing Georgia proposal to give three-year international certifications to educators with foreign bachelor degrees (like the teachers from Monterrey) may soon change that. Presently, Dalton Public Schools confronts the dilemma of whether to invest substantially in helping temporary instructors gain Georgia credentials or whether to continue negotiating the challenges of having a two-tiered paraprofessional staff.

At the curriculum level, the Georgia Project's original promise of a bilingual curriculum seems indefinitely suspended. However, separate from the Georgia Project, the practices continue of adding Spanish as a foreign language to all pre-high school grade levels (K—8) and of offering Spanish for Spanish speakers and elective Spanish as a foreign language for grades nine to twelve. Unlike in the early 1990s, Spanish is now a welcome language in the hallways and some classrooms of Dalton Public Schools.

The reasons for the demise of the Georgia Project's promised curriculum are complicated and controversial, but three clear factors include: (1) the hostility to bilingual education at the state level, (2) the national anti-bilingual education wave, and (3) the successful introduction at the elementary level of Direct Instruction, a scripted, monolingual, comprehensive, DISTAR-derived program. Not since **Beth Arnow** left the Georgia Department of Education in August 1997 has the state education agency approved any school-district-generated Title VII proposals that include any support for native language instruction.[6]

Since Dalton applied and received Title VII funding in 1997, California has approved Proposition 227 which largely bans bilingual education there. Other states —notably Arizona and Massachusetts—are set to consider similar bans. In essence, bilingual education is under assault and Dalton's extant bilingual forays are well ahead of any other district in the state. As **Ms. Arnow**, now the ESOL Coordinator for Gwinnett County Schools (the largest system in Georgia), recently put it, the Georgia Project and other Dalton initiatives are "the light for bilingual education in Georgia".

Dalton initially welcomed the proposed bilingual component because initial two-way immersion forays, like **Amy Haynes'** classroom, and initial analyses of the research literature, including **Amy Haynes'** principal's dissertation, recommended some native language instruction as an effective approach for teaching newcomers. This preliminary enthusiasm occurred, however, before bilingual education was on the 'radar screens' of much of the public. Since bilingual education has become more publicly controversial, Dalton educators have had to expend political capital defending just the existing levels of native language instruction and they have also begun to recognize that the requisite professional development and new hiring required to implement a sufficient bilingual program would be substantial. Moreover, at the same time Dalton officials were looking at bilingual strategies, they were also beginning to successfully implement Direct Instruction. Ultimately that curricular change seemed an easier route to go.

While this text is not the arena for an extended endorsement or critique of Direct Instruction, a few facts regarding Direct Instruction and Dalton do need sharing. First, Direct Instruction was not introduced as a curriculum for newcomers *per se*; indeed it was to be the language arts curriculum for all primary level students, but its potential for improving the learning and test scores of Hispanic students was noted in local newspapers as early as 1996 when the program was still a pilot at one school. Second, for many Dalton teachers who were unsure for the first time in their professional lives because of the sudden change in the mix of students before them, Direct Instruction has provided a welcome, detailed script for how to guide their classroom. Third, with its self-described emphasis on improving standardized test scores, Direct Instruction promises that despite the demographic change Dalton can safeguard its vaunted high scores

[6] Though they provide none of the funding, state departments of education are required to review all Title VII applications generated within their jurisdictions and to make recommendations for approval or denial.

(relative to other Georgia districts). That standardized scores increasingly matter to the general public in Georgia is evidenced by, for example, the front-page, large-point headline of the September 2, 1998 edition of the *Atlanta Journal-Constitution* which blared: "Dismal SATs: Spin Aside Georgia Ranks 49 of 51."

Where to go? How to get there?

Direct Instruction matters one other way for this story. It became a touchstone for an ongoing struggle regarding school district management and the Georgia Project. Back in 1997 when the Georgia Project was first being launched, the Georgia Project was not a separately incorporated entity (as it is now) and the informal expectation was that all Georgia Project funds would be overseen by the *ad hoc* Georgia Project committee but administered by the school district. No conflicts between district officials and Georgia Project-supporting community leaders were anticipated. Everyone wanted to help Dalton schools help Hispanic students. Of the first two big chunks of money, city funding was channeled through **Erwin Mitchell** (the chair of the Georgia Project committee) into school district accounts, while Title VII monies went straight to the school district. An unanticipated conflict arose, however, when, with federal approval of the expenditures, the school district used Title VII funds to expand the implementation of the already successfully piloted Direct Instruction model. Direct Instruction was part of the district's instructional vision, but it was not part of the Georgia Project compact. While curriculum was one portion of this conflict, the rift was more generally about how educational goals should be determined, implemented, and overseen.

In exchange for the real but relatively modest resources assembled under the guise of the Georgia Project, the school district was finding that it had to negotiate detailed, energy depleting, external scrutiny by Georgia Project leaders, particularly **Erwin Mitchell**. This was in addition to the regular oversight of the school board and the need to comply with state and federal educational policies. Yet, **Mr. Mitchell** could counter that until his activist intervention, the school district's response to a growing portion of its students was inadequate, that his scrutiny was needed to ensure action.

The point here is not to take sides but to point how the complex task of meeting the needs of English language learners became intertwined and complicated by other issues. In particular, this highlights a position-related conflict between policy makers and practitioners. For **Erwin Mitchell**, influencing policy (including agenda setting and resource acquisition) was the only ready route he had to try to change the educational experience of newcomers in his community. For practitioners, an additional unofficial policy making body like the Georgia Project was welcome only as long as it provided resources and/or promoted changes that the practitioners wanted.

Without regard to this conflict, the Georgia Project and Dalton's educational challenges were receiving national attention in 1999. Then Undersecretary of Education **Delia Pompa** had described the initiative at length in her argument to Congress for reauthorization of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. (See Addenda.) However, resources were running down. In response, the school district proposed that the number of visiting instructors from Monterrey be reduced because of budget limitations. Noting the ongoing need for the Georgia Project and the popular acclaim it had earned at that point, **Mr. Mitchell** appealed to the Dalton School Board to overturn the request for a reduction in the teacher exchange program. Because **Amy Haynes**

could not attend the public school board meeting at which final budget decisions were to be made, she wrote an earnest letter about the need to continue the Monterrey teacher exchange program at existing levels. (Her letter is also included as an addendum.) At the June 1999 budget meeting **Erwin Mitchell** prevailed—full funding was restored—but in a sense district administrators prevailed too in that they were able to get the school board to commit more resources than had initially seemed forthcoming.

This year (1999-2000) has been marked by a new peace of sorts, but one still containing important unmet challenges. Though the direct collaboration between the Dalton schools and the Universidad de Monterrey is often still called the 'Georgia Project', officially the Georgia Project is now an incorporated 501(c)3 not-for-profit. That new entity has formally partnered with the school district for two new Title VII applications, one for a teacher training grant to be led by the State University of West Georgia and one to obtain funding to support the professional development and acquisition of Georgia teaching licenses for the visiting instructors from Monterrey. (The Georgia Department of Education has requested that the teaching license proposal be denied and has yet to rule on the second; the head of the Georgia Board of Education and others have sought to have that first decision overturned.)[7] A formal teacher advisory committee to the Georgia Project has been created with **Amy Haynes** as its first head. **Sheila Evans** has helped prepare an ambitious list of 5-year goals for the school district. (See Addenda.)

Whether these new arrangements will avoid past conflicts and how they will include the Universidad de Monterrey is unclear. Similarly unclear is how the emergent voices of the Latino community, now better organized because of the intervention of **Marioly Villareal** and her Universidad de Monterrey colleagues, will contribute to local educational policymaking. The challenges of finding new resources to support the programs begun by the Georgia Project and/or finding the broad community support needed to allow a reallocation of existing resources also still loom.

As the attached story of one student—Rigo Nunez—makes vivid, the challenges for Latinos negotiating Georgia and Dalton schools are formidable, but so too has been the effort so far to meet the challenge. How and where to proceed next are open questions, but that there are community, student, and family needs in the balance is clear.

Addenda (Enclosed separately as *Dalton Georgia: Case Study Support Materials*)

- Delia Pompa's ESEA reauthorization testimony
- Amy Haynes June 1999 letter
- Dalton Public Schools 5-year goals (thru 2004)
- Atlanta Journal-Constitution 'Rigo Nunez' article

Reference

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[7] To clarify, requirements for teaching certificates in Georgia are determined by the Professional Standards Commission, not by the Georgia Department of Education. However, the guidelines for Title VII require Georgia Department of Education review, so the Georgia Department of Education gains a chance for input on teacher certification in this instance.