brock
international prize in education

2012 Brock International Prize in Education Nominee

Gloria Ladson Billings

Nominated by Khaula Murtadha

An Introduction to the Portfolio for Dr. Gloria Ladson-Billings

Leadership is an influencing relationship. In education, the leadership role, if we distinguish it from management, is a role that insists upon enriching and improving the learning organization in a refining crucible of *critical questioning*, *engagement with the field* of educational practitioners and theorists, while uplifting and *sustaining commitment to goals of societal improvement*. This is the work of Dr. Gloria Ladson-Billings. She is a leader-scholar who has raised ethical questions about education; challenged teachers, administrators as well as fellow higher education professors to make a difference in the field while keeping at the forefront the idea that inequities in education result in inequities in our society.

Ladson-Billings has affected the thinking of not only educators and policy makers but that of parents and community activists; foundation and non-profit leaders. Her research, teaching and civic engagement/service is known nationally and internationally as evidenced in this portfolio's documents. Included is her stirring American Educational Research Association (AERA) presidential speech that mapped her organizational goals. It was stirring because she not only used powerful words but directed the body to watch a video and understand the life altering effects of Hurricane Katrina. She further developed these ideas as she led one of the largest educational research bodies in the world with more than 25,000 AERA members. The portfolio contains an early publication, 1991, that laid out a visionary trajectory of critical questions about the status quo and miseducation of children of color. A review of one of her critically acclaimed books is also included.

Early work in the field of culturally relevant pedagogy positioned Ladson-Billings as a leader/scholar in the field that investigates what we must do to act with urgency and make an impact on the educational outcomes of African American children. She challenged fellow scholars and researchers in a piece written 20 years ago:

> "Despite the long history of teacher preparation in the United States there is little in the way of follow-up and longitudinal studies that help us understand the ways in which preparation programs influence the kind of pedagogy we see in the classroom. Researchers must be willing to challenge the notion of a culturally relevant pedagogy with theoretically sound, well designed studies. They must also be willing to ask the hard questions like, can you have good pedagogy for some groups which is not good for others or can you have student academic success and emotional and social well-being without a culturally relevant pedagogy? Inquirers in this field must move beyond an intuitive sense of what is the 'right' kind of teaching for minority students to concrete evidence of pedagogy and approaches that work.

A book reviewer noted that Ladson-Billings inspired readers in *The Dreamkeepers* while reassuring us that we can envision and make happen "intellectually rigorous and culturally relevant classrooms." Ladson-Billings profiled eight teachers who were exemplars of excellent teaching. While the book is not in this portfolio, she made the thousands of teachers who bought the book know that a teacher's efforts to work with the unique strengths a child brings to the classroom, can make all the difference, affirming and strengthening cultural identity.

In addition to culturally relevant pedagogy, Dr. Ladson-Billings has led a movement that explains and cites critical race theory (CRT) to interrogate social injustice in our larger society and its effects in the global arena. Attached is a groundbreaking article linking CRT to educational outcomes.

Curriculum Vita

GLORIA LADSON-BILLINGS
Kellner Family Chair in Urban Education

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University of Wisconsin-Madison
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Madison, WI 53706
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PROFESSIONAL TRAINING

1984	Ph.D. in Curriculum & Teacher Education, Stanford University, Stanford, CA Minor: Anthropology Thesis title: *Citizenship and values: An ethnographic study of citizenship and values in a black school setting*
1972	M.Ed. in Curriculum & Instruction (Social Studies Education), University of Washington, Seattle, WA
1968	B.S. in education, Morgan State University, Baltimore, MD

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

2009 (July)	Visiting Scholar/Professor, Center for Multicultural Education, University of Washington
2008-	Chair, Department of Curriculum & Instruction, University of Wisconsin-Madison
1998-	Professor, University of Wisconsin-Madison
1998-2000	Senior Fellow, Annenberg Institute for School Reform, Brown University
1995- 1998	Associate Professor, University of Wisconsin-Madison
1991- 1995	Assistant Professor, University of Wisconsin-Madison Specializations: Social Studies Education, Multicultural Education, Teacher Education
1993 (July)	Visiting Scholar/Professor, Center for Multicultural Education, University of Washington
1990	Visiting Scholar/Professor, School of Education, Stanford University (July-December)

1989-1991	Assistant Professor, Division of Counseling Psychology & Education, Santa Clara University
1984-1989	Coordinator of Teacher Education & Adjunct Lecturer, Division of Counseling Psychology & Education, Santa Clara University
1981-1982	Research Intern, Far West Laboratory for Educational Research, San Francisco
1978-1982	Teaching Assistant/Teaching Fellow, School of Education, Stanford University
1976-1978	Writer/Consultant, Energy Education Advisory Council, Philadelphia, PA
1968-1978	Social Studies/Science Consultant and Teacher, School District of Philadelphia, Philadelphia, PA

AWARDS AND RECOGNITION

Honorary Degree, University of Alicante, Alicante Spain (to be conferred January 2012)

Honorary Degree, University of Massachusetts-Lowell, Lowell, MA (May 2010)

Laureate Member, Kappa Delta Pi, Education Honor Society (2009)

Dean Helen LeBaron Hilton Distinguished Scholar, Iowa State University (September 2008-May 2009)

Hilldale Award for Distinguished Professional Accomplishment, University of Wisconsin-Madison (April 2008)

Distinguished Service Award, Teachers College, Columbia University (May 2008)

Woman of Distinction Award – YWCA Madison, Affiliate (May 2007)

Outstanding Woman of Color Award – UW Madison (2006)

Member, National Academy of Education (Elected 2005)

Board Member, National Society for the Study of Education (Elected 2005)

George and Louise Spindler Award, Council on Education and Anthropology, American Anthropological Association (November 2004)

Kellner Family Church in Urban Education, University of Wisconsin-Madison (September 2004)

Fellow, Center for Advanced Studies in the Behavioral Sciences – Stanford, CA (September 2003 – June 2004)

Honorary Doctorate, Umeå University, Umeå Sweden (November 2002)

H.I. Romnes Faculty Fellowship, University of Wisconsin-Madison (1999)

Mary Ann Raywid Award for distinguished scholarship in education, Society of Professors of Education, American Educational Research Association (1997)

Palmer O. Johnson Outstanding Award for outstanding article published in an American Educational Research Association Journal (1996)

Outstanding Educator Award, Special Interest Group: Research Focus in Black Education, American Educational Research Association (1996)

Distinguished Early Career Award, Committee on the Role and Status of Minorities, American Educational Research Association (1995)

Outstanding Teaching and Teacher Education Research Award, Division K, American Educational Research Association (1995)

Outstanding Multicultural Research Award, National Association of Multicultural Education (1995)

Faculty Appreciation Award, Black Graduate Students Association, UW-Madison, October 1994.

Post-Doctoral Fellow, National Academy of Education, Spencer Foundation, 1988-1990.

Community Leadership Fellow, Leadership Palo Alto, Palo Alto, CA, 1988

Outstanding Black Woman Award, Mid-Peninsula, YMCA, Palo Alto, CA, 1988

PUBLICATIONS

Books

Ladson-Billings, G. (2009). *The dreamkeepers: Successful teachers of African American children*, 2nd edition. San Francisco: Jossey Bass.

Taylor, E., Gillborn, D. & Ladson-Billings, G. (Eds.) (2009). *Foundations of critical race theory in education*. NY: Routledge.

Ayers, W., Ladson-Billings, G., Michie, G. & Noguera, P. (Eds.) (2008). *City Kids, City Schools*. New York: The New Press

Ladson-Billings, G. & Tate, William F. (Eds.) (2006). *Education research in the public interest: Social justice, action, and policy*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Ladson-Billings, G. (2005). *Beyond the Big House: African American Educators on Teacher Education*. NY: Teachers College Press.

Ladson-Billings & Gillborn, D. (Eds.) (2004).*The RoutledgeFalmer reader in multicultural education*. London: RoutledgeFalmer.

Ladson-Billings, G. (Ed.) (2003). *Critical race theory perspectives on the social studies: The profession, policies, and curriculum*. Greenwich, CT: Information Age Publishers.

Grant, C. & Ladson-Billings, G. (Eds.)(2002). *Dictionary of multicultural education*. (Japanese translation). Oryx Press.

Ladson-Billings, G. *Crossing Over to Canaan: The Journey of New Teachers in Diverse Classrooms*. San Francisco: Jossey Bass. (2001)

Grant, C.A. & Ladson-Billings, G. (eds.)(1997). *Dictionary of multicultural education*. Phoenix, AZ: Oryx Press.

Ladson-Billings, G. (1994). *The dreamkeepers: Successful teachers of AfricanAmerican children*. San Francisco: Jossey Bass.

Journal Articles

Ladson-Billings, G. (2011). Boyz to Men: Teaching to restore black boys childhood. *Race & Ethnicity in Education, 14*(1), 7-15

Ladson-Billings, G. (2009). Education for everyday people: Obstacles and opportunities facing the Obama Administration. *Harvard Education Review, 79*(2), 345-359.

Ladson-Billings, G. (2009). 'Who you callin' nappy-headed?' A critical race theory look at the construction of Black women. *Race ethnicity and education, 12*(1), 87-99.

Ladson-Billings, G. (2008). A letter to our next president. *Journal of Teacher Education, 59*(3), 235-239.

Ladson-Billings, G. (2007). Can we at least have *Plessy*? The Struggle for Quality Education. *North Carolina Law Review*, 85(5)1279-1292.

Ladson-Billings, G. (2006). Once upon a time when patriotism was what you did. *Phi Delta Kappan, 87*, 8, 585-588.

Ladson-Billings (2006). Now they're wet: Hurricane Katrina as metaphor for social and educational neglect. *Voices in Urban Education*, pp. 5-10. (Winter), 5-10

Ladson-Billings, G. (2006). It's not the culture of poverty, it's the poverty of culture: The problem with teacher education, *Anthropology & Education Quarterly, 37*(2), 104-109.

Ladson-Billings, G. (2005). The evolving role of critical race theory in educational scholarship. *Race, ethnicity, and education, 8*(1), 115-119.

Ladson-Billings, G. (2005) What's the matter with the team? Diversity in teacher education, *Journal of Teacher Education, 56*, 229-234.

Ladson-Billings, G. (2004). Landing on the wrong note: The price we paid for *Brown*, *Educational Researcher 33*(7), 3-13..

Ladson-Billings, G. (2002). It's your world, I'm just trying to explain it: Understanding our epistemological and methodological challenges. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 9, 1.

Ladson-Billings, G. (2002). Looking through the veil: The post 911 response for the margins. *Teachers College Record* on line, www.tcrecord.org.

Ladson-Billings, G. & Gomez, M. L. (2001). Just showing up: Supporting early literacy through teachers' professional communities. *Phi Delta Kappan, 82*(9), 675-680.

Ladson-Billings, G. Fighting for our lives: Preparing teachers to teach African American students. *Journal of Teacher Education, 51*(3), 206-215 (2000)

Ladson-Billings, G. Preparing teachers for diversity: Historical perspectives, current trends, and future directions. In P. David Pearson and A. Iran-Najed (Eds.) *Review of Research in Education* vol. 24, (pp.211-247). Washington, DC: American Educational Research Association (1999)

Ladson-Billings, G. Teaching in dangerous times: Culturally relevant approaches to Teacher Assessment. *The Journal of Negro Education, 67*(3), 255-267. (1998)

Ladson-Billings, G. Just what is critical race theory and what's it doing in a *nice* field like education, *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education, 11*, 7-24. (1998)

Ladson-Billings, G. It doesn't add up: African American students and mathematics achievement. *Journal of Research in Mathematics Education*, 28,697-708.

Ladson-Billings,G. "Your blues ain't like mine":Keeping issues of race and racism on the multicultural agenda. *Theory into Practice*, *35*(4), 248-255 (1996)

Ladson-Billings, G. Silences as weapons: Interactions, confrontations, and compromises between a black teacher and white students. In E. Ellsworth, & P. Lather (eds.). *Theory into Practice*. 35(2), 79-85. Special issue on situated pedagogies. (1996).

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Ladson-Billings, G. Toward a theory of culturally relevant pedagogy. *American Educational Research Journal*, *35*, 465-491(1995)

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Ladson-Billings, G. Watching a naked emperor: A critique of the national standards efforts. *Educational Forum*, 58(4), pp. 401-408, summer (1994).

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Ladson-Billings, G. & Henry, A. Blurring the borders: Voices of African liberatory pedagogy. *Journal of Education*, *172*, 72-88.

Ladson-Billings, G. Like lightning in a bottle: Attempting to capture the pedagogical excellence of successful teachers of Black students. *The International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, *3*, 335-344.

King J.E. & Ladson-Billings, G. The teacher education challenge in elite university settings: Developing critical perspectives for teaching in democratic and multicultural societies. *European Journal of Intercultural Education*, *1*, 15-30.

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Ladson-Billings, G. Reading between the lines and beyond the pages: A culturally relevant approach to literacy teaching. *Theory into Practice*, *31*, 312-320.

Ladson-Billings, G. I don't see color, I just see children: Dealing with stereotyping and prejudice in young children. *Social Studies and the Young Learner* (Nov/Dec 1992), 9-12.

Ladson-Billings, G. Culturally relevant teaching: Effective instruction for black students. *The College Board Review*, no. 155, 20-25.

Book Chapters

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Ladson-Billings, G. (2008). Introduction, In L. Tillman (Ed.). *Handbook of African American Education*. Thousand Oaks, CA Sage Publishers.

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Ladson-Billings, G. (2006). The meaning of Brown for now. In A. Ball (ed.), With more deliberate speed: Achieving excellence and equity in education—Realizing the full potential of Brown v. Board of Education, NSSE Yearbook, vol 105(2), 298-315.

Ladson-Billings, G. (2006). Yes, but how do we do it? Practicing culturally relevant pedagogy. In J. Landsman & C Lewis (eds.). *White teachers/diverse classrooms*. (pp.29-41) Herndon, VA: Stylus Publishing Co.

Ladson-Billings, G (2006). They're trying to wash us away: The adolescence of critical race theory in education (Foreword). In Dixson, A. & Rousseau, C. (Eds.), *Critical race theory in education: All God's children got a song*. (pp.v-xiii). NewYork: Routledge.

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Ladson-Billings, G. (2005). Foreword. In G. Singleton & C. Linton (eds.) *Courageous conversations about race*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Corwin Press.

Ladson-Billings, G. & Donnor, J. (2005). The moral activist role of critical race theory scholarship. In N. Denzin & Y. Lincoln (Eds.) *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, 3rd edition (pp.279-301).Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Ladson-Billings, G. (2005) No teacher left behind: Issues of equity and teacher quality. In C. Dwyer (Ed.), *Measurement and research in the accountability era* (pp.141-162). Mawah, NJ: Erlbaum.

Ladson-Billings, G. (2004) Differing conceptions of citizenship. In N. Noddings (Ed.), *Educating citizens for global awareness* (pp. 69-80). NY: Teachers College Press.

Ladson-Billings, G. (2003). New directions in multicultural education: Complexities, boundaries and critical race theory. In J. A. Banks & C. M. Banks (Eds.), *Handbook of research in multicultural education*, 2nd edition. (pp. 50-65).San Francisco: Jossey Bass.

Ladson-Billings, G. (in press). Reading, writing, and race: Literacy practices of teachers in diverse classrooms. In T. McCarty (Ed.), *Language, literacy and power in schooling*. NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Publisher.

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Ladson-Billings, G. (2003). Foreword. In C. Prendergast. *Literacy and racial justice*. Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press.

Ladson-Billings, G. (2003), Afterward. In S. Greene & D. Abt-Perkins (Eds.), *Literacy research for racial understanding*. NY: Teachers College Press.

Ladson-Billings, G. (2002). "I ain't writin' nuttin':" Permissions to fail and demands to succeed in urban classrooms. In L. Delpit & J. Dowdy, (Eds.), *The skin that we speak: Thoughts on language and culture in the classroom*. NY: The Free Press.

Ladson-Billings, G. (2002). Foreword. In F. Touchon (Ed.), *The foreign self: Truth-telling as educational inquiry*. Madison, WI: Atwood Publishing.

Ladson-Billings, G. (2002). But that's just good teaching: The case for culturally relevant pedagogy. (repinted in) S. Benbo & L. M. Beaulieu (Eds.), *Improving schools for African American students*.(pp.95-102). Springfield, IL: Charles Thomas Publishers.

Ladson-Billings, G. (2000). Racialized discourses and ethnic epistemologies. In N. Denzin and Y. Lincoln (Eds.) *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, 2nd edition. (pp. 257-277). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Ladson-Billings, G. *Multicultural teacher education: Historical perspectives, current conditions, and future directions*. In L. Darling-Hammond & G. Sykes (Eds.) Teaching as the learning profession: Handbook of policy and practice (pp.86-123). San Francisco: Jossey Bass. (1999)

Ladson-Billings, G. Culturally relevant pedagogy in African Centered Schools: Possibilities for progressive educational reform. In D. Pollard & C. Ajirotutu (Eds.).

African Centered Schooling in theory and practice. (pp.187-198). Westport, CT: Begin & Garvey. (2000)

Ladson-Billings, G. American still eats her young: The social meaning of 'zero tolerance.' In W. Ayers (Ed). *Zero tolerance: A handbook for citizens*. (2001).

Ladson-Billings, G. Just what is critical race theory and what's it doing in a field like education? In L. Parker, D. Deyhle & S. Vullenas (Eds.). *Race is…race isn't: Critical race theory and qualitative studies in education*. (pp.7-24). Boulder, CO: Westview Press. (1999)

Ladson-Billings, G. & Henry, A. Confundindo as fronteiras: vozes da pedagogia libertadora africana nos Estados Unidos e Canada. A. Trindade & R. Santos. *Multiculturalismo: mil e uma faces da Escola* (pp.33-62). Rio De Janiero, Brazil: DP& A Editora. (1999).

Ladson-Billings, G. From Soweto to the South Bronx: African Americans and colonial education in the United States. C. A. Torres & T. Mitchell (Eds.), *Sociology of education: Emerging perspectives* (pp. 247-264). Albany, NY: SUNY Press. (1998)

Ladson-Billings, G. The case of the missing portfolio entry: The moral and ethical dimensions of teaching. In N. Lyons (Eds.). *With portfolio in hand: Validating the new teacher professionalism* (pp.237-244). New York: Teachers College Press. (1998).

Ladson-Billings, G. Who will survive America? Pedagogy as cultural preservation. In D. Carlson & M. Apple (Eds.). *Power/knowledge/pedagogy: The meaning of democratic education in unsettling times* (pp.289-304). New York: Teachers College Press (1998)

Ladson-Billings, G. Toward a theory of culturally relevant pedagogy.In L. Beyer & M. Apple (Eds.) The curriculum: Problems, politics, possibilities (2nd ed). (pp. 201-229). Albany, NY: SUNY Press. [reprint of earlier article] (1998).

Ladson-Billings, G. Critical race theory. In D. Gabbard (Ed.). *Knowledge and power in the global economy: Politics and the rhetoric of school reform.* (pp.363-367). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Publishers.

Ladson-Billings, G. Dar sentido a las matematicas en contextos multiculturales. In W. Secada, E. Fennema & L, B. Adajian (Eds.) *Equidad y ensenanza de las matematicas: Nuevas tendencias*. Ministerio de Educacion y Cultura [Spanish translation of earlier work]

Ladson-Billings, G. I know why this doesn't feel empowering: A critical race analysis of critical pedagogy. In J. Fraser, T. McKinnon & D. Macedo (eds.). *Engaging the mentor: Dialogues for change*. Albany, NY: SUNY Press (1997).

Ladson-Billings, G. For colored girls who have considered suicide when the academy isn't enough: Reflections of an African American woman scholar. In P. Peterson & A. Neumann (eds.). *Learning from our lives: Women, research and autobiography in education*. New York: Teachers College Press. (1997)

Ladson-Billings, G. Crafting a culturally relevant social studies approach. In E.W.Ross (ed.). *The social studies curriculum*: *Purposes, problems and possibilities* (pp. 123-135). Albany, NY: SUNY Press (1997).

Ladson-Billings, G. Lifting as we climb: The womanist tradition in multicultural education. In J.A. Banks (ed.). *Multicutural education, transformative knowledge & action.* (pp. 179-200), New York: Teachers College Press.(1996)

Ladson-Billings, G. Shut my mouth wide open: Conversations among eight successful teachers of African American students. In C. Kottak, J. White, R. Furlow, & P. Rice (eds.). *The teaching of anthropology: Problems, issues and decisions.*(pp. 342-352). Mt. View, CA: Mayfield Publishing.(1996)

Ladson-Billings, G. A coherent curriculum in an incoherent society? Pedagogical perspectives on curriculum reform. In J. Beane (ed.). *Toward a Coherent Curriculum.* (pp. 158-169),Washington, DC: ASCD (1995).

Ladson-Billings, G. Multicultural issues in the classroom: Race, class, and gender. In R. Evans & D. Saxe (eds.). *Handbook of Teaching Social Issues*. (pp. 101-110). Washington, DC: NCSS (1996).

Ladson-Billings, G. Making math meaningful in cultural contexts. In W. Secada, E. Fennema, & L. Byrd (eds.). *New directions in equity in mathematics*. (pp. 126-145). Cambridge, MA: Cambridge Press. (1995)

Ladson-Billings, G. Challenging customs, canons, and content: Developing relevant curriculum for diversity. In C.A. Grant (ed.). *Educating for diversity: An anthology of multicultural voices*. (pp. 327-340) Boston:Allyn &Bacon. (1995)

Ladson-Billings, G. Multicultural teacher education: Issues, policies, andpractices. In J.A. Banks & C.M. Banks (eds.). *Handbook of Research on Multicultural Education*. (Pp. 747- 759) New York: Macmillan (1995)

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Ladson-Billings, G. Returning to the source: Implications for educating teachers of Black students. In M. Foster (ed.). *Readings on Equal Education*, vol.11 (pp.227-244). New York: AMS Press, 1991.

Ladson-Billings, G. Culturally relevant teaching: The key to making multicultural education work. In C.A. Grant (ed.). *Research in multicultural education. From the margins to the mainstream*. (pp. 106-121) .London: Falmer Press, 1991.

Monographs

Ladson-Billings, G. (2002). *Racing against race: Thirty years of educational research on and about students of color*. Chicago, IL: Spencer Foundation.

Ladson-Billings, G. & King, J.E. *Cultural identity for African Americans: Implications for achievement*. Aurora, CO: MidContinent Regional Educational Laboratory, 1990.

Book Reviews

Ladson-Billings, G. Book review, J. Anyon, Radical Possibilities: public policy, urban education, and a new social movement. *Teachers College Record* (online). http://www.tcrecord.org ID Number 12188, published September 30, 2005

Ladson-Billings, G. Review of Myles Horton, *The Long Haul: An Autobiography*. In What leaders are reading, *Educational Leadership*, 55(8), 90. (1998)

Ladson-Billings, G. Through a looking glass: Politics and the history curriculum. (A review of A. Schlesinger's *The disuniting of America*) *Theory and Research in Social Education*, *21*, 84-92.

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FUNDING

Spencer Foundation, $40,000	09/01/07 – 6/30/08
Spencer Foundation, $35,000	09/01/03 – 05/30/04
National Research Center on English Language Learning and	

Achievement (CELA) $61,146	03/01/01 – 02/28/03
H.I. Romnes Award, $50,000	07/01/99
OERI, NPEAT Grant, $132,000	Project Title: Validation Study – NBPTS
UW Madison, Chancellor's Fund, $30,000	Project Title: Teachers Helping Teachers (1996-1997)
UW-Madison, Chancellor's Fund, $40,000	Project Title: Teachers Helping Teachers (1997-1998)
*UW-Madison, Chancellor's Fund, $40,000.	Project title: Teachers Helping teachers: Support Language and Literacy in early learners (with M.L. Gomez)
*Graduate School, UW-Madison, $10,042. Summer 1993	Project title: Exploring the pipeline: Factors inhibiting recruitment and retention of African American teachers in small town and suburban school districts.
*National Academy of Education, Spencer Foundation, Chicago, IL. $25,000. Academic year(s) 1989-1990; 1990-91	Project title: The dreamkeepers: Attempting to capture the pedagogical excellence of successful teachers of Black students.

TEACHING

Courses taught at the University of Wisconsin-Madison:
C & I: 371: Teaching Social Studies in the Elementary School

C & I: 630: Workshop in School Program Development: Practicum Seminar (masters level)
C & I: 630: Workshop in School Program Development: Health, Physical Education, & Social Studies
C & I: 744: Multicultural Perspectives in Education
C & I: 844: Culturally Relevant Pedagogy
C & I: 990: Independent Research: Student Teaching Seminar (masters level)

Courses taught at the University of Washington – Seattle

EDCI: 505: Seminar in Culturally Relevant Pedagogy (July 2009)
EDCI: 505: Seminar in Multicultural Perspectives on Education (July 1994)

Courses taught at Santa Clara University (tenure track):
ED 98/198: Practicum in Elementary/Secondary Teaching
ED 163: Introduction to teaching in a multicultural society

SELECTED PAPER PRESENTATIONS

Ladson-Billings, (Feb 2010), Invited speaker, Omaha League of Women Voters, Omaha, NE

Ladson-Billings, G. (July 2010) Preparing teachers for the 21st Century, Invited Panelist, NAACP National Convention, Kansas City, MO

Ladson-Billings, G. (April 2010). Keynote Speaker, ENDJIPE Conference, Federal University of Minas Gerais, Belo Horizonte, Brazil

Ladson-Billings, G. (Nov 2010). Green Lectures, Texas Christian University, Fort Worth, TX.

Ladson-Billings, G. (February 2009). The world is neither flat nor round: The power of research paradigms. Dean Helen LeBaron Hilton Lecture, Iowa State University, Ames, IA

Ladson-Billings, G. (September 2008). Re-imagining the public we educate, Keynote Address, British Educational Research Association, Edinburgh, Scotland

Ladson-Billings, G. (May 2008). Do you know what it means to miss New Orleans? Hurricane Katrina as a metaphor for school failure. Panasonic Family Foundation Conference, New Orleans, LA

Ladson-Billings, G. (April 2006). From the achievement gap to the education debt: Reconceptualizing education inequity. Presidential Address, American Educational Research Association, San Francisco.

Ladson-Billings, G. (April 2004). Landing on the wrong note: The price we paid for Brown. Dewitt Wallace- Readers Digest Lecture. American Educational Research Association. San Diego.

Ladson-Billings, G. (October 2003), No Teacher Left Behind: Issues of Equity and Teacher Quality Paper Presented at the ETS Invitation Conference on Measurement and Research Issues in a New Accountability Era. New York, NY.

Ladson-Billings, G. (January 2002) Racing Against Race: Thirty Years of Educational Research on and about Students of Color.Paper presented at the 30th Anniversary Symposium of the Spencer Foundation, Chicago, IL

Ladson-Billings, G. (June 2000). Pedagogy of the depressed: A teacher educator theorizes about teaching. Paper presented at the conference on New Directions in Teacher Education and Social Justice, Umeå University, Umeå, Sweden.

Ladson-Billings, G. (May 1999). Conference on "Who cares: Moral commitment and creative lives in contemporary America," Northwestern University, Evanston, IL

Ladson-Billings, G. (April 1999). Goodrich Lecture, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, TN

Ladson-Billings, G. (March 1999). Hazel Creekmore Lecture, Rice University, Houston, TX

Ladson-Billings, G. (December 1996). The call of whose stories? Understanding the literacy practices of successful teachers of African American Students. Keynote Address at the National Reading Conference, Charleston, SC.

Ladson-Billings, G. (April 1996). Fighting for our lives: Preparing teachers to teach African American students. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, New York, NY.

Ladson-Billings, G. (February 1996). How can we teach what we do not know: Preparing *teacher educators* for diversity. Kappa Delta Pi Lecture, annual meeting of the American Association of Colleges of Teacher Education, Chicago, IL.

Ladson-Billings, G. (April 1995). Flies in the buttermilk: Black teachers in white school districts. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, San Francisco, CA.

Ladson-Billings, G. (April 1995). Culturally relevant pedagogy in African-centered schools. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, San Francisco, CA.

Ladson-Billings, G. (April 1995). The problem of the 20th century: Race as a critical issue in issues centered social studies. Paper accepted for symposium on Issues centered social studies to be presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, San Francisco, CA.

Ladson-Billings, G. (March 1995). African American students and colonial education in the United States. Paper accepted for presentation at the annual meeting of the Comparative International Education Society, Boston, MA.

Ladson-Billings, G. (February 10, 1995). Skills and other dilemmas revisited: Equity and achievement in mathematics education. (revised paper) Graduate School of Education, University of California, Berkeley.

Ladson-Billings, G. (November 1994). Setting the standards, making no difference: A critique of the national standards efforts. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the National Council for the Social Studies, Phoenix, AZ.

Ladson-Billings, G. (April 1994). Your blues ain't like mine: Keeping issues of race and racism on the multicultural agenda. Symposium on Multiple perspectives on multiculturalism sponsored by Division B of the American Educational Research Association, New Orleans, LA.

Ladson-Billings, G. (April 1993). Lifting as we climb: The womanist tradition in multicultural education. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Atlanta, GA.

Ladson-Billings, G.(December 1992). African American diaspora literacy: Reading the word and the world. Paper presented at the American Anthropological Association Meeting, San Francisco, CA.

Ladson-Billings, G. (April 1992). Distorting democracy: An ethnographic study of the California textbook adoption process. Annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, San Francisco, CA.

SELECTED INVITED PRESENTATIONS

From Colorblind to Post Racial: Decoding Race Discourse in Democratic America. Lecture for Transnational Perspectives in Democratic Education, Institute of Education, University of London (July 2009)

The case for Public Scholarship. Commencement Address, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York (May 2008)

What difference will your difference make? Commencement Address, Graduate School of Education, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA (May 2008)

The Gift of Teaching. Cosby on Campus Teachers' Luncheon, Stanford University (May 2004)

What if we leave all the children behind: The challenge of teaching in the new millennium. Capstone Lecture, California State University – Monterey Bay (May 2003).

Can I ask you a hard question? Teaching to meet the needs of all students. Charlotte Acer Lecture. Graduate School of Education, State University of New York at Buffalo (September 1997).

It doesn't add up: African American students and mathematics achievement. Bannecker Leadership Conference, Easton, MD (August 1997)

Pedagogy of the depressed: From theory to practice to theory, UCLA Graduate School of Education, (May 1997)

Literacy practices of successful teachers of African American Students. Mazie Southhall Lecture, Peabody College of Vanderbilt University, Nashville, TN.(January 1997)

International Conference on Students Perceptions on Schooling, Bennesse Corporation, Tokyo, Japan, (October 1996)

Multicultural Education, Sophia University, Tokyo, Japan (October 1996)

"Acting black": academic achievement, cultural competence, and political will. Asa T. Spaulding Lecture, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, NC (October 1995).

Brown plus 40, Invited panelist, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI (June 1995).

Culturally relevant pedagogy and multicultural education, Seminars at Umea University, Umea Sweden, March 1995.

The method is the medium: Dilemmas of culturally grounded research. Harvard Graduate School of Education, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA, March 1995.

Culturally relevant teaching, Teleconference (with W. F. Tate). Indianapolis Public Schools, Satellite Uplink from UW-Madison, February 15, 1995.

Successful teachers for African American students. Ravenswood Alliance of Black School Educators, East Palo Alto, CA, February 11, 1995.

Multiple perspectives on multiculturalism, workshop leader, National Institute for Multicultural Education, Washington, DC, February 4-5, 1995.

Re-Inventing multiculturalism: Multiple perspectives on multiculturalism, Keynote speaker, Martin Luther King, Jr. Convocation, Lake Forest College, Lake Forest, IL, January 17, 1995.

The Dreamkeepers: Successful teachers for African American children, book talk, Borders Book Shop, Madison, WI, October 1994.

Conversations behind the wall: Negotiating the graduate school experience. Black Graduate Students Association, UW-Madison, October 1994.

Dilemmas of research, invited panelist, Spencer Foundation Pre-doctoral Fellows Meeting, Northwestern University, Evanston, IL, September 1994.

Coping with dysconscious racism and multicultural illiteracy: A teacher education response, Keynote speaker, Seventh Annual Infusion Conference, Indianapolis Public School, Indianapolis, IN, August 1, 1994.

Toward a critical race theory of education, Brown v. Board of Education: 40 years on, Invited panelist, University of Illinois at Chicago, May 17, 1994.

Correct. . . not politically correct: The moral and ethical responsibilities of multicultural education, Keynote speaker, National Association of Multicultural Education, Detroit, MI, February 1994.

Learning to talk that talk: Culturally relevant teaching as a rubric for understanding effective pedagogical practices with African American students, Colloquium sponsored by the National Center for Research on Teacher Learning Across the Life Span, Michigan State University, East Lansing, MI, October 1993.

Faculty Retreat speaker, University of Wisconsin-Parkside, Kenosha WI, August 1993.

Should there be a national curriculum? Invited panelist, Division B, American Educational Research Association Annual Meeting, Atlanta, GA, April 1993.

Skills and other dilemmas revisited: Issues of equity and achievement in mathematics, Keynote speaker, Research pre-session, National Council of Teachers of Mathematics, Annual Meeting, Seattle, WA, March 1993.

Whose schools are they anyway? Politics and the social studies curriculum. Keynote speaker, Legislative Breakfast, California Council for the Social Studies, Annual Meeting, San Mateo, CA, March 1993.

In search of excellence and diversity: The urban school challenge, Keynote speaker, Urban Lecture Series, School of Education, University of Missouri-Kansas, Kansas City, MO, November 1992.

Liberatory consequences of literacy: A case of culturally relevant literacy instruction. Keynote speaker, Dean's Series, College of Education, Florida State University, Tallahassee, FL, October 1992.

The case of the missing portfolio entry: The moral and ethical dimensions of teaching, Keynote speaker, Stanford Teacher Education Program Portfolio Conference, Stanford University, May 1992.

Multiculturalism and higher education, invited panelist, DePaul University Conference on Multiculturalism, racism, and diversity in higher education, Chicago, IL, May 1992.

Re-inventing multicultural education, Faculty retreat speaker, College of Education, Ohio State University, Columbus, OH, November 1991.

Shut my mouth wide open: Conversations among successful teachers of African American students, Keynote speaker, 12th Annual Ethnography in Education Research Forum, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA, February 1991.

Is eight enough? Pedagogical reflections of eight successful teachers of African American students, invited speaker, Visiting Minority Scholar Series, Wisconsin Center for Educational Research, University of Wisconsin-Madison, March 1990.

A tale of two teachers: Exemplars of successful teachers of black students, Invited speaker, Educational Equity Project of The College Board, New York, May 1989.

PROFESSIONAL SERVICE

Departmental Activities

Chair, 2008— Department of C&I
Member, 2004 – Personnel Committee
Member, 1995-1998 Personnel Committee
Member, 1994 Secondary English Education Search Committee
Interim Member 1993 Personnel Committee
Co-director, 1992- Teach for diversity. Masters with elementary certification program

Member, 1992- Minority Student Affairs Committee
Member, 1991-1992 Graduate Programs Committee

School of Education Activities

Member, 1994- Restructuring Teacher Education Task Force
Member, 1994- Spencer Fellows Selection Committee
Member, 1994- Spencer Fellows Seminar leader's group

University Activities

Member, 2008 Self-Study NCAA Re-accreditation Committee
Faculty Representative, 1999--2003 Big Ten Conference
Member, 1996-2003 Athletic Board
Member, 1995 -1998 Graduate Research Committee
Member, 1994- Havens Center Advisory Board
Member, 1994- Committee on Women in the University
Speaker, 1994 Black Graduate Student Conference
Member, 1993- 1997 Interim Multicultural Center Advisory Board

State Activities

Member, 2001 – PK-16 Leadership Council
Member, 1995- Wisconsin Human Relations Association
Member, 1992-93 Wisconsin Association of Colleges of Teacher Education Task Force Steering Committee

National Activities

President (2005-06) — American Educational Research Association
President-elect (2004-05) – American Educational Research Association
Member at Large (2000-2002) – American Educational Research Association
Editor (1997-2001) Teaching, Learning, and Human Development Section, *American Educational Research Journal*
Secretary-elect (1996)-Division K, Teaching and Teacher Education, American Education Research Association

Member, 1995- American Educational Research Association-Spencer Foundation National Faculty
Member, 1991-1994 National Council for the Social Studies Curriculum Standards Task Force
Member, 1992- Cultural Diversity & Equity Panel, National Board for Professional Teaching Standards
Co-Chair, 1993-95 Affirmative Action Committee, Division G, American Educational Research Association
Member, 1993-1996 Professional Development and Training Committee, American Educational Research Association
Member, 1993-1996 Educational Outreach Committee, American Educational Research Association
Program Chair, 1993 Research in Social Studies Education Special Interest Group, American Educational Research Association
President, 1994 Research in Social Studies Education Special Interest Group, American Educational Research Association
Member, 1994-96 Dissertation Awards Committee, Division K, American Education Research Association
Member - 1996- Editorial Board, *The Journal of Negro Education*
Member - 1995- Editorial Board, *Educational Policy*
Member, 1994-1997 Editorial Board, *Review of Research in Education*, vols. 21 & 22.
Member, 1994-1997 Executive Board, College and University Faculty Assembly, National Council for the Social Studies
Member, 1992- 1995 Editorial Board, *Theory & Research in Social Education*
Member, 1994- Editorial Board, *Urban Education*

Selected International Activities

Invited Speaker, 2009, Institute of Education, University of London, UK
Dissertation Opponent, 2006, Umea University, Umea, Sweden
Participant, 2008, 2005, Three Deans' Symposium. London Institute of Education, England
Participant, 2004 Three Deans' Symposium, University of Melbourne, Austrailia

Other Professional Activities

Reviewer, 2000 – *Journal of Research in Mathematics Education*
Reviewer, 1989- *Journal of Teacher Education*
Reviewer, 1992- *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*
Reviewer, 1993- *The Journal of Negro Education*
Reviewer, 1994 *Educational Researcher*
Reviewer, 1994 *Teaching and Teacher Education*
Reviewer, 1994 *American Educational Research Journal*

Member, 1991-1993 New York State History Academy Advisory Board, State University of New York at Buffalo
Member, 1990 Instructional Materials Evaluation Panel, State Department of Education, Sacramento, CA
Member, 1988-89 Teacher Assessment Project Review Panel, Center for Educational Research, Stanford, University.

PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIPS

American Anthropological Association
American Educational Research Association
National Association of Multicultural Education
National Council for Teachers of English
Phi Delta Kappa
Wisconsin Council for the Social Studies

From *Anthropology and Education Quarterly* 28:2

June 1997 book reviews

The Dreamkeepers: Successful Teachers of African American Children. Gloria Ladson-Billings. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1994. 187 pp.

TRYPHENIA B. PEELE
The Claremont Graduate School

Education in the African American community has a history of struggle, hopes, and dreams. This struggle includes a demand for education to connect schooling and the African American experience. The book, *The Dreamkeepers: Successful Teachers of African American Children,* carries forth the hopes and dreams of the African American past. The author, Gloria Ladson-Billings, skillfully discusses the relationship of pedagogy and practice specific to the needs of the African American child. *The Dreamkeepers* is an asset for teachers of African American children. This book is about hope for educational liberation. It is about pedagogy, practice, and assessment. *The Dreamkeepers* is about teaching children and learning from students' experiences.

Gloria Ladson-Billings takes the reader on a journey into the educational past of the African American community, through its present, and toward future possibilities. Ladson-Billings conveys her message through a variety of media and from a variety of perspectives. She conjoins a heartfelt account of her own story as an African American child and student with the stories of students from her past and the stories of the eight teachers who participated in this study.

The author critically addresses questions many have asked but few have analyzed. These questions include: What does it take to teach African American children successfully? What is culturally relevant pedagogy? What does culturally relevant teaching look like in a classroom? Further, why is culturally relevant pedagogy significant to the education of African American children?

The Dreamkeepers is a reflective tool for educators as well as a model for effective research in education. The author provides a holistic look at culturally relevant pedagogy. First, she thoroughly explains its components. Second, by recounting observational notes from her field research, she exemplifies each component. Ladson-Billings carefully outlines the fundamental aspects of culturally relevant pedagogy. In doing so, she succeeds at interrogating teachers' perceptions--discussing how perceptions arise and how they interfere with the schooling of African American children. She brings the reciprocity of the teaching and learning process to the forefront of educational discourse.

This book is well organized, concise, and coherent. Ladson-Billings is clear about the purpose of her work. *The Dreamkeepers* is not a prescriptive how-to manual. Ladson-Billings accomplishes her intended goals by way of artful storytelling and careful analysis of her data. She passionately shares the teachers' stories and presents descriptive scenarios to demonstrate pragmatic application of concepts. Ladson-Billings follows through with her intentions as she states them. In presenting the stories of these eight teachers, Ladson-Billings affords readers the opportunity to read, infer, and apply what they learn to themselves. The teachers' stories are personal and captivating. Through these stories, Ladson-Billings steers the educator to analyze his or her pedagogy while she encourages readers to assess how pedagogy and practice affect the teaching and learning process. Ladson-Billings urges readers to grapple with individual strengths and weaknesses while offering models from which to learn or to imitate.

Through *The Dreamkeepers,* Gloria Ladson-Billings makes a significant contribution to multiple fields of study--teacher education, multicultural education, and educational research. In addition to sharing Ladson-Billings's vision for preparing prospective teachers to teach in a culturally relevant manner, *The Dreamkeepers* raises significant implications for teacher hiring practices, professional development, and educational policy.

The Dreamkeepers is a complete analysis of culturally relevant pedagogy with a natural progression from the theoretical to the practical. Readers gain an appreciation for the utility of culturally relevant pedagogy as well as an awareness of the complex social systems at work in the classroom. Ladson-Billings is successful in her attempt to contravene the mythical expectations about African American children purported by society. The reader comes to appreciate students' prior experience as the foundation of learning.

The research effort is a collaborative one. Ladson-Billings works closely with her participants. She triangulates her methods of data collection. Ladson-Billings's work creates several avenues for further research, thus inviting others to continue the inquiry and take part in making the dream a reality.

The Dreamkeepers will change the way educators view the education of African American children. Educators reading this book will reflect on their pedagogy and, I hope, redefine their role in the classroom. Ladson-Billings challenges the deficient discourse guiding the education of African American children and aims toward one acknowledging the African American experience as an essential part of education in schools. *The Dreamkeepers: Successful Teachers of African American Children* is a milestone in the education of African American children and a necessity for educators everywhere.

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From the Achievement Gap to the Education Debt: Understanding Achievement in U.S. Schools

Gloria Ladson-Billings

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2006 Presidential Address

From the Achievement Gap to the Education Debt: Understanding Achievement in U.S. Schools

by Gloria Ladson-Billings

The *achievement gap* is one of the most talked-about issues in U.S. education. The term refers to the disparities in standardized test scores between Black and White, Latina/o and White, and recent immigrant and White students. This article argues that a focus on the gap is misplaced. Instead, we need to look at the "education debt" that has accumulated over time. This debt comprises historical, economic, sociopolitical, and moral components. The author draws an analogy with the concept of national debt—which she contrasts with that of a national budget deficit—to argue the significance of the education debt.

I have spent a better part of this year reading the presidential addresses of a number of former AERA presidents. Most take the wise course of giving addresses about something they know well—their own research. Of course, I was not fully persuaded by their wisdom. Instead, I attempted to learn something new, and, unfortunately, the readers will have to determine whether I learned it well enough to share it with my professional colleagues.

The questions that plague me about education research are not new ones. I am concerned about the meaning of our work for the larger public—for real students, teachers, administrators, parents, policymakers, and communities in real school settings. I know these are not new concerns; they have been raised by others, people like the late Kenneth B. Clark, who, in the 1950s, was one of the first social scientists to bring research to the public in a meaningful way. His work with his wife and colleague Mamie formed the basis for the landmark *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) case that reversed legal segregation in public schools and other public accommodations. However, in his classic volume *Dark Ghetto: Dilemmas of Social Power,* first published in 1965, Clark took social scientists to task for their failure to fully engage and understand the plight of the poor:

> To my knowledge, there is at present nothing in the vast literature of social science treatises and textbooks and nothing in the practical and field training of graduate students in social science to prepare them for the realities and complexities of this type of involvement in a real, dynamic, turbulent, and at times seemingly chaotic community. And what is more, nothing anywhere in the training of social scientists, teachers, or social workers now prepares them to understand, to cope with, or to change the normal chaos of ghetto communities. These are grave lacks which must be remedied soon if these disciplines are to become *relevant* [emphasis added] to the stability and survival of our society. (p. xxix)

Educational Researcher, Vol. 35, No. 7, pp. 3–12

Clark's concern remains some 40 years later. However, the paradox is that education research has devoted a significant amount of its enterprise toward the investigation of poor, African American, Latina/o, American Indian, and Asian immigrant students, who represent an increasing number of the students in major metropolitan school districts. We seem to study them but rarely provide the kind of remedies that help them to solve their problems.

To be fair, education researchers must have the freedom to pursue basic research, just as their colleagues in other social sciences do. They must be able to ask questions and pursue inquiries "just because." However, because education is an applied field, a field that local states manage and declare must be available to the entire public, *most* of the questions that education researchers ask need to address the significant questions that challenge and confound the public: Why don't children learn to read? What accounts for the high levels of school dropout among urban students? How can we explain the declining performance in mathematics and science at the same time that science and mathematics knowledge is exploding? Why do factors like race and class continue to be strong predictors of achievement when gender disparities have shrunk?

The Prevalence of the Achievement Gap

One of the most common phrases in today's education literature is "the achievement gap." The term produces more than 11 million citations on Google. "Achievement gap," much like certain popular culture music stars, has become a crossover hit. It has made its way into common parlance and everyday usage. The term is invoked by people on both ends of the political spectrum, and few argue over its meaning or its import. According to the National Governors' Association, the achievement gap is "a matter of race and class. Across the U.S., a gap in academic achievement persists between minority and disadvantaged students and their white counterparts." It further states: "This is one of the most pressing education-policy challenges that states currently face" (2005). The story of the achievement gap is a familiar one. The

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numbers speak for themselves. In the 2005 National Assessment of Educational Progress results, the gap between Black and Latina/o fourth graders and their White counterparts in reading scaled scores was more than 26 points. In fourth-grade mathematics the gap was more than 20 points (Education Commission of the States, 2005). In eighth-grade reading, the gap was more than 23 points, and in eighth-grade mathematics the gap was more than 26 points. We can also see that these gaps persist over time (Education Commission of the States).

Even when we compare African Americans and Latina/os with incomes comparable to those of Whites, there is still an achievement gap as measured by standardized testing (National Center for Education Statistics, 2001). While I have focused primarily on showing this gap by means of standardized test scores, it also exists when we compare dropout rates and relative numbers of students who take advanced placement examinations; enroll in honors, advanced placement, and "gifted" classes; and are admitted to colleges and graduate and professional programs.

Scholars have offered a variety of explanations for the existence of the gap. In the 1960s, scholars identified cultural deficit theories to suggest that children of color were victims of pathological lifestyles that hindered their ability to benefit from schooling (Hess & Shipman, 1965; Bereiter & Engleman, 1966; Deutsch, 1963). The 1966 Coleman Report, *Equality of Educational Opportunity* (Coleman et al.), touted the importance of placing students in racially integrated classrooms. Some scholars took that report to further endorse the cultural deficit theories and to suggest that there was not much that could be done by schools to improve the achievement of African American children. But Coleman et al. were subtler than that. They argued that, more than material resources alone, a combination of factors was heavily correlated with academic achievement. Their work indicated that the composition of a school (who attends it), the students' sense of control of the environments and their futures, the teachers' verbal skills, and their students' family background all contribute to student achievement. Unfortunately, it was the last factor—family background—that became the primary point of interest for many school and social policies.

Social psychologist Claude Steele (1999) argues that a "stereotype threat" contributes to the gap. Sociolinguists such as Kathryn Au (1980), Lisa Delpit (1995), Michèle Foster (1996), and Shirley Brice Heath (1983), and education researchers such as Jacqueline Jordan Irvine (2003) and Carol Lee (2004), have focused on the culture mismatch that contributes to the gap. Multicultural education researchers such as James Banks (2004), Geneva Gay (2004), and Carl Grant (2003), and curriculum theorists such as Michael Apple (1990), Catherine Cornbleth (and Dexter Waugh; 1995), and Thomas Popkewitz (1998) have focused on the nature of the curriculum and the school as sources of the gap. And teacher educators such as Christine Sleeter (2001), Marilyn Cochran-Smith (2004), Kenneth Zeichner (2002), and I (1994) have focused on the pedagogical practices of teachers as contributing to either the exacerbation or the narrowing of the gap.

But I want to use this opportunity to call into question the wisdom of focusing on the achievement gap as a way of explaining and understanding the persistent inequality that exists (and has always existed) in our nation's schools. I want to argue that this all-out focus on the "Achievement Gap" moves us toward short-term solutions that are unlikely to address the long-term underlying problem.

Down the Rabbit-Hole

Let me begin the next section of this discussion with a strange transition from a familiar piece of children's literature:

> *Alice started to her feet, for it flashed across her mind that she had never before seen a rabbit with either a waistcoat-pocket, or a watch to take out of it, and burning with curiosity, she ran across the field after it, and fortunately was just in time to see it pop down a large rabbit-hole under the hedge. In another moment down went Alice after it, never once considering how in the world she was to get out again.*
>
> Lewis Carroll, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*

The relevance of this passage is that I, like Alice, saw a rabbit with a watch and waistcoat-pocket when I came across a book by economist Robert Margo entitled *Race and Schooling in the American South, 1880–1950* (1990). And, like Alice, I chased the rabbit called "economics" down a rabbit-hole, where the world looked very different to me. Fortunately, I traveled with my trusty copy of Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) *Metaphors We Live By* as a way to make sense of my sojourn there. So, before making my way back to the challenge of school inequality, I must beg your indulgence as I give you a brief tour of my time down there.

National Debt Versus National Deficit

Most people hear or read news of the economy every day and rarely give it a second thought. We hear that the Federal Reserve Bank is raising interest rates, or that the unemployment numbers look good. Our ears may perk up when we hear the latest gasoline prices or that we can get a good rate on a mortgage refinance loan. But busy professionals rarely have time to delve deeply into all things economic. Two economic terms—"national deficit" and "national debt"—seem to befuddle us. A deficit is the amount by which a government's, company's, or individual's spending exceeds income over a particular period of time. Thus, for each budget cycle, the government must determine whether it has a balanced budget, a budget surplus, or a deficit. The debt, however is the sum of all previously incurred annual federal deficits. Since the deficits are financed by government borrowing, national debt is equal to all government debt.

Most fiscal conservatives warn against deficit budgets and urge the government to decrease spending to balance the budget. Fiscal liberals do not necessarily embrace deficits but would rather see the budget balanced by increasing tax revenues from those most able to pay. The debt is a sum that has been accumulating since 1791, when the U.S. Treasury recorded it as $75,463,476.52 (Gordon, 1998). Thomas Jefferson (1816) said, "I . . . place economy among the first and most important virtues, and public debt as the greatest of dangers to be feared. To preserve our independence, we must not let our rulers load us with perpetual debt."

But the debt has not merely been going up. Between 1823 and 1835 the debt steadily decreased, from a high of almost $91 million to a low of $33,733.05. The nation's debt hit the $1 billion mark in 1863 and the $1 trillion mark in 1981. Today, the national debt sits at more than $8 trillion. This level of debt means that the United States pays about $132,844,701,219.88 in interest each year. This makes our debt interest the third-largest expenditure in the federal budget after defense and combined entitlement programs such as Social Security and Medicare (Christensen, 2004).

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Even in those years when the United States has had a balanced budget, that is, no deficits, the national debt continued to grow. It may have grown at a slower rate, but it did continue to grow. President Clinton bragged about presenting a balanced budget—one without deficits—and not growing the debt (King, J., 2000). However, the debt was already at a frighteningly high level, and his budget policies failed to make a dent in the debt.

The Debt and Education Disparity

By now, readers might assume that I have made myself firmly at home at the Mad Hatter's Tea Party. What does a discussion about national deficits and national debt have to do with education, education research, and continued education disparities? It is here where I began to see some metaphorical concurrences between our national fiscal situation and our education situation. I am arguing that our focus on the achievement gap is akin to a focus on the budget deficit, but what is actually happening to African American and Latina/o students is really more like the national debt. We do not have an achievement gap; we have an education debt.

Now, to be perfectly candid, I must admit that when I consulted with a strict economist, Professor Emeritus Robert Haveman of the University of Wisconsin's Department of Economics, La Follette Institute of Public Affairs, and Institute for Research on Poverty, he stated:

> The education debt is the foregone schooling resources that we could have (should have) been investing in (primarily) low income kids, which deficit leads to a variety of social problems (e.g. crime, low productivity, low wages, low labor force participation) that require on-going public investment. This required investment sucks away resources that could go to reducing the achievement gap. Without the education debt we could narrow the achievement debt.
>
> . . . The message would be that you need to reduce one (the education debt, defined above) in order to close the other (the achievement gap). A parallel is trying to gain a growing and robust economy with a large national debt overhang. (February 6, 2006, e-mail)

In addition to this informal discussion with Haveman, I read a work by Wolfe and Haveman (2001) entitled *Accounting for the Social and Non-Market Benefits of Education,* which catalogues a series of what they term "non-market effects of schooling." The authors contend that "the literature on the intergenerational effects of education is generally neglected in assessing the full impact of education." Among the nonmarket effects that they include are the following:

- A positive link between one's own schooling and the schooling received by one's children
- A positive association between the schooling and health status of one's family members
- A positive relationship between one's own education and one's own health status
- A positive relationship between one's own education and the efficiency of choices made, such as consumer choices (which efficiency has positive effects on well-being similar to those of money income)
- A relationship between one's own schooling and fertility choices (in particular, decisions of one's female teenage children regarding nonmarital childbearing)
- A relationship between the schooling/social capital of one's neighborhood and decisions by young people regarding their level of schooling, nonmarital childbearing, and participation in criminal activities. (pp. 2–3)

While these economists have informed my thinking, I have taken a somewhat different tack on this notion of the education debt. The yearly fluctuations in the achievement gap give us a short-range picture of how students perform on a particular set of achievement measures. Looking at the gap from year to year is a misleading exercise. Lee's (2002) look at the trend lines shows us that there was a narrowing of the gap in the 1980s both between Black and White students and between the Latina/o and White students, and a subsequent expansion of those gaps in the 1990s. The expansion of the disparities occurred even though the income differences narrowed during the 1990s. We do not have good answers as to why the gap narrows or widens. Some research suggests that even the combination of socioeconomic and family conditions, youth culture and student behaviors, and schooling conditions and practices do not fully explain changes in the achievement gap (Lee).

However, when we begin looking at the construction and compilation of what I have termed the education debt, we can better understand why an achievement gap is a logical outcome. I am arguing that the historical, economic, sociopolitical, and moral decisions and policies that characterize our society have created an education debt. So, at this point, I want to briefly describe each of those aspects of the debt.

The Historical Debt

Scholars in the history of education, such as James Anderson (1989), Michael Fultz (1995), and David Tyack (2004), have documented the legacy of educational inequities in the Unites States. Those inequities initially were formed around race, class, and gender. Gradually, some of the inequities began to recede, but clearly they persist in the realm of race. In the case of African Americans, education was initially forbidden during the period of enslavement. After emancipation we saw the development of freedmen's schools whose purpose was the maintenance of a servant class. During the long period of legal apartheid, African Americans attended schools where they received cast-off textbooks and materials from White schools. In the South, the need for farm labor meant that the typical school year for rural Black students was about 4 months long. Indeed, Black students in the South did not experience universal secondary schooling until 1968 (Anderson, 2002). Why, then, would we not expect there to be an achievement gap?

The history of American Indian education is equally egregious. It began with mission schools to convert and use Indian labor to further the cause of the church. Later, boarding schools were developed as General George Pratt asserted the need "to kill the Indian in order to save the man." This strategy of deliberate and forced assimilation created a group of people, according to Pulitzer Prize writer N. Scott Momaday, who belonged nowhere (Lesiak, 1991). The assimilated Indian could not fit comfortably into reservation life or the stratified mainstream. No predominately White colleges welcomed the few Indians who successfully completed the early boarding schools. Only historically Black colleges, such as Hampton Institute, opened their doors to them. There, the Indians studied vocational and trade curricula.

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Latina/o students also experienced huge disparities in their education. In Ferg-Cadima's report *Black, White, and Brown: Latino School Desegregation Efforts in the Pre– and Post–*Brown v. Board of Education *Era* (2004), we discover the longstanding practice of denial experienced by Latina/os dating back to 1848. Historic desegregation cases such as *Mendez v. Westminster* (1946) and the Lemon Grove Incident detail the ways that Brown children were (and continue to be) excluded from equitable and high-quality education.

It is important to point out that the historical debt was not merely imposed by ignorant masses that were xenophobic and virulently racist. The major leaders of the nation endorsed ideas about the inferiority of Black, Latina/o, and Native peoples. Thomas Jefferson (1816), who advocated for the education of the American citizen, simultaneously decried the notion that Blacks were capable of education. George Washington, while deeply conflicted about slavery, maintained a substantial number of slaves on his Mount Vernon Plantation and gave no thought to educating enslaved children.

A brief perusal of some of the history of public schooling in the United States documents the way that we have accumulated an education debt over time. In 1827 Massachusetts passed a law making all grades of public school open to all pupils free of charge. At about the same time, most Southern states already had laws forbidding the teaching of enslaved Africans to read. By 1837, when Horace Mann had become head of the newly formed Massachusetts State Board of Education, Edmund Dwight, a wealthy Boston industrialist, felt that the state board was crucial to factory owners and offered to supplement the state salary with his own money. What is omitted from this history is that the major raw material of those textile factories, which drove the economy of the East, was cotton—the crop that depended primarily on the labor of enslaved Africans (Farrow, Lang, & Frank, 2005). Thus one of the ironies of the historical debt is that while African Americans were enslaved and prohibited from schooling, the product of their labor was used to profit Northern industrialists who already had the benefits of education. Consider the real source of New England's wealth (from Farrow, Lang, & Frank, p. 6):

- By 1860, New England was home to 472 cotton mills, built on rivers and streams throughout the region.
- Just between 1830 and 1840, Northern mills consumed more than 100 million pounds of Southern cotton. With shipping and manufacturing included, the economy of much of New England was connected to textiles.
- By the 1850s, the enormous profits of Massachusetts industrialists had been poured into a complex network of banks, insurance companies, and railroads. But their wealth remained anchored to dozens of mammoth textile mills in Massachusetts, southern Maine, and New Hampshire.

This pattern of debt affected other groups as well. In 1864 the U.S. Congress made it illegal for Native Americans to be taught in their native languages. After the Civil War, African Americans worked with Republicans to rewrite state constitutions to guarantee free public education for all students. Unfortunately, their efforts benefited White children more than Black children. The landmark *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) decision meant that the segregation that the South had been practicing was officially recognized as legal by the federal government.

Although the historical debt is a heavy one, it is important not to overlook the ways that communities of color always have worked to educate themselves. Between 1865 and 1877, African Americans mobilized to bring public education to the South for the first time. Carter G. Woodson (1933/1972) was a primary critic of the kind of education that African Americans received, and he challenged African Americans to develop schools and curricula that met the unique needs of a population only a few generations out of chattel slavery.

The Economic Debt

As is often true in social research, the numbers present a startling picture of reality. The economics of the education debt are sobering. The funding disparities that currently exist between schools serving White students and those serving students of color are not recent phenomena. Separate schooling always allows for differential funding. In present-day dollars, the funding disparities between urban schools and their suburban counterparts present a telling story about the value we place on the education of different groups of students.

The Chicago public schools spend about $8,482 annually per pupil, while nearby Highland Park spends $17,291 per pupil. The Chicago public schools have an 87% Black and Latina/o population, while Highland Park has a 90% White population. Per pupil expenditures in Philadelphia are $9,299 per pupil for the city's 79% Black and Latina/o population, while across City Line Avenue in Lower Merion, the per pupil expenditure is $17,261 for a 91% White population. The New York City public schools spend $11,627 per pupil for a student population that is 72% Black and Latina/o, while suburban Manhasset spends $22,311 for a student population that is 91% White (figures from Kozol, 2005).

One of the earliest things one learns in statistics is that correlation does not prove causation, but we must ask ourselves why the funding inequities map so neatly and regularly onto the racial and ethnic realities of our schools. Even if we cannot prove that schools are poorly funded *because* Black and Latina/o students attend them, we can demonstrate that the amount of funding rises with the rise in White students. This pattern of inequitable funding has occurred over centuries. For many of these populations, schooling was nonexistent during the early history of the nation; and, clearly, Whites were not prepared to invest their fiscal resources in these strange "others."

Another important part of the economic component of the education debt is the earning ratios related to years of schooling. The empirical data suggest that more schooling is associated with higher earnings; that is, high school graduates earn more money than high school dropouts, and college graduates earn more than high school graduates. Margo (1990) pointed out that in 1940 the average annual earnings of Black men were about 48% of those of White men, but by 1980 the earning ratio had risen to 61%. By 1993, the median Black male earned 74% as much as the median White male.

While earnings ratios show us how people are (or were) doing at particular points in time, they do not address the cumulative effect of such income disparities. According to economists Joseph Altonji and Ulrech Doraszelski (2005),

> The wealth gap between whites and blacks in the United States is much larger than the gap in earnings. The gap in wealth has impli-

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> cations for the social position of African Americans that go far beyond its obvious implications for consumption levels that households can sustain. This is because wealth is a source of political and social power, influences access to capital for new businesses, and provides insurance against fluctuations in labor market income. It affects the quality of housing, neighborhoods, and schools a family has access to as well as the ability to finance higher education. The fact that friendships and family ties tend to be within racial groups amplifies the effect of the wealth gap on the financial, social, and political resources available to blacks relative to whites. (p. 1)

This economic analysis maps well onto the notion of education debt—as opposed to achievement gap—that I am trying to advance. So, while the income gap more closely resembles the achievement gap, the wealth disparity better reflects the education debt that I am attempting to describe.

The Sociopolitical Debt

The sociopolitical debt reflects the degree to which communities of color are excluded from the civic process. Black, Latina/o, and Native communities had little or no access to the franchise, so they had no true legislative representation. According to the Civil Rights Division of the U.S. Department of Justice, African Americans and other persons of color were substantially disenfranchised in many Southern states despite the enactment of the Fifteenth Amendment in 1870 (U.S. Department of Justice, Civil Rights Division, 2006).

The Voting Rights Act of 1965 is touted as the most successful piece of civil rights legislation ever adopted by the U.S. Congress (Grofman, Handley, & Niemi). This act represents a proactive attempt to eradicate the sociopolitical debt that had been accumulating since the founding of the nation.

Table 1 shows the sharp contrasts between voter registration rates before the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and after it. The dramatic changes in voter registration are a result of Congress's bold action. In upholding the constitutionality of the act, the Supreme Court ruled as follows:

> Congress has found that case-by-case litigation was inadequate to combat wide-spread and persistent discrimination in voting, because of the inordinate amount of time and energy required to overcome the obstructionist tactics invariably encountered in these lawsuits. After enduring nearly a century of systematic resistance to the Fifteenth Amendment, Congress might well decide to shift the advantage of time and inertia from the perpetrators of the evil to its victims. (*South Carolina v. Katzenbach,* 1966; U.S. Department of Justice, Civil Rights Division, 2006)

It is hard to imagine such a similarly drastic action on behalf of African American, Latina/o, and Native American children in schools. For example, imagine that an examination of the achievement performance of children of color provoked an immediate reassignment of the nation's best teachers to the schools serving the most needy students. Imagine that those same students were guaranteed places in state and regional colleges and universities. Imagine that within one generation we lift those students out of poverty.

The closest example that we have of such a dramatic policy move is that of affirmative action. Rather than wait for students of color to meet predetermined standards, the society decided to recognize that historically denied groups should be given a preference in admission to schools and colleges. Ultimately, the major beneficiaries of this policy were White women. However, Bowen and Bok (1999) found that in the case of African Americans this proactive policy helped create what we now know as the Black middle class.

As a result of the sociopolitical component of the education debt, families of color have regularly been excluded from the decision-making mechanisms that should ensure that their children receive quality education. The parent–teacher organizations, school site councils, and other possibilities for democratic participation have not been available for many of these families. However, for a brief moment in 1968, Black parents in the Ocean Hill–Brownsville section of New York exercised community control over the public schools (Podair, 2003). African American, Latina/o, Native American, and Asian American parents have often advocated for improvements in schooling, but their advocacy often has been muted and marginalized. This quest for control of schools was powerfully captured in the voice of an African American mother during the fight for school desegregation in Boston. She declared: "When we fight about schools, we're fighting for our lives" (Hampton, 1986).

Indeed, a major aspect of the modern civil rights movement was the quest for quality schooling. From the activism of Benjamin Rushing in 1849 to the struggles of parents in rural South Carolina in 1999, families of color have been fighting for quality education for their children (Ladson-Billings, 2004). Their more

Table 1
Black and White Voter Registration Rates (%) in Selected U.S. States, 1965 and 1988

	March 1965			November 1988		
State	**Black**	**White**	**Gap**	**Black**	**White**	**Gap**
Alabama	19.3	69.2	49.9	68.4	75.0	6.6
Georgia	27.4	62.6	35.2	56.8	63.9	7.1
Louisiana	31.6	80.5	48.9	77.1	75.1	−2.0
Mississippi	6.7	69.9	63.2	74.2	80.5	6.3
North Carolina	46.8	96.8	50.0	58.2	65.6	7.4
South Carolina	37.3	75.7	38.4	56.7	61.8	5.1
Virginia	38.3	61.1	22.8	63.8	68.5	4.7

Note. From the website of the U.S. Department of Justice, Civil Rights Division, Voting Rights Section *(http://www.usdoj.gov/crt/voting/intro/intro_c.htm),* "Introduction to Federal Voting Rights Laws."

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limited access to lawyers and legislators has kept them from accumulating the kinds of political capital that their White, middle-class counterparts have.

The Moral Debt

A final component of the education debt is what I term the “moral debt.” I find this concept difficult to explain because social science rarely talks in these terms. What I did find in the literature was the concept of “moral panics” (Cohen, 1972; Goode & Ben-Yehuda, 1994a, 1994b; Hall, Critcher, Jefferson, Clarke, & Roberts, 1978) that was popularized in British sociology. People in moral panics attempt to describe other people, groups of individuals, or events that become defined as threats throughout a society. However, in such a panic the magnitude of the supposed threat overshadows the real threat posed. Stanley Cohen (1972), author of the classic sociological treatment of the subject, entitled *Folk Devils and Moral Panics,* defines such a moral panic as a kind of reaction to

> A condition, episode, person or group of persons [that] emerges to become defined as a threat to societal values and interests; its nature is presented in a stylized and stereotypical fashion by the mass media; the moral barricades are manned by editors, bishops, politicians and other right-thinking people; socially accredited experts pronounce their diagnoses and solutions; ways of coping are evolved or . . . resorted to; the condition then disappears, submerges or deteriorates and becomes more visible. Sometimes the subject of the panic passes over and is forgotten, except in folklore and collective memory; at other times it has more serious and long-lasting repercussions and might produce such changes as those in legal and social policy or even in the way society conceives itself. (p. 9)

In contrast, a moral debt reflects the disparity between what we know is right and what we actually do. Saint Thomas Aquinas saw the moral debt as what human beings owe to each other in the giving of, or failure to give, honor to another when honor is due. This honor comes as a result of people’s excellence or because of what they have done for another. We have no trouble recognizing that we have a moral debt to Rosa Parks, Martin Luther King, Cesar Chavez, Elie Wiesel, or Mahatma Gandhi. But how do we recognize the moral debt that we owe to entire groups of people? How do we calculate such a debt?

Typically, we think of moral debt as relational between nation-states. For example, at the end of World War II, Israel charged Germany not only with a fiscal or monetary debt but also with a moral debt. On the individual level, Fred Korematsu battled the U.S. government for 40 years to prove that Japanese Americans were owed a moral debt. In another 40-year span, the U.S. government ran a study of syphilis patients—withholding treatment after a known cure was discovered—and was forced to acknowledge its ethical breaches. In his 1997 apology to the survivors and their families, President Bill Clinton said, “The United States government did something that was wrong—deeply, profoundly, morally wrong. It was an outrage to our commitment to integrity and equality for all our citizens . . . clearly racist” (Hunter-Gault, 1997). Today, all human subject protocols reflect the moral debt we owe to the victims of that study.

David Gill (2000) asserts, in his book *Being Good,* that “we are living today in an ethical wilderness—a wild, untamed, unpredictable landscape” (p. 11). We bemoan the loss of civil discourse and rational debate, but the real danger of our discussions about morality is that they reside solely in the realm of the individual. We want people to take *personal* responsibility for their behavior, *personal* responsibility for their health care, *personal* responsibility for their welfare, and *personal* responsibility for their education. However, in democratic nations, that personal responsibility must be coupled with social responsibility.

What is it that we might owe to citizens who historically have been excluded from social benefits and opportunities? Randall Robinson (2000) states:

> No nation can enslave a race of people for hundreds of years, set them free bedraggled and penniless, pit them, without assistance in a hostile environment, against privileged victimizers, and then reasonably expect the gap between the heirs of the two groups to narrow. Lines, begun parallel and left alone, can never touch. (p. 74)

Robinson’s sentiments were not unlike those of President Lyndon B. Johnson, who stated in a 1965 address at Howard University: “You cannot take a man who has been in chains for 300 years, remove the chains, take him to the starting line and tell him to run the race, and think that you are being fair” (Miller, 2005).

Despite those parallel lines of which Robinson speaks, in the midst of the Civil War Abraham Lincoln noted that without the 200,000 Black men who enlisted in the Union Army, “we would be compelled to abandon the war in 3 weeks” (cited in Takaki, 1998). Thus, according to historian Ron Takaki (1998), “Black men in blue made the difference in determining that this ‘government of the people, by the people, for the people’ did ‘not perish from the earth’ ” (p. 21). What moral debt do we owe their heirs?

Think of another example of the ways that the labor and efforts of people of color have sustained the nation. When we hear the word “plantation,” our minds almost automatically reflect back to the antebellum South. However, the same word evokes the Palolo Valley on the Hawaiian island of Oahu, where there were camps named “Young Hee,” “Ah Fong,” “Spanish A,” “Spanish B,” and “Alabama” (Takaki, 1998). This last camp—“Alabama”—was a Hawaiian plantation worked by Black laborers. Each of the groups that labored in the Hawaiian plantations—the Native Hawaiians, the Chinese, the Japanese, the Filipinos, the Koreans, the Portuguese, the Puerto Ricans, and the Blacks—drove a sugar economy that sated a worldwide sweet tooth (Wilcox, 1998). What do we owe their descendants?

And perhaps our largest moral debt is to the indigenous peoples whose presence was all but eradicated from the nation. In its 2004–2005 Report Card, the Bureau of Indian Affairs indicates that its high school graduation rate is 57%, with only 3.14% of its students performing at the advanced level in reading and 3.96% performing at the advanced level in mathematics. One hundred and twenty-two of the 185 elementary and secondary schools under the jurisdiction of the Bureau of Indian Affairs failed to meet Average Yearly Progress requirements in the 2004–2005 school year (Bureau of Indian Affairs, Office of Indian Education Programs, 2006).

The National Center for Education Statistics report *Status and Trends in the Education of American Indians and Alaska Natives* (Freeman & Fox, 2005) indicates that the dropout rate among this population is about 15%, which is higher than that of Whites, Blacks, or Asian/Pacific Islanders. Only 26% of American Indi-

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ans and Alaska Natives completed a core academic track in 2000, while 57% of Asian/Pacific islanders, 38% of Latina/os, 44% of African Americans, and 48% of Whites completed core academic tracks during the same year (Freeman & Fox).

Taken together, the historic, economic, sociopolitical, and moral debt that we have amassed toward Black, Brown, Yellow, and Red children seems insurmountable, and attempts at addressing it seem futile. Indeed, it appears like a task for Sisyphus. But as legal scholar Derrick Bell (1994) indicated, just because something is impossible does not mean it is not worth doing.

Why We Must Address the Debt

In the final section of this discussion I want to attend to why we must address the education debt. On the face of it, we must address it because it is the equitable and just thing to do. As Americans we pride ourselves on maintaining those ideal qualities as hallmarks of our democracy. That represents the highest motivation for paying this debt. But we do not always work from our highest motivations.

Most of us live in the world of the pragmatic and practical. So we must address the education debt because it has implications for the kinds of lives we can live and the kind of education the society can expect for most of its children. I want to suggest that there are three primary reasons for addressing the debt—(a) the impact the debt has on present education progress, (b) the value of understanding the debt in relation to past education research findings, and (c) the potential for forging a better educational future.

The Impact of the Debt on Present Education Progress

In a recent news article in the business section of the *Cleveland Plain Dealer,* I read that affluent investors are more likely to be educated, married men (Torres, 2006). The article continued by talking about how Whites make up 88% of wealthy investor households, while Blacks and Latina/os make up only 3%. Asian Americans, who are 3.7% of the adult population, make up 5% of wealthy investors. But more salient than wealthy investor status to me was a quote in the article from former Federal Reserve Chairman Alan Greenspan: "My biggest fear for this country's future, competitively speaking, is that we're doing a poor job in education. If we can resolve our educational problems, I think we will maintain the very extraordinary position the United States holds in the world at large" (Torres, p. G6).

As I was attempting to make sense of the deficit/debt metaphor, educational economist Doug Harris (personal communication, November 19, 2005) reminded me that when nations operate with a large debt, some part of their current budget goes to service that debt. I mentioned earlier that interest payments on our national debt represent the third largest expenditure of our national budget. In the case of education, each effort we make toward improving education is counterbalanced by the ongoing and mounting debt that we have accumulated. That debt service manifests itself in the distrust and suspicion about what schools can and will do in communities serving the poor and children of color. Bryk and Schneider (2002) identified "relational trust" as a key component in school reform. I argue that the magnitude of the education debt erodes that trust and represents a portion of the debt service that teachers and administrators pay each year against what they might rightfully invest in helping students advance academically.

The Value of Understanding the Debt in Relation to Past Research Findings

The second reason that we must address the debt is somewhat selfish from an education research perspective. Much of our scholarly effort has gone into looking at educational inequality and how we might mitigate it. Despite how hard we try, there are two interventions that have never received full and sustained hypothesis testing—school desegregation and funding equity. Orfield and Lee (2006) point out that not only has school segregation persisted, but it has been transformed by the changing demographics of the nation. They also point out that "there has not been a serious discussion of the costs of segregation or the advantages of integration for our most segregated population, white students" (p. 5). So, although we may have recently celebrated the 50th anniversary of the *Brown* decision, we can point to little evidence that we really gave *Brown* a chance. According to Frankenberg, Lee, and Orfield (2003) and Orfield and Lee (2004), America's public schools are more than a decade into a process of resegregation. Almost three-fourths of Black and Latina/o students attend schools that are predominately non-White. More than 2 million Black and Latina/o students—a quarter of the Black students in the Northeast and Midwest—attend what the researchers call apartheid schools. The four most segregated states for Black students are New York, Michigan, Illinois, and California.

The funding equity problem, as I illustrated earlier in this discussion, also has been intractable. In its report entitled *The Funding Gap 2005,* the Education Trust tells us that "in 27 of the 49 states studied, the highest-poverty school districts receive fewer resources than the lowest-poverty districts. . . . Even more states shortchange their highest minority districts. In 30 states, high minority districts receive less money for each child than low minority districts" (p. 2). If we are unwilling to desegregate our schools *and* unwilling to fund them equitably, we find ourselves not only backing away from the promise of the *Brown* decision but literally refusing even to take *Plessy* seriously. At least a serious consideration of *Plessy* would make us look at funding inequities.

In one of the most graphic examples of funding inequity, new teacher Sara Sentilles (2005) described the southern California school where she was teaching:

> At Garvey Elementary School, I taught over thirty second graders in a so-called temporary building. Most of these "temporary" buildings have been on campuses in Compton for years. The one I taught in was old. Because the wooden beams across the ceiling were being eaten by termites, a fine layer of wood dust covered the students' desks every morning. Maggots crawled in a cracked and collapsing area of the floor near my desk. One day after school I went to sit in my chair, and it was completely covered in maggots. I was nearly sick. Mice raced behind cupboards and bookcases. I trapped six in terrible traps called "glue lounges" given to me by the custodians. The blue metal window coverings on the outsides of the windows were shut permanently, blocking all sunlight. Someone had lost the tool needed to open them, and no one could find another. . . . (p. 72)

Rothstein and Wilder (2005) move beyond the documentation of the inequalities and inadequacies to their *consequences.* In the language that I am using in this discussion, they move from focusing on the gap to tallying the debt. Although they focus on Black–White disparities, they are clear that similar disparities

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exist between Latina/os and Whites and Native Americans and Whites. Contrary to conventional wisdom, Rothstein and Wilder argue that addressing the achievement gap is not the most important inequality to attend to. Rather, they contend that inequalities in health, early childhood experiences, out-of-school experiences, and economic security are also contributory and cumulative and make it near-impossible for us to reify the achievement gap as *the* source and cause of social inequality.

The Potential for Forging a Better Educational Future

Finally, we need to address what implications this mounting debt has for our future. In one scenario, we might determine that our debt is so high that the only thing we can do is declare bankruptcy. Perhaps, like our airline industry, we could use the protection of the bankruptcy laws to reorganize and design more streamlined, more efficient schooling options. Or perhaps we could be like developing nations that owe huge sums to the IMF and apply for 100% debt relief. But what would such a catastrophic collapse of our education system look like? Where could we go to begin from the ground up to build the kind of education system that would aggressively address the debt? Might we find a setting where a catastrophic occurrence, perhaps a natural disaster—a hurricane—has completely obliterated the schools? Of course, it would need to be a place where the schools weren't very good to begin with. It would have to be a place where our Institutional Review Board and human subject concerns would not keep us from proposing aggressive and cutting-edge research. It would have to be a place where people were so desperate for the expertise of education researchers that we could conduct multiple projects using multiple approaches. It would be a place so hungry for solutions that it would not matter if some projects were quantitative and others were qualitative. It would not matter if some were large-scale and some were small-scale. It would not matter if some paradigms were psychological, some were social, some were economic, and some were cultural. The only thing that would matter in an environment like this would be that education researchers were bringing their expertise to bear on education problems that spoke to pressing concerns of the public. I wonder where we might find such a place?

Although I have tried to explain this notion of education debt, I know that my words are a limited way to fully represent it. How can I illustrate the magnitude of this concept? In his 1993 AERA Presidential Address, "Forms of Understanding and the Future of Educational Research," Elliot Eisner spoke of representation—not the mental representations discussed in cognitive science, but "the process of transforming the consciousness into a public form so that they can be stabilized, inspected, edited, and shared with others" (p. 6). So we must use our imaginations to construct a set of images that illustrate the debt. The images should remind us that the cumulative effect of poor education, poor housing, poor health care, and poor government services create a bifurcated society that leaves more than its children behind. The images should compel us to deploy our knowledge, skills, and expertise to alleviate the suffering of the least of these. They are the images that compelled our attention during Hurricane Katrina. Here, for the first time in a very long time, the nation—indeed the world—was confronted with the magnitude of poverty that exists in America.

In a recent book, Michael Apple and Kristen Buras (2006) suggest that the subaltern can and do speak. In this country they speak from the barrios of Los Angeles and the ghettos of New York. They speak from the reservations of New Mexico and the Chinatown of San Francisco. They speak from the levee breaks of New Orleans where they remind us, as education researchers, that we do not merely have an achievement gap—we have an education debt.

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Chapter 8

Culturally Relevant Teaching: The Key to Making Multicultural Education Work[1]

Gloria Ladson-Billings

Understanding the Problem

> If we focus upon the introduction of ethnic studies into the curriculum with only an afterthought to the teachers and teaching strategies used, the future is fairly predictable. My guess is that two decades from now ethnic studies will exist, but they will be a shell with all content sucked dry by pedantic instruction more concerned with form than substance. Perhaps ethnic studies will go the way of Latin and Greek, given time and dull educational leadership. (Cuban, 1973)

Perhaps Larry Cuban did not consider himself a prophet or a seer when he wrote the above mentioned words for a brief article in the National Council of the Social Studies' *43rd Annual Yearbook* entitled, *Ethnic Content and 'White' Instruction* but it appears that his prediction has come to fruition. What his article did not predict was at the same time that ethnic (and multiethnic/multicultural) studies courses and programs were 'drying up', the number of ethnic students would be multiplying and the number of ethnic teachers would be shrinking (Holt, 1989).

Several studies have recognized the need to increase minority teachers (Carnegie, 1986; Graham, 1987; AACTE, 1988; Eubanks, 1988; Merino and Quintanar, 1988). In general, this emphasis on increasing the number of minority teachers is centered on providing role models for students, both minority and majority, with little attention paid to the relationship between minority teachers and minority student achievement. Indeed, Rist (1970) suggests that minority teachers who have taken on the values and worldview of the white middle class have a deterimental effect on lower income, minority students — relegating them to the lowest reading group and the least amount of instruction. Thus, while the sense of democracy, equity, and fair play tell us that we *ought* to have more minority teachers with this increase in minority students, a more urgent sense of what is happening to minority students in the classroom should prompt us to more closely examine the kind of teaching that will be most effective for these students regardless of the ethnicity and cultural background of the teacher.

All of the demographic projections suggest that there are few minority candidates in the teacher preparation pipeline (Haberman, 1989). Thus, the teacher who will be called upon to fill the vacancies in urban public schools is most likely to be 'a white, female whose first choice for a teaching assignment was a suburban school' (Grant, 1989, p. 765). What will this teacher need to know to be an effective teacher of minority students? What do we already know about the kind of teaching that will best meet the educational needs of minority students? What does the research tell us about attempts at developing educational strategies more compatible with the lives and cultures of minority students?

Learning Styles Versus Teaching Styles

The past decade has seen educators exhibit a growing interest in the idea that students differ in a personality trait called learning style (Royer and Feldman, 1984). One of the early pioneers in this area, Klein (1951) proposed a perceptual continuum which extended from *levelers* to *sharpeners*. Levelers are learners who hold tight to the categories of perception and judgment and tend not to change their mental set even when presented with new evidence or changing conditions. Sharpeners are those who are attuned to change and capable of spotting shades of difference. Witkin (1962) along with his associates (1977) distinguished between field dependence and field independence. Field dependent learners rely heavily on environmental support while field independent learners are less bound by the situations in which they find themselves. Kagan (1964) distinguished between *impulsivity* and *reflectivity*; the degree to which a learner reflects on the validity of alternative solutions. Ausubel (1968) differentiated between *satellizers* and *non-satellizers*; satellizers have an intrinsic sense of self-worth independent of what they accomplish while non-satellizers lack an intrinsic feeling of self-worth and feel the need to prove themselves through accomplishment.

Domino (1971) moved this inquiry into learning styles further by examining how a personality trait could be used to select an optimal instructional approach. However, Cronbach and Snow (1977) did not find any consistent pattern indicating that students with certain personality traits respond better when taking courses from teachers having corresponding personality traits.

Not long after the learning style literature began to gain acceptance there emerged a somewhat parallel body of literature that began to apply the learning styles notions to racial, ethnic and cultural groups. Ramirez and Castaneda (1974) translated Witkin's field-dependent/field-independent typology to field-sensitive/field-independent as a way to explain disparities between Latino and Anglo school performance. Cohen (1976) made distinctions between analytical and relational modes of conceptual organization and indicated that while minority students often demonstrate a preference for relational styles, schools, in general, favor and reward the analytical mode. Hale-Benson (1986) and Shade (1982) have applied the concept of learning styles to the particular needs of African-American students.

Social psychologist and historian Asa Hilliard (1989) has questioned the use of the term 'style' to describe (and perhaps justify) the low performance of minority group students. More importantly, Hilliard has questioned the use of the term as an excuse for both low expectations on the part of teachers and substandard delivery of instruction. Hillard further asserts that although style is cultural (or learned) and meaningful in teaching and learning, we do not know enough about how or whether pedagogy should be modified in response to learning styles.

The learning styles research is open to criticism on several levels. First, only a few styles (for example, field-dependence/independence, reflection/impulsivity) have been extensively researched. Second, this research is rarely linked to issues regarding teachers' learning styles and/or teaching styles. And, perhaps most importantly, there is little evidence to suggest that distinguishing students according to their learning styles makes any significant differences in their academic performance. Each of these areas requires further exploration before we can accept or reject the saliency of learning styles as a way of addressing the educational needs of students.

Much of the learning styles research has as its ideological base the primacy of the individual and individual differences. This perspective is consistent with Western world views which elevate and celebrate individual strivings above collective ones. This perspective is so much a part of Western culture and thought that to suggest an alternative borders on heresy. This thinking is akin to the old riddle about whether a fish, so accustomed to the water, realizes that it is wet. However, it may be that this ideological blindspot is the point at which the learning styles research must be more carefully examined. Researchers must begin to more carefully examine cultural and group explanations for behaviors and attitudes toward schooling without encouraging practitioners to deliver substandard content and instruction to different groups.

Currently, Dunn (1989) is examining whether or not students from different cultures have different learning styles. One of the questions her work seems to raise is whether or not there exists a biological basis for learning styles. That kind of thinking takes us back to the genetic inferiority arguments of the early 1900s that tend to persist and reappear in various forms over time. With the question of students' learning styles mired in debate and uncertainty it is perhaps more useful to shift the focus to teaching styles.

Early attempts at improving minority and urban student performance focused on school level factors and spawned the *effective schools* literature (Brookover *et al.*, 1979; Edmonds, 1979). This research suggests that strong instructional leadership, high student expectations, emphasis on basic skills, a safe and orderly environment, frequent, systematic student evaluation and increased time on task (Stedman, 1987) produces substantial achievement gains among urban students. Stedman's critique of the effective schools research asserts that the effective schools movement 'ignores the cultural nature of schooling' (p. 219), embraces a view of school as white and middle class with a language and worldview alien to students from different cultures and classes and ignores the historical record of indifference and deliberate hostility toward non-mainstream students which has contributed to their academic failure.

The second wave of educational reform[2] has directed educators' attention to the importance of pedagogy. Shulman (1987a) suggests that any improvement in teaching will come from a redefinition of teaching as more than mastering generic skills which are displayed in terms of classroom behaviors. Shulman further suggests that because of the relative lack of systematic research done in the field of pedagogy it is important to examine the 'wisdom of practice' of expert pedagogues. This wisdom of practice includes not only what teachers demonstrate in the classroom while they are teaching but also the *thinking* that underlies the pedagogical decisions that teachers make. It also includes the *context* in which teaching occurs (Shulman, 1987b).

This recognition of the importance of the teaching context is not a new one. There is substantial literature, for example, on teaching urban students. This literature dates back almost 100 years to 1898 (Cuban, 1989). However, most of this literature has addressed the problem of poor school performance of urban children by either blaming the children by asserting that they 'lack ability, character or motivation' (*ibid.*, p. 781) or by blaming their parents and cultural backgrounds. Less frequently heard arguments suggest that urban students fail because the schooling experience denigrates them and their culture and/or the very structure of the school is not able to accommodate the diversity of cultures, needs, and abilities (*ibid.*).

Critical theorists assert that schools function to reproduce the systemic inequalities of the society. Consequently, the way to break the cycle is to focus on the kind of education minority students need. The work of Freire (1973), Aronowitz and Giroux (1985), King (1987) and McLaren (1989) suggest some features of what successful teachers of minority students must do to emancipate, empower and transform both themselves and their students. Aspects of this kind of teaching form the basis for what I have identified as 'culturally relevant teaching'.

Is There a Culturally Relevant Teaching?

Anthropologists have long had an interest in applying their research methodology to complex social institutions like schools (Spindler, 1988). In an attempt to examine questions relating to the denial of equal educational opportunity anthropologists have looked at schools as agents of cultural transmission, arenas of cultural conflict, and sites of potential micro and macro level change (Wilcox, 1988). One of the areas of anthropological study which has proven fruitful for examining the experiences of minority students in the classroom is the attempt (or lack thereof) of teachers to find ways to match their teaching styles to the culture and home background of their students.

During the 1980s there emerged in the anthropology of education literature several terms which describe these pedagogical strategies used by teachers in an effort to make the school experience of students more compatible with their everyday lives. Those terms include, cultural congruence (Mohatt and Erickson, 1981), cultural appropriateness (Au and Jordan, 1981), cultural responsiveness (Cazden and Leggett, 1981; Erickson and Mohatt, (1982), cultural compatibility (Jordan, 1985; Vogt, Jordan and Tharp, 1987) and mitigating cultural discontinuity (Macias, 1987).

Osborne (1989) discusses some of the problems associated with the use of the above mentioned terms. He suggests that cultural congruence implies a kind of one-to-one correspondence between what happens in school and what happens in the home. Cultural appropriateness, according to Osborne, connotes being culturally proper or correct. Cultural compatibility asks for 'educational practices [that] match the children's culture in ways which ensure the generation of academically important behaviors' (Jordan, 1985, p. 110). Mitigating cultural discontinuity which is set within a framework of enculturation and cultural discontinuity, has been researched only within the confines of pre-school settings where students of all cultures are experiencing their first interruption of home-community nurturance and enculturation. Although Osborne states a preference for the term culturally responsive, he notes that neither Cazden and Leggett who originally used the term, nor Erickson (1987), have defined it. Erickson does refer to it as 'one kind of special effort by the school that can reduce miscommunication by teachers and students, foster trust, and prevent the genesis of conflict that moves rapidly beyond intercultural misunderstanding to bitter struggle of negative identity exchange between some students and their teachers' (p. 356).

Educators have also researched the impact of pedagogy on minority student performance (Moll, 1988; Cervantes, 1984; Rodriquez, 1983). Cervantes has identified 'ethnocentric pedagogy' as 'preconceived, idealized, and monolithic values and behaviors and characteristics that students should exhibit to succeed in school. These are most frequently exemplified by Anglo-Saxon middle-class values and experiences' (p. 275). He further asserts that 'the closer one reflects the idealized, the higher probability of school success' (p. 276). Boateng (1988) uses the term, 'deculturalization' to explain the 'failure to acknowledge the existence of [a group's] culture and the role it plays in their behavior' (p. 1). Boateng further suggests that teacher behavior plays a significant role in deculturalization.

Into this cauldron of terminology I am introducing an additional term — 'culturally relevant' teaching (King and Wilson, 1987; Ladson-Billings, 1989a; 1989b). Because it operates along a continuum of teaching behaviors and beliefs and can best be described operationally, culturally relevant teaching is elaborated upon here in contrast to what may be termed 'assimilationist' teaching. The major difference between the two approaches is that assimilationist teaching represents and champions the status quo. Its major function is to transmit dominant culture beliefs, values, myths and ideologies and to induct students into the role that society has determined for them with an unquestioning, uncritical view of the way schools miseducate all children, minority and non-minority, females and males, middle-class and working and lower-class, disabled and non-disabled. By contrast, culturally relevant teaching serves to empower students to the point where they will be able to examine critically educational content and process and ask what its role is in creating a truly democratic and multicultural society. It uses the students' culture to help them create meaning and understand the world. Thus, not only academic success, but social and cultural success are emphasized by the culturally relevant teacher. A more elaborate discussion of culturally relevant teaching and related research will be discussed in the subsequent section.

What We Know about Culturally Relevant Teaching

Because we have almost ten years of research which looks at pedagogy designed to be successful in the teaching of minority students it is important to begin to understand what has been demonstrated by this pedagogy. Osborne (1989) has compiled a list of twenty-four ethnographic studies that confirm eleven assertions related to culturally responsive pedagogies. These assertions include the teachers' recognition that:

- — socio-political, historic, economic factors beyond the purview of the school constrain what transpires in the classroom. (Wolcott, 1974; Dumont and Wax, 1976; Osborne, 1983; Erickson, 1987; Macias, 1987; McDermott, 1987; Ogbu, 1987);
- — the teacher's cultural background is not the determinant of culturally responsive teaching behavior (Osborne, 1983; Erickson and Mohatt, 1982; Vogt, Jordan and Tharp, 1987; Kleinfeld, 1975; Dumont, 1972);
- — student agenda during lessons are often different from that of the teacher (Wolcott, 1974; Dumont and Wax, 1976; Dumont, 1972; Philips, 1972; Beyon, 1984; Hammersley and Turner, 1980);
- — students need some flexibility in rules of behavior (Erickson and Mohatt, 1982; Van Ness, 1981; Macias, 1987; Vogt, Jordan and Tharp, 1987; Osborne, 1983, Kleinfeld, 1975);
- — individual attention, either positive or negative is undesirable (Van Ness, 1981; Osborne, 1983; Vogt, Jordan and Tharp, 1987; Philips, 1972);
- — school language and communication structures should contain links to students' home/community language and communication structures (Philips, 1972; Vogt, Jordan and Tharp, 1987; Erickson and Mohatt, 1982; Osborne and Bamford, 1987; Sindell, 1974);
- — students favor group work over individual work (Philips, 1972; Osborne and Francis, 1987; Osborne and Bamford, 1987);
- — students need to have the cultural assumptions under which the classroom functions elaborated (Kleinfeld, 1975; Philips, 1972; Osborne, 1983);
- — teacher effectiveness is tied to both personal warmth and academic rigor (Kleinfeld, 1975; Dumont, 1972; Osborne, 1983);
- — students respond to a more relaxed teaching/learning pace (Osborne and Coombs, 1987; Osborne and Sellars, 1987; Dumont, 1972; Wolcott, 1974; Erickson and Mohatt, 1982);
- — the curriculum should be relevant to the students' lives (Osborne and Sellars, 1987; Osborne and Coombs, 1987).

The limitation of this scholarship is in its generalizability. With the exception of a few instances (McDermott, 1987; Ogbu, 1987; Beyon, 1984; Hammersley and Turner, 1980) Osborne's assertions and literature review focuses on the small scale Native American and/or Torres Strait Islander communities.

However, studies looking at successful teaching strategies for particular groups of students are emerging (First and Crichlow, 1989; Moll, 1988). Hollins (1989) suggests that there are three categories of response to improving minority student performance. In the first category, there is an *implicit* attempt to resocialize minority students into 'mainstream perception, behaviors and values' (p. 13). Approaches in this first category subscribe to a belief about the universal nature of learning and deny the need for specific pedagogies tailored to specific cultural groups. Hollins identifies the Chicago Mastery Learning

Reading Program as an example of an approach in this category. The second category of response includes *explicit* attempts to resocialize minority students into mainstream perceptions, behaviors and values. Hollins cites *A Social Skills Curriculum for Inner City Children implemented in the New Haven, Connecticut Schools* by James Comer as an example of a Category II approach. In both Category I and II, the emphasis is on teaching students basic skills. However, in Category II there is a recognition of the significance of socio-cultural factors and a belief in the need to eradicate the 'deleterious' effects of the students' home culture. In Category III, Hollins identifies approaches which represent 'conscious avoidance of explicit or implicit attempts at resocialization of the learner or the inculcation of mainstream ways' (p. 17). The widely publicized Westside Preparatory School founded and directed by Marva Collins in Chicago is cited as a Category III approach.

First and Crichlow (1989) contend that teachers' effective involvement with students, involving students in educational decision making, and making strategic decisions about what to eliminate and include in the curriculum are essential to successful teaching of minority students. First and Crichlow further comment that when comparing effective teachers of minority students with ineffective teachers they found that ineffective teachers, while compassionate, often see their students as victims and in inescapable situations. They treat their students as incapable of handling academically rigorous material. Effective teachers, on the other hand, acknowledge the state of oppression in which their students exist but insist that the students must overcome these negative situations and present them with academically challenging tasks on a regular basis.

Moll (1988) has identified several factors important in the successful teaching of Latino students. Teachers in his study all sought to 'make classrooms highly literate environments in which many language experiences can take place and different types of "literacies" can be practiced' (p. 466). Each of his teachers worked under the assumption that each student was intellectually capable of mastering rigorous academic work and rejected the notion of teaching specific skills or a hierarchy of sub-skills. Each teacher emphasized the 'importance of substance and content in teaching' (p. 467). Thus, these teachers rejected the teaching of reading through basal readers, instead opting for trade books rich with literary meaning and interest to the students. The teachers included a diversity of instruction and social arrangements in the classroom and set up their lessons to ensure that students used their personal experiences and cultural backgrounds to understand the classroom content. Finally, these teachers had considerable autonomy in the classroom. Moll's analysis suggests that the teachers attained this autonomy because they were 'theoretically equipped' (p. 470). They could articulate what they did and why they did it. They could also successfully argue about professional issues with principals and other superiors to preserve a style of teaching that they felt was successful with their students. And, these teachers depended on the 'support of colleagues who shared their approach or orientation to teaching' (p. 470).

In looking at teachers who are successful in teaching black students (Ladson-Billings, 1989a and 1989b) the evidence suggests that these teachers, despite their own personal teaching idiosyncrasies, approach teaching in a similar fashion along three important dimensions — their perceptions of themselves and others, the way they structure classroom social interactions, and their perceptions of knowledge. Teaching performance along these three dimensions is important in determining culturally relevant teaching.

Culturally relevant teachers see teaching as an art as opposed to a science with prescriptive steps and techniques to be learned and demonstrated. Thus, for them, teaching is a creative undertaking:

> ... I did a lot of substituting of things, too. You know, we didn't have health books so we did health another way ... There was a period when we didn't have social studies books, so — well, I never got involved in whether we had the book or not but it was, 'What were some of the skills you need to learn to function in social studies?' ... [Sp1–5, notes][3]

These teachers see themselves as a part of the communities in which they teach and see their role as giving something back to the community. They believe that success is possible for each student and a part of that success is helping students make connections between themselves and their community, national, ethnic and global identities. They believe that black students as a cultural group have special strengths that need to be explored and utilized in the classroom:

> ... [Black children] have always complemented my classroom because they're willing to express themselves [yet] the way that they express themselves other people think that they're out of control, rude and disrespectful ... [Sp2–3]

> Black children bring a sense of cooperation [to the classroom]. They're very willing to help. They're very open-minded ... They're very verbal ... [Sp7–2]

> ... they're just full of life ... enthusiasm. And they're not afraid to show their feelings. [Sp3–2]

> ... I think that black children are themselves, more than any other type of child. To compare them [with other children], many other children look to see what you want and then they do it, where a black child, at least the ones I've come in contact with, they [sic] look to see what you want and if they agree with it they'll do it but if they don't, they waste no bones in telling you that they don't agree. [Teachers] have to know that. They're [the children] not being rude — that's the way they are. [Sp4–1]

Culturally relevant teachers understand that the way social interaction takes place in the classroom is important to student success. Cummins' (1986) theoretical framework for empowering minority student recognizes that the pedagogy for producing empowered students must be 'reciprocal interaction-oriented' as opposed to 'transmission-oriented'. Culturally relevant teachers foster classroom social relations that are 'humanely equitable' (Wilson, 1972) and extend beyond the classroom. The teacher demonstrates a connectedness with all of the students and encourages each of them to do the same:

> [In the classroom] there wasn't a lot of competition. Everybody helped everybody to succeed. They were always willing to sit and teach somebody else ... [Sp1–2]

> ... I start off being being a role model ... I set the stage, expectations ... WE collectively, what WE are going to do ... WE will. [Sp2–6]

> ... I operate the class on an extended family concept. I try to treat them the way they will be treated at home ... to love them and discipline them ... [Sp5–2]

Culturally relevant teachers believe that knowledge is continuously re-created, recycled and shared. They take a critical view of the knowledge and content and demonstrate a passion about what they teach (Torres-Guzman, 1989). Through the content, which often is related to students' lives, they help students develop the knowledge base or skills, to build a bridge or scaffolding and often accompany the students across to new and more difficult ideas, concepts and skills (Ladson-Billings, 1989a).

> ... well, I always had the feeling with black children that they were always under ... we always underestimated what they could do ... I found that another avenue for them was sometimes something that didn't necessarily have to do with academics.... We always had projects going ... something that allowed them to have an avenue to be successful ... I've never been sold that academics was THE most important thing in the classroom ... nobody ever measures what the children really are capable of doing. [Sp1–1, 2]

> Yesterday, we had a really good lesson on ... I'm introducing adjectives ... and I did it with the Halloween words and I put ten words on the board ... nouns ... we're getting into nouns and adjectives and for some of them this is so far out of their reach right now but I'm the kind of teacher that I just throw it at you and sooner or later you're going to catch on. And so, they were giving me words like 'bad', 'good' and I said, 'Give me a break! I don't want to hear any more bad witch, good witch, red witch, white witch! Let's think. Let's come on and think!' And it was really interesting how all of a sudden they really got wound up and they really came out with some ... I mean they started using words like 'gigantic', 'huge', and giving me a compound type adjective like 'green-faced' but see, you gotta press ... there are some teachers who'll say 'That's good. Red is good for a devil and green is good for a witch'. But that's not what I wanted. I want to keep pushing and pressing because I know they have those kinds of things in them.... The lesson went on for a long time. I find that you just can't put minutes on good lessons, you'll never get the best out of your students. [Sp2–3, 4]

Both the interview and observation data collected thus far support the notion that culturally relevant teaching is important in improving black student academic success, sociocultural success, and parent and student satisfaction (Ladson-Billings, 1989a). Parents of the teachers in the study expressed a strong desire for their students' schooling experiences to equip them academically without alienating them from their homes, families and culture. The interview, observational and anecdotal data suggest that culturally relevant teaching helps meet these needs.

Despite the research on culturally relevant pedagogy there is still a huge need for further explorations in this area. There are a few investigations of how minority independent schools are developing specific pedagogies and curricula for students (CIBS, 1989) but much more must be done. There are fundamental questions concerning teachers' beliefs and interaction styles that must be examined. We must look more closely at the link between what teachers say they do and the actuality of their instruction. Despite the long history of teacher preparation in the United States there is little in the way of follow-up and longitudinal studies that help us understand the ways in which preparation programs influence the kind of pedagogy we see in the classroom. Researchers must be willing to challenge the notion of a culturally relevant pedagogy with theoretically sound, well designed studies. They must also be willing to ask the hard questions like, can you have good pedagogy for some groups which is not good for others or can you have student academic success and emotional and social well-being without a culturally relevant pedagogy? Inquirers in this field must move beyond an intuitive sense of what is the 'right' kind of teaching for minority students to concrete evidence of pedagogy and approaches that work. Minority researchers in this area of study are still grappling with questions about what constitutes success. Can researchers of culturally relevant pedagogy be content to merely use student standardized test performance as the sole arbiter of success without asking at what social and psychic costs that success may come? If we are going to examine teaching, as Shulman suggests (1987b), in terms of conception, cognition and context, we must carefully consider the type of pedagogy that is most effective in the minority and/or urban school context.

Perhaps most helpful for prospective researchers in this area would be ways to begin to conceptualize the processes by which we can more systematically examine and uncover (or perhaps, discount) culturally relevant pedagogy. First, we need much more anecdotal and ethnographic evidence of teachers who are experiencing academic success with urban and minority students. We need the kind of 'thick description' (Geertz, 1973) that is only available through careful observation and documentation over time. Second, we need to be able to unravel important variables that may impact those successes — school level factors such as administrative leadership and school climate as well as district level factors such as funding and academic policies. We must carefully examine aspects of these classrooms — teacher-student interaction, class size, teacher knowledge and beliefs, teacher experience, curriculum, etc. — to determine what specific factor(s) or combinations of factors are important in producing these successes. Third, researchers need to examine which kinds of successful practices are truly replicable and which kinds are idiosyncratic so that theoreticians can begin to construct models of teacher education that better serve the variety of students that more and more teachers are likely to meet in the classroom. Finally, enquiry along these lines represents a special opportunity to open up new forms and ways of conducting research. The recognition that continued 'paradigm wars' (Gage, 1989) will do little to advance the cause of educational research is a starting point. However, more important than striking compromises between quantitative and qualitative lines of enquiry and among competing ideological and political interest, research and scholarship around these issues must provide bold new initiatives that inform policy makers, practitioners, other researchers and the community at large that there exists a multitude of ways to conceive, construct and solve research problems and dilemmas. Researchers must be willing to move from the traditional 'either-or' posture to a more inclusive, diverse, 'both-and' one. The research waters continue to be very murky on these issues, but we need not wait for a storm to clear them.

Linking Up with Multicultural Education

Throughout this chapter I have been making the case for research enquiry into culturally relevant pedagogy to better meet the educational, social and cultural needs of minority students. Perhaps I could argue, in a tongue-in-cheek manner, that the kind of teaching that is currently occuring in public school classrooms IS culturally relevant. However, the culture to which it is relevant — white, male, middle-class — is not the culture of reference for increasing numbers of students. Multicultural education represents an attempt to make the curriculum more responsive to the educational needs of all students. However, the term, itself, lacks clarity. In a review of eighty-nine articles and thirty-eight books on the subject, Sleeter and Grant (1987) detail five prevailing approaches to multicultural education — teaching the culturally different, human relations, single group studies, multicultural education and education that is multicultural and social reconstructionist. It is this last approach, education that is multicultural and social reconstructionist, that is compatible with the notion of culturally relevant pedagogy. This approach is one that 'prepares young people to take social action against social structural inequality' (Sleeter and Grant, pp. 434–5). Suzuki (1984) points out that this approach needs the type of teaching that will give students an opportunity to practice democratic principles in the classroom. Unfortunately, the literature suggests that schools and classrooms are not particularly democratic institutions (Engle, 1988; McLaren, 1989). For minority students (in predominately minority schools) the school and classroom (including activities such as student government) are likely to be more rigid and authoritarian than those experienced by middle-class white students (Ladson, 1984).

In order to make multicultural education work schools will have to move beyond altering the curriculum to understanding the significance among the 'what', 'how' and 'why' of instruction. In the black schools where black children routinely perform at and above grade level there are important aspects of the curriculum AND the pedagogy that should be considered.[4] The curriculum often stresses cultural affirmation while the teaching methods draw from the students' cultural strengths. The 'teachers are committed to the students and the students are committed to the teachers' (Rauber, 1989, p. 106). Even in those instances where what teachers are doing looks, 'old-fashioned' or 'traditional', a deeper sense of commitment to the students and the community is what essentially drives the teachers to discount educational fads and fashions (Delpit, 1986). Indeed, the effective schools/teaching research indicates that there are a variety of methodologies that can be employed in attempting to reach minority, urban, or so-called 'at-risk' children (Cuban, 1989). Those methodologies include direct instruction, building on the strengths that students bring with them by making connections to their real life experiences, and placing students in situations which have mixed ages and mixed abilities (*ibid.*).

While this chapter has been directed at finding ways to better meet the educational needs of minority or urban students, it is important to note that public education is not working particularly well for a broad spectrum of students. The major reports and blue ribbon commissions[5] have all indicated that public education for most students in the United States is failing to live up to the kind of standards and expectations that parents, students, communities and employers need and want. Thus, while there is a critical need to improve minority education, this effort cannot stand apart from efforts to improve education for non-minority, suburban and rural students. The need for research which examines culturally relevant pedagogy is not restricted to minorities. It is also not restricted to meeting the needs of practicing teachers. The need to improve pre-service teacher education is an important aspect of developing sound research related to culturally relevant teaching. Teacher candidates are themselves locked into their own 'monocultural' backgrounds (Grant, 1989; Fuller and Ahler, 1987) and resist enrolling in courses or practicum experiences that are likely to expose them to multicultural perspectives or themes (Mahan and Boyle, 1981). And, according to Santos (1986), 'the majority of prospective teachers do not speak any language but English, do not have numerous relationships with people of other races, cultures or religions, and have rarely been instructed by anything but an Anglo-centric curriculum ...' (p. 20).

The struggle to legitimize alternative and specific pedagogies to meet the needs of minority and urban students must go hand in hand with the struggle to improve the quality and quantity of multicultural education. Teachers must know more about the backgrounds and cultures from which their students come and be prepared to teach them in ways that maximize their chances to succeed in the school, the community, the nation and the world.

Notes

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2 The first wave of educational reform was sparked by the Commission on Excellence in Education's *Nation At Risk* report that called for an overhaul of the nation's public school systems. The second wave of reform was ushered in by the Holmes Group and Carnegie reports which focused on reforms in teaching and teacher education.

3 These notations represent codes from interview data from my ongoing Spencer funded study on teachers who are successful in the teaching of black students.

4 Examples such as A. Phillip Randolph Campus High School in New York City, Harriet Tubman Elementary School in Newark, NJ, Oakland Tech's, Paideia Program, in Oakland, CA, and independent black schools such as Westside Preparatory in Chicago, IL, Bethel Christian School in Baltimore, MD, Roots Alternative Learning Center in Washington DC and the Ivy Leaf Schools in Philadelphia, PA, each represent the kind of curriculum and pedagogical excellence referred to here.

5 This includes *A Nation At Risk*, The Holmes Group Report and The Carnegie Report.

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Toward a Critical Race Theory of Education

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This article asserts that despite the salience of race in U.S. society, as a topic of scholarly inquiry, it remains untheorized. The article argues for a critical race theoretical perspective in education analogous to that of critical race theory in legal scholarship by developing three propositions: (1) race continues to be significant in the United States; (2) U.S. society is based on property rights rather than human rights; and (3) the intersection of race and property creates an analytical tool for understanding inequity. The article concludes with a look at the limitations of the current multicultural paradigm.

> *The presentation of truth in new forms provokes resistance, confounding those committed to accepted measures for determining the quality and validity of statements made and conclusions reached, and making it difficult for them to respond and adjudge what is acceptable.*
>
> —Derrick Bell, *Faces at the Bottom of the Well*

> *I am not included within the pale of this glorious anniversary! Your high independence only reveals the immeasurable distance between us. The blessings in which you this day, rejoice, are not enjoyed in common. The rich inheritance of justice, liberty, prosperity and independence bequeathed by your fathers, not by me . . .*
>
> —Frederick Douglass, *My Bondage and My Freedom*

In 1991 social activist and education critic Jonathan Kozol delineated the great inequities that exist between the schooling experiences of white middle-class students and those of poor African-American and Latino students. And, while Kozol's graphic descriptions may prompt some to question how it is possible that we allow these "savage inequalities," this article suggests that these inequalities are a logical and predictable result of a racialized society in which discussions of race and racism continue to be muted and marginalized.[1]

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In this article we attempt to theorize race and use it as an analytic tool for understanding school inequity.[2] We begin with a set of propositions about race and property and their intersections. We situate our discussion in an explication of critical race theory and attempt to move beyond the boundaries of the educational research literature to include arguments and new perspectives from law and the social sciences. In doing so, we acknowledge and are indebted to a number of scholars whose work crosses disciplinary boundaries.[3] We conclude by exploring the tensions between our conceptualization of a critical race theory in education and the educational reform movement identified as multicultural education.

UNDERSTANDING RACE AND PROPERTY

Our discussion of social inequity in general, and school inequity in particular, is based on three central propositions:[4]

1. Race continues to be a significant factor in determining inequity in the United States.
2. U.S. society is based on property rights.
3. The intersection of race and property creates an analytic tool through which we can understand social (and, consequently, school) inequity.

In this section we expand on these propositions and provide supporting "meta-propositions" to make clear our line of reasoning and relevant application to educational or school settings.

RACE AS FACTOR IN INEQUITY

The first proposition—that race continues to be a significant factor in determining inequity in the United States—is easily documented in the statistical and demographic data. Hacker's look at educational and life chances such as high school dropout rates, suspension rates, and incarceration rates echoes earlier statistics of the Children's Defense Fund.[5] However, in what we now call the postmodern era, some scholars question the usefulness of race as a category.

Omi and Winant argue that popular notions of race as either an ideological construct or an objective condition have epistemological limitations.[6] Thinking of race strictly as an ideological construct denies the reality of a racialized society and its impact on "raced" people in their everyday lives. On the other hand, thinking of race solely as an objective condition denies the problematic aspects of race—how do we decide who fits into which racial classifications? How do we categorize racial mixtures? Indeed, the world of biology has found the concept of race virtually useless. Geneticist Cavalli-Sforza asserts that "human populations are sometimes known as ethnic groups, or 'races.' . . . They are hard to define in a way that is both rigorous and useful because human beings group themselves in a bewildering array of sets, some of them overlapping, all of them in a state of flux."[7]

Nonetheless, even when the concept of race fails to "make sense," we continue to employ it. According to Nobel Laureate Toni Morrison:

> Race has become metaphorical—a way of referring to and disguising forces, events, classes, and expressions of social decay and economic division far more threatening to the body politic than biological "race" ever was.
>
> Expensively kept, economically unsound, a spurious and useless political asset in election campaigns, racism is as healthy today as it was during the Enlightenment. It seems that is has a utility far beyond economy, beyond the sequestering of classes from one another, and has assumed a metaphorical life so completely embedded in daily discourse that it is perhaps more necessary and more on display than ever before.[8]

Despite the problematic nature of race, we offer as a first meta-proposition that race, unlike gender and class, remains untheorized.[9] Over the past few decades theoretical and epistemological considerations of gender have proliferated.[10] Though the field continues to struggle for legitimacy in academe, interest in and publications about feminist theories abound. At the same time, Marxist and Neo-Marxist formulations about class continue to merit consideration as theoretical models for understanding social inequity.[11] We recognize the importance of both gender- and class-based analyses while at the same time pointing to their shortcomings vis-à-vis race. Roediger points out that "the main body of writing by White Marxists in the United States has both 'naturalized' whiteness and oversimplified race."[12]

Omi and Winant have done significant work in providing a sociological explanation of race in the United States. They argue that the paradigms of race have been conflated with notions of ethnicity, class, and nation because

> theories of race—of its meaning, its transformations, the significance of racial events—have never been a top priority in social science. In the U.S., although the "founding fathers" of American sociology . . . were explicitly concerned with the state of domestic race relations, racial theory remained one of the least developed fields of sociological inquiry.[13]

To mount a viable challenge to the dominant paradigm of ethnicity (i.e., we are all ethnic and, consequently, must assimilate and rise socially the same way European Americans have), Omi and Winant offer a racial formation theory that they define as "the sociohistorical process by which racial categories are created, inhabited, transformed and destroyed. . . . [It] is a process of historically situated *projects* in which human bodies and social structures are represented and organized." Further, they link "racial formation to the evolution of hegemony, the way in which society is organized and ruled." Their analysis suggests that "race is a matter of both social structure and cultural representation."[14]

By arguing that race remains untheorized, we are not suggesting that other scholars have not looked carefully at race as a powerful tool for explaining social inequity, but that the intellectual salience of this theorizing has not been systematically employed in the analysis of educational inequality. Thus, like Omi and Winant, we are attempting to uncover or decipher the social-structural and cultural significance of race in education. Our work owes an intellectual debt to both Carter G. Woodson and W. E. B. Du Bois, who, although marginalized by the mainstream academic community, used race as a theoretical lens for assessing social inequity.[15]

Both Woodson and Du Bois presented cogent arguments for considering race as *the* central construct for understanding inequality. In many ways our work is an attempt to build on the foundation laid by these scholars.[16] Briefly, Woodson, as far back as 1916, began to establish the legitimacy of race (and, in particular, African Americans) as a subject of scholarly inquiry.[17] As founder of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History and editor of its *Journal of Negro History*, Woodson revolutionized the thinking about African Americans from that of pathology and inferiority to a multitextured analysis of the uniqueness of African Americans and their situation in the United States. His most notable publication, *The Mis-education of the Negro*, identified the school's role in structuring inequality and demotivating African-American students:

> The same educational process which inspires and stimulates the oppressor with the thought that he is everything and has accomplished everything worthwhile, depresses and crushes at the same time the spark of genius in the Negro by making him feel that his race does not amount to much and never will measure up to the standards of other peoples.[18]

Du Bois, perhaps better known among mainstream scholars, profoundly impacted the thinking of many identified as "other" by naming a "double consciousness" felt by African Americans. According to Du Bois, the African American "ever feels his two-ness—an American, A Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings."[19] In a current biography of Du Bois, Lewis details the intellectual impact of this concept:

> It was a revolutionary concept. It was not just revolutionary; the concept of the divided self was profoundly mystical, for Du Bois invested this double consciousness with a capacity to see incomparably further and deeper. The African-American—seventh son after the Egyptian and Indian, the Greek and Roman, the Teuton and Mongolian—possessed the gift of "second sight in this American world," an intuitive faculty (prelogical, in a sense) enabling him/her to see and say things about American society that possessed a heightened moral validity. Because he dwelt equally in the mind and heart of his oppressor as in his own beset psyche, the African American embraced a vision of the commonweal at its best.[20]

As a prophetic foreshadowing of the centrality of race in U.S. society, Du Bois reminded us that "the problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color line."[21]

The second meta-proposition that we use to support the proposition that race continues to be significant in explaining inequity in the United States is that class- and gender-based explanations are not powerful enough to explain all of the difference (or variance) in school experience and performance. Although both class and gender can and do intersect race, as stand-alone variables they do not explain all of the educational achievement differences apparent between whites and students of color. Indeed, there is some evidence to suggest that even when we hold constant for class, middle-class African-American students do not achieve at the same level as their white counterparts.[22] Although Oakes reports that "in academic tracking, . . . poor and minority students are most likely to be placed at the lowest levels of the school's sorting system,"[23] we are less clear as to which factor—race or class—is causal. Perhaps the larger question of the impact of race on social class is the more relevant one. Space limitations do not permit us to examine that question.

Issues of gender bias also figure in inequitable schooling.[24] Females receive less attention from teachers, are counseled away from or out of advanced mathematics and science courses, and although they receive better grades than their male counterparts, their grades do not translate into advantages in college admission and/or the work place.[25]

But examination of class and gender, taken alone or together, do not account for the extraordinarily high rates of school dropout, suspension, explusion, and failure among African-American and Latino males.[26] In the case of suspension, Majors and Billson argue that many African-American males are suspended or expelled from school for what they termed "non-contact violations"—wearing banned items of clothing such as hats and jackets, or wearing these items in an "unauthorized" manner, such as backwards or inside out.[27]

The point we strive to make with this meta-proposition is not that class and gender are insignificant, but rather, as West suggests, that "race matters," and, as Smith insists, "blackness matters in more detailed ways."[28]

THE PROPERTY ISSUE

Our second proposition, that U.S. society is based on property rights, is best explicated by examining legal scholarship and interpretations of rights. To develop this proposition it is important to situate it in the context of critical race theory. Monaghan reports that "critical race legal scholarship developed in the 1970s, in part because minority scholars thought they were being overlooked in critical legal studies, a better-known movement that examines the way law encodes cultural norms."[29] However, Delgado argues that despite the diversity contained within the critical race movement, there are some shared features:

> an assumption that racism is not a series of isolated acts, but is endemic in American life, deeply ingrained legally, culturally, and even psychologically;
>
> a call for a reinterpretation of civil-rights law "in light of its ineffectuality, showing that laws to remedy racial injustices are often undermined before they can fulfill their promise";
>
> a challenge to the "traditional claims of legal neutrality, objectivity, color-blindness, and meritocracy as camouflages for the self-interest of dominant groups in American society";
>
> an insistence on subjectivity and the reformulation of legal doctrine to reflect the perspectives of those who have experienced and been victimized by racism firsthand;
>
> the use of stories or first-person accounts.[30]

In our analysis we add another aspect to this critical paradigm that disentangles democracy and capitalism. Many discussions of democracy conflate it with capitalism despite the fact that it is possible to have a democratic government with an economic system other than capitalism. Discussing the two ideologies as if they were one masks the pernicious effects of capitalism on those who are relegated to its lowest ranks. Traditional civil rights approaches to solving inequality have depended on the "rightness" of democracy while ignoring the structural inequality of capitalism.[31] However, democracy in the U.S. context was built on capitalism.

In the early years of the republic *only* capitalists enjoyed the franchise. Two hundred years later when civil rights leaders of the 1950s and 1960s built their pleas for social justice on an appeal to the civil and human rights, they were ignoring the fact that the society was based on *property rights.*[32] An example from the 1600s undescores the centrality of property in the Americas from the beginning of European settlement:

> When the Pilgrims came to New England they too were coming not to vacant land but to territory inhabited by tribes of Indians. The governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, John Winthrop, created the excuse to take Indian land by declaring the area legally a "vacuum." The Indians, he said, had not "subdued" the land, and therefore had only a "natural" right to it, but not a "civil right." A "natural right" did not have legal standing.[33]

Bell examined the events leading up to the Constitution's development and concluded that there exists a tension between property rights and human rights.[34] This tension was greatly exacerbated by the presence of African peoples as slaves in America. The purpose of the government was to protect the main object of society—property. The slave status of most African Americans (as well as women and children) resulted in their being objectified as property. And, a government constructed to protect the rights of property owners lacked the incentive to secure human rights for the African American.[35]

According to Bell "the concept of individual rights, unconnected to property rights, was totally foreign to these men of property; and thus, despite two decades of civil rights gains, most Blacks remain disadvantaged and deprived because of their race."[36]

The grand narrative of U.S. history is replete with tensions and struggles over property—in its various forms. From the removal of Indians (and later Japanese Americans) from the land, to military conquest of the Mexicans,[37] to the construction of Africans as property,[38] the ability to define, possess, and own property has been a central feature of power in America. We do not suggest that other nations have not fought over and defined themselves by property and landownership.[39] However, the contradiction of a reified symbolic individual juxtaposed tdo the reality of "real estate" means that emphasis on the centrality of property can be disguised. Thus, we talk about the importance of the individual, individual rights, and civil rights while social benefits accrue largely to property owners.[40]

Property relates to education in explicit and implicit ways. Recurring discussions about property tax relief indicate that more affluent communities (which have higher property values, hence higher tax assessments) resent paying for a public school system whose clientele is largely nonwhite and poor.[41] In the simplest of equations, those with "better" property are entitled to "better" schools. Kozol illustrates the disparities: "Average expenditures per pupil in the city of New York in 1987 were some $5,500. In the highest spending suburbs of New York (Great Neck or Manhasset, for example, on Long Island) funding levels rose above $11,000, with the highest districts in the state at $15,000."[42]

But the property differences manifest themselves in other ways. For example, curriculum represents a form of "intellectual property."[43] The quality and quantity of the curriculum varies with the "property values" of the school. The use of a critical race story[44] appropriately represents this notion:

> The teenage son of one of the authors of this article was preparing to attend high school. A friend had a youngster of similar age who also was preparing to enter high school. The boys excitedly poured over course offerings in their respective schools' catalogues. One boy was planning on attending school in an upper-middle-class white community. The other would be attending school in an urban, largely African-American district. The difference between the course offerings as specified in the catalogues was striking. The boy attending the white, middle-class school had his choice of many foreign languages—Spanish, French, German, Latin, Greek, Italian, Chinese, and Japanese. His mathematics offerings included algebra, geometry, trigonometry, calculus, statistics, general math, and business math. The science department at this school offered biology, chemistry, physics, geology, science in society, biochemistry, and general science. The other boy's curriculum choices were not nearly as broad. His foreign language choices were Spanish and French. His mathematics choices were general math, business math, and algebra (there were no geometry or trig classes offered). His science choices were general science, life science, biology, and physical science. The differences in electives were even more pronounced, with the affluent school offering courses such as Film as Literature, Asian Studies, computer programming, and journalism. Very few elective courses were offered at the African-American school, which had no band, orchestra, or school newspaper.

The availability of "rich" (or enriched) intellectual property delimits what is now called "opportunity to learn"[45]—the presumption that along with providing educational "standards"[46] that detail what students should know and be able to do, they must have the material resources that support their learning. Thus, intellectual property must be undergirded by "real" property, that is, science labs, computers and other state-of-the-art technologies, appropriately certified and prepared teachers. Of course, Kozol demonstrated that schools that serve poor students of color are unlikely to have access to these resources and, consequently, students will have little or no opportunity to learn despite the attempt to mandate educational standards.[47]

CRITICAL RACE THEORY AND EDUCATION

With this notion of property rights as a defining feature of the society, we proceed to describe the ways that the features of critical race theory mentioned in the previous section can be applied to our understanding of educational inequity.

Racism as Endemic and Deeply Ingrained in American Life

If racism were merely isolated, unrelated, individual acts, we would expect to see at least a few examples of educational excellence and equity together in the nation's public schools. Instead, those places where African Americans do experience educational success tend to be outside of the public schools.[48] While some might argue that poor children, regardless of race, do worse in school, and that the high proportion of African-American poor contributes to their dismal school performance, we argue that the cause of their poverty in conjunction with the condition of their schools and schooling is institutional and structural racism. Thus, when we speak of racism we refer to Wellman's definition of "culturally sanctioned beliefs which, regardless of the intentions involved, defend the advantages Whites have because of the subordinated positions of racial minorities." We must therefore contend with the "problem facing White people [of coming] to grips with the demands made by Blacks and Whites while at the same time *avoiding* the possibility of institutional change and reorganization that might affect them."[49]

A Reinterpretation of Ineffective Civil Rights Law

In the case of education, the civil rights decision that best exemplifies our position is the landmark *Brown* v. *Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas.* While having the utmost respect for the work of Thurgood Marshall and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) legal defense team in arguing the *Brown* decision, with forty years of hindsight we recognize some serious shortcomings in that strategy. Today, students of color are more segregated than ever before.[50] Although African Americans represent 12 percent of the national population, they are the majority in twenty-one of the twenty-two largest (urban) school districts.[51] Instead of providing more and better educational opportunities, school desegregation has meant increased white flight along with a loss of African-American teaching and administrative positions.[52] In explaining the double-edge sword of civil rights legislation, Crenshaw argued that

> the civil rights community . . . must come to terms with the fact that antidiscrimination discourse is fundamentally ambiguous and can accommodate conservative as well as liberal views of race and equality. This dilemma suggests that the civil rights constituency cannot afford to view antidiscrimination doctrine as a permanent pronouncement of society's commitment to ending racial subordination. Rather, antidiscrimination law represents an ongoing ideological struggle in which occasional winners harness the moral, coercive, consensual power of law. Nonetheless, the victories it offers can be ephemeral and the risks of engagement substantial.[53]

An example of Crenshaw's point about the ambiguity of civil rights legislation was demonstrated in a high school district in Northern California.[54] Of the five high schools in the district, one was located in a predominantly African-American community. To entice white students to attend that school, the district funded a number of inducements including free camping and skiing trips. While the trips were available to all of the students, they were attended largely by the white students, who already owned the expensive camping and skiing equipment. However, these inducements were not enough to continuously attract white students. As enrollment began to fall, the district decided to close a school. Not surprisingly, the school in the African-American community was closed and all of its students had to be (and continue to be) bused to the four white schools in the district.

Lomotey and Staley's examination of Buffalo's "model" desegregation program revealed that African-American and Latino students continued to be poorly served by the school system. The academic achievement of African-American and Latino students failed to improve while their suspension, expulsion, and dropout rates continued to rise. On the other hand, the desegregation plan provided special magnet programs and extended day care of which whites were able to take advantage. What, then, made Buffalo a model school desegregation program? In short, the benefits that whites derived from school desegregation and their seeming support of the district's desegregation program.[55] Thus, a model desegregation program becomes defined as one that ensures that whites are happy (and do not leave the system altogether) regardless of whether African-American and other students of color achieve or remain.

Challenging Claims of Neutrality, Objectivity, Color-blindness, and Meritocracy

A theme of "naming one's own reality" or "voice" is entrenched in the work of critical race theorists. Many critical race theorists argue that the form and substance of scholarship are closely connected.[56] These scholars use parables, chronicles, stories, counterstories, poetry, fiction, and revisionist histories to illustrate the false necessity and irony of much of current civil rights doctrine. Delgado suggests that there are at least three reasons for naming one's own reality in legal discourse:

1. Much of reality is socially constructed.
2. Stories provide members of outgroups a vehicle for psychic self-preservation.
3. The exchange of stories from teller to listener can help overcome ethnocentrism and the dysconscious conviction of viewing the world in one way.[57]

The first reason for naming one's own reality is to demonstrate how political and moral analysis is conducted in legal scholarship. Many mainstream legal scholars embrace universalism over particularity.[58] According to Williams, "theoretical legal understanding" is characterized, in Anglo-American jurisprudence, by the acceptance of transcendent, acontextual, universal legal truths or procedures.[59] For instance, some legal scholars might contend that the tort of fraud has always existed and that it is a component belonging to the universal system of right and wrong. This view tends to discount anything that is nontranscendent (historical), or contextual (socially constructed), or nonuniversal (specific) with the unscholarly labels of "emotional," "literary," "personal," or "false."

In contrast, critical race theorists argue that political and moral analysis is situational—"truths only exist for this person in this predicament at this time in history."[60] For the critical race theorist, social reality is constructed by the formulation and the exchange of stories about individual situations.[61] These stories serve as interpretive structures by which we impose order on experience and it on us.[62]

A second reason for the naming-one's-own-reality theme of critical race theory is the psychic preservation of marginalized groups. A factor contributing to the demoralization of marginalized groups is self-condemnation.[63] Members of minority groups internalize the stereotypic images that certain elements of society have constructed in order to maintain their power.[64] Historically, storytelling has been a kind of medicine to heal the wounds of pain caused by racial oppression.[65] The story of one's condition leads to the realization of how one came to be oppressed and subjugated and allows one to stop inflicting mental violence on oneself.

Finally, naming one's own reality with stories can affect the oppressor. Most oppression does not seem like oppression to the perpetrator.[66] Delgado argues that the dominant group justifies its power with stories—stock explanations—that construct reality in ways to maintain their privilege.[67] Thus, oppression is rationalized, causing little self-examination by the oppressor. Stories by people of color can catalyze the necessary cognitive conflict to jar dysconscious racism.

The "voice" component of critical race theory provides a way to communicate the experience and realities of the oppressed, a first step on the road to justice. As we attempt to make linkages between critical race theory and education, we contend that the voice of people of color is required for a complete analysis of the educational system. Delpit argues that one of the tragedies of education is the way in which the dialogue of people of color has been silenced. An example from her conversation with an African-American graduate student illustrates this point:

> There comes a moment in every class when we have to discuss "The Black Issue" and what's appropriate education for Black children. I tell you, I'm tired of arguing with those White people, because they won't listen. Well, I don't know if they really don't listen or if they just don't believe you. It seems like if you can't quote Vygotsky or something, then you don't have any validity to speak about your own kids. Anyway, I'm not bothering with it anymore, now I'm just in it for a grade.[68]

A growing number of education scholars of color are raising critical questions about the way that research is being conducted in communities of color.[69] Thus, without authentic voices of people of color (as teachers, parents, administrators, students, and community members) it is doubtful that we can say or know anything useful about education in their communities.

THE INTERSECTION OF RACE AND PROPERTY

In the previous sections of this article we argued that race is still a significant factor in determining inequity in the United States and that the society is based on property rights rather than on human rights. In this section we discuss the intersection of race and property as a central construct in understanding a critical race theoretical approach to education.

Harris argues that "slavery linked the privilege of Whites to the subordination of Blacks through a legal regime that attempted the conversion of Blacks into objects of property. Similarly, the settlement and seizure of Native American land supported White privilege through a system of property rights in land in which the 'race' of the Native Americans rendered their first possession right invisible and justified conquest." But, more pernicious and long lasting then the victimization of people of color is the construction of whiteness as the ultimate property. "Possession—the act necessary to lay the basis for rights in property—was defined to include only the cultural practices of Whites. This definition laid the foundation for the idea that whiteness—that which Whites alone possess—is valuable and is property."[70]

Because of space constraints, it is not possible to fully explicate Harris's thorough analysis of whiteness as property. However, it is important to delineate what she terms the "property functions of whiteness," which include: (1) rights of disposition; (2) rights to use and enjoyment; (3) reputation and status property; and (4) the absolute right to exclude. How these rights apply to education is germane to our discussion.

Rights of disposition. Because property rights are described as fully alienable, that is, transferable, it is difficult to see how whiteness can be construed as property.[71] However, alienability of certain property is limited (e.g., entitlements, government licenses, professional degrees or licenses held by one party and financed by the labor of the other in the context of divorce). Thus, whiteness when conferred on certain student performances is alienable.[72] When students are rewarded only for conformity to perceived "white norms" or sanctioned for cultural practices (e.g., dress, speech patterns, unauthorized conceptions of knowledge), white property is being rendered alienable.

Rights to use and enjoyment. Legally, whites can use and enjoy the privileges of whiteness. As McIntosh has explicitly demonstrated, whiteness allows for specific social, cultural, and economic privileges.[73] Fuller further asserts that whiteness is both performative and pleasurable.[74] In the school setting, whiteness allows for extensive use of school property. Kozol's description of the material differences in two New York City schools can be interpreted as the difference between those who possess the right to use and enjoy what schools can offer and those who do not:

> The [white] school serves 825 children in the kindergarten through sixth grade. This is approximately half the student population crowded into [black] P.S. 79, where 1,550 children fill a space intended for 1,000, and a great deal smaller than the 1,300 children packed into the former skating rink.[75]

This right of use and enjoyment is also reflected in the structure of the curriculum, also described by Kozol:

> The curriculum [the white school] follows "emphasizes critical thinking, reasoning and logic." The planetarium, for instance, is employed not simply for the study of the universe as it exists. "Children also are designing their own galaxies," the teacher says. . . .
>
> In my [Kozol's] notes: "Six girls, four boys. Nine White, one Chinese. I am glad they have this class. But what about the others? Aren't there ten Black children in the school who could *enjoy* this also?"[76]

Reputation and status property. The concept of reputation as property is regularly demonstrated in legal cases of libel and slander. Thus, to damage someone's reputation is to damage some aspect of his or her personal property. In the case of race, to call a white person "black" is to defame him or her.[77] In the case of schooling, to identify a school or program as nonwhite in any way is to diminish its reputation or status. For example, despite the prestige of foreign language learning, bilingual education as practiced in the United States as a nonwhite form of second language learning has lower status.[78] The term *urban,* the root word of *urbane,* has come to mean black. Thus, urban schools (located in the urbane, sophisticated cities) lack the status and reputation of suburban (white) schools and when urban students move to or are bused to suburban schools, these schools lose their reputation.[79]

The absolute right to exclude. Whiteness is constructed in this society as the absence of the "contaminating" influence of blackness. Thus, "one drop of black blood" constructs one as black, regardless of phenotypic markers.[80] In schooling, the absolute right to exclude was demonstrated initially by denying blacks access to schooling altogether. Later, it was demonstrated by the creation and maintenance of separate schools. More recently it has been demonstrated by white flight and the growing insistence on vouchers, public funding of private schools, and schools of choice.[81] Within schools, absolute right to exclude is demonstrated by resegregation via tracking,[82] the institution of "gifted" programs, honors programs, and advanced placement classes. So complete is this exclusion that black students often come to the university in the role of intruders—who have been granted special permission to be there.

In this section we have attempted to draw parallels between the critical race legal theory notion of whiteness as property and educational inequity. In the final section we relate some of the intellectual/theoretical tensions that exist between critical race theory and multicultural education.

THE LIMITS OF THE MULTICULTURAL PARADIGM

Throughout this article we have argued the need for a critical race theoretical perspective to cast a new gaze on the persistent problems of racism in schooling. We have argued the need for this perspective because of the failure of scholars to theorize race. We have drawn parallels between the way critical race legal scholars understand their position vis-à-vis traditional legal scholarship and the ways critical race theory applied to education offers a way to rethink traditional educational scholarship. We also have referred to the tensions that exist between traditional civil rights legislation and critical race legal theory. In this section we identify a necessary tension between critical race theory in education and what we term the multicultural paradigm.

Multicultural education has been conceptualized as a reform movement designed to effect change in the "school and other educational institutions so that students from diverse racial, ethnic, and other social-class groups will experience educational equality."[83] In more recent years, multicultural education has expanded to include issues of gender, ability, and sexual orientation. Although one could argue for an early history of the "multicultural education movement" as far back as the 1880s when George Washington Williams wrote his history of African Americans, much of the current multicultural education practice seems more appropriately rooted in the intergroup education movement of the 1950s, which was designed to help African Americans and other "unmeltable" ethnics become a part of America's melting pot.[84] Their goals were primarily assimilationist through the reduction of prejudice. However, after the civil rights unrest and growing self-awareness of African Americans in the 1960s, the desire to assimilate was supplanted by the reclamation of an "authentic black personality" that did not rely on the acceptance by or standards of white America. This new vision was evidenced in the academy in the form of first, black studies and later, when other groups made similar liberating moves, ethnic studies.[85]

Current practical demonstrations of multicultural education in schools often reduce it to trivial examples and artifacts of cultures such as eating ethnic or cultural foods, singing songs or dancing, reading folktales, and other less than scholarly pursuits of the fundamentally different conceptions of knowledge or quests for social justice.[86] At the university level, much of the concern over multicultural education has been over curriculum inclusion.[87] However, another level of debate emerged over what became known as "multiculturalism."

Somewhat different from multicultural education in that it does not represent a particular educational reform or scholarly tradition, multiculturalism came to be viewed as a political philosophy of "many cultures" existing together in an atmosphere of respect and tolerance.[88] Thus, outside of the classroom multiculturalism represented the attempt to bring both students and faculty from a variety of cultures into the school (or academy) environment. Today, the term is used interchangeably with the ever-expanding "diversity," a term used to explain all types of "difference"—racial, ethnic, cultural, linguistic, ability, gender, sexual orientation. Thus, popular music, clothes, media, books, and so forth, reflect a growing awareness of diversity and/or multiculturalism. Less often discussed are the growing tensions that exist between and among various groups that gather under the umbrella of multiculturalism—that is, the interests of groups can be competing or their perspectives can be at odds.[89] We assert that the ever-expanding multicultural paradigm follows the traditions of liberalism—allowing a proliferation of difference. Unfortunately, the tensions between and among these differences is rarely interrogated, presuming a "unity of difference"—that is, that all difference is both analogous and equivalent.[90]

To make parallel the analogy between critical race legal theory and traditional civil rights law with that of critical race theory in education and multicultural education we need to restate the point that critical race legal theorists have "doubts about the foundation of moderate/incremental civil rights law."[91] The foundation of civil rights law has been in human rights rather than in property rights. Thus, without disrespect to the pioneers of civil rights law, critical race legal scholars document the ways in which civil rights law is regularly subverted to benefit whites.[92]

We argue that the current multicultural paradigm functions in a manner similar to civil rights law. Instead of creating radically new paradigms that ensure justice, multicultural reforms are routinely "sucked back into the system" and just as traditional civil rights law is based on a foundation of human rights, the current multicultural paradigm is mired in liberal ideology that offers no radical change in the current order.[93] Thus, critical race theory in education, like its antecedent in legal scholarship, is a radical critique of both the status quo and the purported reforms.

We make this observation of the limits of the current multicultural paradigm not to disparage the scholarly efforts and sacrifices of many of its proponents, but to underscore the difficulty (indeed, impossibility) of maintaining the spirit and intent of justice for the oppressed while simultaneously permitting the hegemonic rule of the oppressor.[94] Thus, as critical race theory scholars we unabashedly reject a paradigm that attempts to be everything to everyone and consequently becomes nothing for anyone, allowing the status quo to prevail. Instead, we align our scholarship and activism with the philosophy of Marcus Garvey, who believed that the black man was universally oppressed on racial grounds, and that any program of emancipation would have to be built around the question of race first.[95] In his own words, Garvey speaks to us clearly and unequivocally:

> In a world of wolves one should go armed, and one of the most powerful defensive weapons within the reach of Negroes is the practice of race first in all parts of the world.[96]

Notes

1 Jonathan Kozol, *Savage Inequalities* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1991). For further discussion of our inability to articulate issues of race and racism see Toni Morrison, *Playing in the Dark: Whiteness and the Literary Imagination* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992); Cornel West, "Learning to Talk of Race," *New York Times Magazine*, August 2, 1992, pp. 24, 26; and Beverly Daniel Tatum, "Talking about Race, Learning about Racism: The

Application of Racial Identity Development Theory in the Classroom," *Harvard Educational Review* 62 (1992): 1–24.

2 Throughout this article the term *race* is used to define the polar opposites of "conceptual whiteness" and "conceptual blackness" (Joyce King, "Perceiving Reality in a New Way: Rethinking the Black/white Duality of our Time [Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, New Orleans, April 1994]). We do not mean to reserve the sense of "otherness" for African Americans; rather, our discussion attempts to illuminate how discussions of race in the United States positions *everyone* as either "white" or "nonwhite." Thus, despite the use of African-American legal and educational exemplars, we include other groups who have been constructed at various time in their history as nonwhite or black. Readers should note that some of the leading legal scholars in the critical race legal theory movement are of Latino and Asian-American as well as African-American heritage.

3 See, for example, Patricia Hill Collins, *Black Feminist Thought* (New York: Routledge, 1991); Joyce King and Carolyn Mitchell, *Black Mothers to Sons: Juxtaposing African American Literature and Social Practice* (New York: Peter Lang, 1990); and Patricia Williams, *The Alchemy of Race and Rights: Diary of a Law Professor* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991).

4 These propositions are not hierarchical. Rather, they can be envisioned as sides of an equilateral triangle, each equal and each central to the construction of the overall theory.

5 Andrew Hacker, *Two Nations: Black and White, Separate, Hostile, Unequal* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1992); and Marian Wright Edelman, *Families in Peril: An Agenda for Social Change* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987).

6 Michael Omi and Howard Winant, "On the Theoretical Concept of Race," in *Race, Identity and Representation in Education,* ed. C. McCarthy and W. Crichlow (New York: Routledge, 1993), pp. 3–10.

7 Luigi Luca Cavalli-Sforza, "Genes, People and Languages," *Scientific American,* November 1991, p. 104.

8 Morrison, *Playing in the Dark,* p. 63.

9 This assertion was made forcefully by the participants of the Institute NHI (No Humans Involved) at a symposium entitled "The Two Reservations: Western Thought, the Color Line, and the Crisis of the Negro Intellectual Revisited," sponsored by the Department of African and Afro-American Studies at Stanford University, Stanford, Calif., March 3–5, 1994.

10 See, for example, Nancy Chodorow, *The Reproduction of Mothering* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978); Simone DeBeauvoir, *The Second Sex* (New York: Bantam Books, 1961); Vivian Gornick, "Women as Outsiders," in *Women in Sexist Society,* ed. V. Gornick and B. Moran (New York: Basic Books, 1971), pp. 70–84; Nancy Hartsock, "Feminist Theory and the Development of Revolutionary Strategy," *Capitalist Patriarch and the Case for Socialist Feminism,* ed. Z. Eisenstein (London and New York: Monthly Review Press, 1979); and Alison Jagger, *Feminist Theory and Human Nature* (Sussex, England: Harvester Press, 1983).

11 See, for example, Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis, *Schooling in Capitalist America* (New York: Basic Books, 1976); Martin Carnoy, *Education and Cultural Imperialism* (New York: McKay, 1974); Michael W. Apple, "Redefining Inequality: Authoritarian Populism and the Conservative Restoration," *Teachers College Record* 90 (1988): 167–84; and Philip Wexler, *Social Analysis and Education: After the New Sociology* (New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1987).

12 David Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness* (London: Verso, 1991), p. 6.

13 Michael Omi and Howard Winant, *Racial Formation in the United States from the 1960s to the 1990s,* 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 1994), p. 9.

14 Ibid., p. 56.

15 Carter G. Woodson, *The Miseducation of the Negro* (Washington, D.C.: Association Press, 1933); and W. E. B. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folks* (New York: Penguin Books, 1989; first published in 1903).

16 Our decision to focus on Woodson and Du Bois is not intended to diminish the import of the scores of African-American scholars who also emerged during their time such as George E. Haynes, Charles S. Johnson, E. Franklin Frazier, Abram Harris, Sadie T. Alexander, Robert C. Weaver, Rayford Logan, Allison Davis, Dorothy Porter, and Benjamin Quarles. We highlight Woodson and Du Bois as early seminal thinkers about issues of race and racism.

17 See John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom*, 6th ed. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1988).

18 Woodson, *The Miseducation of the Negro*, p. xiii.

19 Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folks*, p. 5. Other people of color, feminists, and gay and lesbian theorists all have appropriated Du Bois's notion of double consciousness to explain their estrangement from mainstream patriarchal, masculinist U.S. culture.

20 David Levering Lewis, *W. E. B. Du Bois: Biography of a Race, 1868–1919* (New York: Henry Holt, 1993), p. 281.

21 Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folks*, p. 1.

22 See, for example, Lorene Cary, *Black Ice* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1991); and Jeannie Oakes, *Keeping Track: How Schools Structure Inequality* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985).

23 Oakes, *Keeping Track*, p. 67.

24 American Association of University Women, *How Schools Shortchange Girls: A Study of Major Findings on Gender and Education* (Washington, D.C.: Author and National Education Association, 1992).

25 Myra Sadker, David Sadker, and Susan Klein, The Issue of Gender in Elementary and Secondary Education," in *Review of Educational Research in Education, vol. 19*, ed. G. Cerant (Washington, D.C.: American Educational Research Association, 1991), pp. 269–334.

26 Hacker, *Two Nations*, puts the dropout rate for African-American males in some large cities at close to 50 percent.

27 Robert Majors and Janet Billson, *Cool Pose: The Dilemmas of Black Manhood in America* (New York: Lexington Books, 1992).

28 Cornel West, *Race Matters* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1993); and David Lionel Smith, "Let Our People Go," *Black Scholar* 23 (1993): 75–76.

29 Peter Monaghan, " 'Critical Race Theory' Questions the Role of Legal Doctrine in Racial Inequity," *Chronicle of Higher Education*, June 23, 1993, pp. A7, A9.

30 Delgado, cited in Monaghan, "Critical Race Theory." Quotations are from p. A7. For a more detailed explication of the first item in the list, see Bell, *Faces at the Bottom of the Well.*

31 Manning Marable, *How Capitalism Underdeveloped Black America* (Boston: South End Press, 1983).

32 Derrick Bell, *And We Are Not Saved: The Elusive Quest for Racial Justice* (New York: Basic Books, 1987).

33 Howard Zinn, *A Peoples History of the United States* (New York: Harper & Row, 1980), p. 13.

34 Bell, *And We Are Not Saved.*

35 William Tate, Gloria Ladson-Billings, and Carl Grant, "The *Brown* Decision Revisited: Mathematizing Social Problems," *Educational Policy* 7 (1993): 255–75.

36 Bell, *And We Are Not Saved*, p. 239.

37 Ronald Takaki, *A Different Mirror: A History of Multicultural America* (Boston: Little Brown, 1993).

38 Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom.*

39 Clearly, an analysis of worldwide tensions reinforces the importance of land to a people—Israel and the Palestinians, Iraq and Kuwait, the former Soviet bloc, Hitler and the Third Reich, all represent some of the struggles over land.

40 Even at a time when there is increased public sentiment for reducing the federal deficit, the one source of tax relief that no president or member of Congress would ever consider is that of denying home (property) owners their tax benefits.

41 See, for example, Howard Wainer, "Does Spending Money on Education Help?" *Educational Researcher* 22 (1993): 22–24; or Paul Houston, "School Vouchers: The Latest California Joke," *Phi Delta Kappan* 75 (1993): 61–66.

42 Kozol, *Savage Inequalities*, pp. 83–84.

43 This notion of "intellectual property" came into popular use when television talk show host David Letterman moved from NBC to CBS. NBC claimed that certain routines and jokes used by Letterman were the intellectual property of the network and, as such, could not be used by Letterman without permission.

44 Richard Delgado, "When a Story Is Just a Story: Does Voice Really Matter?" *Virginia Law Review* 76 (1990): 95–111.

45 See, for example, Floraline Stevens, *Opportunity to Learn: Issues of Equity for Poor and Minority Students* (Washington, D.C.: National Center for Education Statistics, 1993); idem, "Applying an Opportunity-to-learn Conceptual Framework to the Investigation of the Effects of Teaching Practices via Secondary Analyses of Multiple-case-study Summary Data," *The Journal of Negro Education* 62 (1993): 232–48; and Linda Winfield and Michael D. Woodard, "Assessment, Equity, Diversity in Reforming America's Schools," *Educational Policy* 8 (1994): 3–27.

46 The standards debate is too long and detailed to be discussed here. For a more detailed discussion of standards see, for example, Michael W. Apple, "Do the Standards Go Far Enough? Power, Policy, and Practices in Mathematics Education," *Journal for Research in Mathematics Education* 23 (1992): 412–31; and National Council of Education Standards and Testing, *Raising Standards for American Education: A Report to Congress, the Secretary of Education, the National Goals Panel, and the American People* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1992).

47 Kozol, *Savage Inequalities.*

48 Some urban Catholic schools, black independent schools, and historically black colleges and universities have demonstrated the educability of African-American students. As of this writing we have no data on the success of urban districts such as Detroit or Milwaukee that are attempting what is termed "African Centered" or Africentric education. See also Mwalimu J. Shujaa, Ed., *Too Much Schooling, Too Little Education: A Paradox of Black Life in White Societies* (Trenton, N.J.: Africa World Press, 1994).

49 David Wellman, *Portraits of White Racism* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1977). Quotations are from pp. xviii and 42.

50 See, for example, Gary Orfield, "School Desegregation in the 1980s," *Equity and Choice*, February 1988, p. 25; Derrick Bell, "Learning from Our Losses: Is School Desegregation Still Feasible in the 1980s? *Phi Delta Kappan* 64 (April 1983): 575; Willis D. Hawley, "Why It Is Hard to Believe in Desegregation," *Equity and Choice*, February 1988, pp. 9–15; and Janet Ward Schofield, *Black and White in School: Trust, Tension, or Tolerance?* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1989).

51 James Banks, "Teaching Multicultural Literacy to Teachers," *Teaching Education* 4 (1991): 135–44.

52 See Karl Taeuber, "Desegregation of Public School Districts: Persistence and Change," *Phi Delta Kappan* 72 (1990): 18–24; and H. L. Bisinger, "When Whites Flee," *New York Times Magazine*, May 29, 1994, pp. 26–33, 43, 50, 53–54, 56. On loss of professional

positions, see Sabrina King, "The Limited Presence of African American Teachers," *Review of Educational Research* 63 (1993): 115–49; and Jacqueline Irvine, "An Analysis of the Problem of Disappearing Black Educators," *Elementary School Journal* 88 (1988): 503–13.

53 Kimberle Williams Crenshaw, "Race Reform, and Retrenchment: Transformation and Legitimation in Antidiscrimination Law," *Harvard Law Review* 101 (1988): 1331–87.

54 Ibid., p. 1335.

55 Kofi Lomotey and John Statley, "The Education of African Americans in Buffalo Public Schools" (Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Boston, 1990).

56 Richard Delgado, "Storytelling for Oppositionists and Others: A Plea for Narrative," *Michigan Law Review* 87 (1989): 2411–41.

57 See Richard Delgado et al., "Symposium: Legal Storytelling," *Michigan Law Review* 87 (1989): 2073. On dysconsciousness, see Joyce E. King, "Dysconscious Racism: Ideology, Identity and the Miseducation of Teachers," *Journal of Negro Education* 60 (1991): 135. King defines dysconsciousness as "an uncritical habit of mind (including perceptions, attitudes, assumptions, and beliefs) that justifies inequity and exploitation by accepting the existing order of things as given. . . . Dysconscious racism is a form of racism that tacitly accepts dominant White norms and privileges. It is not the *absence* of consciousness (that is, not unconsciousness) but an *impaired* consciousness or distorted way of thinking about race as compared to, for example, critical consciousness."

58 These notions of universalism prevail in much of social science research, including educational research.

59 Williams, *Alchemy of Race and Rights.*

60 Richard Delgado, "Brewer's Plea: Critical Thoughts on Common Cause," *Vanderbilt Law Review* 44 (1991): 11.

61 For example, see Williams, *Alchemy of Race and Rights*; Bell, *Faces at the Bottom of the Well*; and Mari Matsuda, "Public Response to Racist Speech: Considering the Victim's Story," *Michigan Law Review* 87 (1989): 2320–81.

62 Delgado, "Storytelling."

63 Ibid.

64 For example, see Crenshaw, "Race, Reform, and Retrenchment."

65 Delgado, "Storytelling."

66 Charles Lawrence, "The Id, the Ego, and Equal Protection: Reckoning with Unconscious Racism," *Stanford Law Review* 39 (1987): 317–88.

67 Delgado et al., "Symposium."

68 Lisa Delpit, "The Silenced Dialogue: Power and Pedagogy in Educating Other People's Children," *Harvard Educational Review* 58 (1988): 280.

69 At the 1994 annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association in New Orleans, two sessions entitled "Private Lives, Public Voices: Ethics of Research in Communities of Color" were convened to discuss the continued exploitation of people of color. According to one scholar of color, our communities have become "data plantations."

70 Cheryl I. Harris, "Whiteness as Property," *Harvard Law Review* 106 (1993): 1721.

71 See Margaret Radin, "Market-Inalienability," *Harvard Law Review* 100 (1987): 1849–906.

72 See Signithia Fordham and John Ogbu, "Black Student School Success: Coping with the Burden of 'Acting White,' " *The Urban Review* 18 (1986): 1–31.

73 Peggy McIntosh, "White Privilege: Unpacking the Invisible Knapsack," *Independent School,* Winter, 1990, pp. 31–36.

74 Laurie Fuller, "Whiteness as Performance" (Unpublished preliminary examination paper, University of Wisconsin–Madison, 1994).

75 Kozol, *Savage Inequalities*, p. 93.

76 Ibid., p. 96; emphasis added.

77 Harris, "Whiteness as Property," p. 1735.

78 David Spener, "Transitional Bilingual Education and the Socialization of Immigrants," *Harvard Educational Review* 58 (1988): 133–53.

79 H. G. Bissinger, "When Whites Flee," *New York Times Magazine*, May 29, 1994, pp. 26–33, 43, 50, 53–54, 56.

80 Derrick Bell, *Race, Racism, and American Law* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1980).

81 We assert that the current movement toward African-centered (or Africentric) schools is not equivalent to the racial exclusion of vouchers, or choice programs. Indeed, African-centeredness has become a logical response of a community to schools that have been abandoned by whites, have been stripped of material resources, and have demonstrated a lack of commitment to African-American academic achievement.

82 Oakes, *Keeping Track*.

83 James A. Banks, "Multicultural Education: Historical Development, Dimensions, and Practice," in *Review of Research in Education*, vol. 19, ed. L. Darling-Hammond (Washington, D.C.: American Educational Research Association, 1993), p. 3.

84 George Washington Williams, *History of the Negro Race in America from 1619–1880: Negroes as Slaves, as Soldiers, and as Citizens* (2 vols.) (New York: G. P. Putnam & Sons, 1882–1883). On the intergroup education movement, see, for example, L. A. Cook and E. Cook, *Intergroup Education* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1954); and H. G. Traeger and M. R. Yarrow, *They Learn What They Live: Prejudice in Young Children* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1952).

85 See, for example, Vincent Harding, *Beyond Chaos: Black History and the Search for a New Land* (Black Paper No. 2) (Atlanta: Institute of the Black World, August 1970); J. Blassingame, ed., *New Perspectives in Black Studies* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1971); James A. Banks, ed., *Teaching Ethnic Studies* (Washington, D.C.: National Council for the Social Studies, 1973); and Geneva Gay, "Ethnic Minority Studies: How Widespread? How Successful?" *Educational Leadership* 29 (1971): 108–12.

86 Banks, "Multicultural Education."

87 In 1988 at Stanford University the inclusion of literature from women and people of color in the Western Civilization core course resulted in a heated debate. The university's faculty senate approved this inclusion in a course called Cultures, Ideas, and Values. The controversy was further heightened when then Secretary of Education William Bennett came to the campus to denounce this decision.

88 In the "Book Notes" section of the *Harvard Educational Review* 64 (1994): 345–47, Jane Davagian Tchaicha reviews Donaldo Macedo's *Literacies of Power* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1994) and includes two quotes, one from noted conservative Patrick Buchanan and another from Macedo on multiculturalism. According to Buchanan, "Our Judeo-Christian values are going to be preserved, and our Western heritage is going to be handed down to future generations, not dumped into some landfill called multiculturalism" (quoted in Tchaicha, p. 345). Macedo asserts that "the real issue isn't Western culture versus multiculturalism, the fundamental issue is the recognition of humanity in us and in others" (quoted in Tchaicha, p. 347).

89 In New York City, controversy over the inclusion of gay and lesbian issues in the curriculum caused vitriolic debate among racial and ethnic groups who opposed their issues being linked to or compared with homosexuals. Some ethnic group members asserted that homosexuals were not a "culture" while gay and lesbian spokespeople argued that these group members were homophobic.

90 Shirley Torres-Medina, "Issues of Power: Constructing the Meaning of Linguistic Difference in First Grade Classrooms" (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin–Madison, 1994).

91 Richard Delgado, "Enormous Anomaly? Left-Right Parallels in Recent Writing about Race," *Columbia Law Review* 91 (1991): 1547–60.

92 See Bell, *And We Are Not Saved.*

93 See Cameron McCarthy, "After the Canon: Knowledge and Ideological Representation in the Multicultural Discourse on Curriculum Reform," in *Race, Identity and Representation*, ed. C. McCarthy and W. Crichlow (New York: Routledge, 1994), pp. 290; and Michael Olneck, "Terms of Inclusion: Has Multiculturalism Redefined Equality in American Education" *American Journal of Education* 101 (1993): 234–60.

94 We are particularly cognizant of the hard-fought battles in the academy waged and won by scholars such as James Banks, Carlos Cortez, Geneva Gay, Carl Grant, and others.

95 Tony Martin, *Race First: The Ideological and Organizational Struggles of Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association* (Dover, Mass.: The Majority Press, 1976).

96 Marcus Garvey, cited in ibid., p. 22.

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